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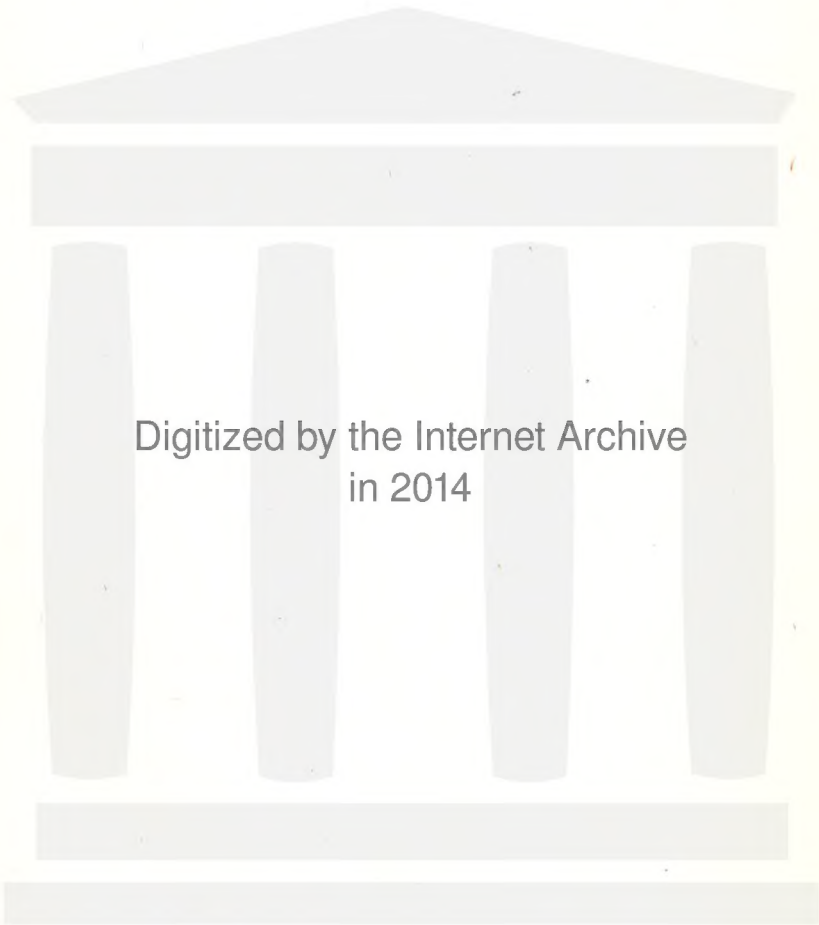
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MUSGU CHIEF.

TRAVELS AND DISCOVERIES

IN

NORTH AND CENTRAL AFRICA.

BEING A

JOURNAL OF AN EXPEDITION

UNDERTAKEN

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF H. B. M.'S GOVERNMENT,

IN THE YEARS

1849—1855.

BY

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&C., &C.

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CONTENTS

OF

THE SECOND VOLUME.

CHAPTER XXIX.

AUTHENTICITY AND GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE HISTORY OF BÓRNU.

Documents.—Beginning of written History.—Pedigree of the Bórnu Kings.—Chronology.—Harmony of Facts.—The Séfuwa Dynasty.—E'bn Khaldún.—Makrízí and E'bn Batúta.—Surprising Accuracy of the Chonicle of Bórnu.—Statement of Leo Africanus.—Berber Origin of the Séfuwa.—Form of Government.—The Berber Race.—The Queen Mother.—Indigenous Tribes.—The Tedá or Tebu.—The Soy.—Epochs of Bórnu History.—Greatest Power.—Decline of the Bórnu Empire.—The Kánemíyín.....Page 15

CHAPTER XXX.

THE CAPITAL OF BÓRNU.

My Friends.—The Arab A'hmed bel Mejúb.—The Púllo I'brahím from the Senegal.—Dangerous Medical Practice.—A'hmed the Traveler.—My Bórnu Friends.—The Vizier el Háj Beshír; his Career; his Domestic Establishment; his Leniency.—Debts of the Mission paid.—The English House.—Plague of Insects.—Preparations for a Journey.—Character of Kúkawa.—The two Towns.—The great Market.—Business and Concourse.—Defective Currency.—Prices of Provisions.—Fruits.—Camels.—Horses.—Want of native Industry.—Bórnu Women.—Promenade..... 35

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE TSÁD.

Character of the Road to Ngórnu.—Ngórnu.—Searching the Tsád.—Longer Excursion.—Character of the Shores of the Tsád.—The Búdduma and their Boats.—Fresh Water.—Swampy Plains.—Boats of the Búdduma again.—Maduwári.—Dress of the Sugúrti.—Account of the Lake.—Shores of the Creek.—Sóyorum.—Káwa.—Return to Kúkawa.—Servants dismissed.—Mohammed Titíwi, the auspicious Messenger.—Slave-caravan.—Announcement of Rainy Season.—Ride to Gawánge.—Mr. Overweg's Arrival.—Meeting.—Property restored.—Mercantile Intrigues.—The Sheikh's Relatives.—Messengers from A'damáwa.—Anticipated Importance of the Eastern Branch of the Niger.—Proposed Journey to A'damáwa..... 60

88878

CHAPTER XXXII.

SETTING OUT ON MY JOURNEY TO ÁDAMÁWA.—THE FLAT, SWAMPY GROUNDS OF BÓRNU.

Leaving Kúkawa.—The Road southward.—Inhospitality near the Capital.—Buying with a Shirt.—The Winter Corn.—The Shúwa Arabs.—Múngholo Gezáwa.—Fair Arabs.—Magá District.—The Gámerghú District.—District of Ujé.—Fine Country.—Mábaní.—Pilgrim Traders.—Banks of the Yáloë.—First View of the Mountains.—Fúgo Mozári.—Market of Ujé.—Aláwo.—Approach to Mándara.....Page 85

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE BORDER COUNTRY OF THE MARGHÍ.

Question about snowy Mountains.—The Blacksmith.—Shámo District.—A Storm.—Molghoy.—The Southern Molghoy.—Large Kúrna-trees.—Structure of the Huts.—Deviations from Negro Type.—The Marghí; their Attire and Language.—Edible wild Fruits.—The Baobab.—Beautiful Scenery.—I'ssege.—Spirit of the Natives.—Degenerate Fúlbe.—The Lake.—View of Mount Míndif.—Wándalá Mountains.—Route to Sugúr.—The Marghí Tribe.—Scientific Dispute.—Unsafe Wilderness.—Unwholesome Water.—The Return of the Slave Girl.—The Bábir Tribe.—Laháula.—The Idol.—Alarm.—Abundance of vegetable Butter.—Serious March.—The Báza Tribe.—The dividing Range.—U'ba.—The new Colony..... 100

CHAPTER XXXIV.

ÁDAMÁWA.—MOHAMMEDAN SETTLEMENTS IN THE HEART OF CENTRAL AFRICA.

The Conquering Tribe.—The granite Hills.—Valley and Mountain-chain.—Isolated Mountain Groups.—Múbi.—The surrounding Country.—Origin of the Fúlbe.—Bágma and peculiar Structures.—Camels a Novelty.—Compliment paid to the Christian.—Mbutúdi.—Fúlbe way of Saluting.—The Déléb Palm (*Borassus flabelliformis?*) and its Fruit.—The granite Mount.—Simplicity of Manners.—Mount Hólma.—Legéro.—Edible Productions.—Ground-nut Diet.—Badaníjo.—Fertile Vale.—Temporary Scarcity.—Kurúlu.—Red and White Sorghum.—Saráwu Beréberé.—Comfortable Quarters.—Accurate Description.—Important situation of Saráwu.—Tebu Traders.—Fair Negroes.—Market of Saráwu.—Saráwu Fulfúlde.—The Mansion.—The blind Governor.—Principal Men in Yóla.—Mount Konkel.—Bélem.—An Arab Adventurer.—Rich Vegetation.—The young Púllo.—Old M'allem Dalíli.—Arab Colony.—A Country for Colonies.—Ruined Village (Melágo).—Gastronomic Discussion.—Máyo Tíyel.—The Bátta Tribe.—Sulléri.—Inhospitable Reception..... 127

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE MEETING OF THE WATERS.—THE BÉNUWÉ AND FÁRO.

Approach to the River.—Mount Alantíka and the Bénuwé.—The Tépe, or "Junction."—The great Arm of the Kwára.—The Traveler's Pursuits.—High Road of Commerce.—The frail Canoes.—Bathing in the Bénuwé.—The Passage.—The River Fáro; its Current.—Floods and Fall of the River.—Chabajáure.—Densely inhabited District.—Mount Bágelé.—The Backwater.—Ribágo.—Cul-

tivation of Rice.—The Bátta Language.—Inundation.—Yebbórewó.—Mount Bágelé and Island.—Reach Yóla.....Page 162

CHAPTER XXXVI.

MY RECEPTION IN YÓLA.—SHORT STAY.—DISMISSAL.

Inauspicious Entrance.—Curiosity of Natives.—Quarters.—An Arab Traveler to Lake Nyassa.—The Governor Mohammed Lowel.—The Audience.—The Mission repulsed.—The Governor's Brother Mansúr.—Ordered to withdraw.—Begin my Return Journey.—Character of Yóla.—Slavery.—Extent of Fúmbiná.—Elevation and Climate.—Vegetable and Animal Kingdom.—Principal Chiefs of the Country.—Tribes; the Bátta, the Chámba, and other Tribes..... 179

CHAPTER XXXVII.

MY JOURNEY HOME FROM ÁDAMÁWA.

Start from Ribágo.—Hospitable Treatment in Sulléri.—Demsa-Póha.—The memorable Campaign southward.—View of a native Settlement.—Beautiful Country.—Bélem again.—M'allem Dalíli and his Family.—Múglebú.—Múbi.—My Quarters.—Household Furniture.—U'ba.—Unsafe Boundary-district.—Laháula.—I'ssege.—Iron Ornaments of the Marghí.—Funeral Dance.—Ordeal.—Feeling of Love.—A Party going to Sacrifice.—Arrival at Yerímarí.—Villages of the Gámerghú.—Ujé Kásukulá.—Difference of Climate.—Plants.—Huts.—Plains of Bórnu Proper.—Seizing a Hut.—African Schoolboys.—A wandering Tribe.—Town and Country.—Guinea-worm.—Thunder-storm.—People returning from Market.—Múnghono.—Return to Kúkawa..... 199

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

RAINY SEASON IN KÚKAWA.

Supplies.—The Herbage.—Tropical Rains.—Mr. Vogel's Statement.—The Winged Ant.—Various kinds of Cultivation.—Intended Excursion to Kánem.—Mr. Overweg's Memoranda.—Political Situation of Bórnu.—The Turks in Central Africa.—Sókoto and Wáday.—The Festival.—Ceremonies of Festivity.—Dependent Situation.—My Horse..... 228

CHAPTER XXXIX.

EXPEDITION TO KÁNEM.

Money-matters settled.—A repentant Servant.—Delights of Open Encampment.—Daweighú.—Treatment by Slaves.—Variety of Trees.—Scarcity of Water.—The Town of Yó.—Marriage Customs.—Character of the Country.—Arrival of Mr. Overweg.—Banks of the River.—Character of our freebooting Companions.—Crossing the River.—Town of Báruwa.—View of the Tsád.—Native Salt.—Desolate Country.—Ninety-six Elephants.—Another Scene of Plunder.—Arrival at Berí.—Importance of Berí.—Fresh-water Lakes and Natron.—Submerged in a Bog.—A large Snake.—The Valleys and Vales of Kánem.—Arrival at the Arab Camp..... 243

CHAPTER XL.

THE HORDE OF THE WELÁD SLIMÁN.

The Welád Slimán.—Their Power.—Slaughter of the Welád Slimán.—Interview with the Sheik Ghét.—Interview with 'Omár.—Specimen of Predatory Life.—Runaway female Slave.—Rich Vales.—Large Desertion.—A Jewish Adventurer.—Musical Box.—False Alarm..... Page 273

CHAPTER XLI.

SHITÁTI.—THE EASTERN, MORE FAVORED, VALLEYS OF KÁNEM.

Bír el Ftaim.—The Fúgábú.—Projects frustrated.—Kárká and the Keghámma.—Elephant's Track.—Bóro.—Bérendé.—Towáder.—Beautiful Vale.—Preparations for Attack.—Left behind.—Regularly-formed Valley.—Hénderi Síggesí.—Attack by the Natives.—Much Anxiety.—Join our Friends.—Encampment at A'láli A'dia.—Visited by the Keghámma.—Camp taken.—Restless Night.—Fine Vale Tákulum.—Vales of Shitáti.—Return to the principal Camp.—Wáday Horsemen.—Set out on return to Kúkawa.—Departure from Kánem.—Alarms.—The Komádugu again.—Return to Kúkawa..... 286

CHAPTER XLII.

WARLIKE PREPARATIONS AGAINST MÁNDARÁ.

Set out on another Expedition.—The Camp, or Ngáufate.—The *Chef de Police* Lamíno.—Army in motion.—Lamíno again.—Major Denham's Adventure.—The Town of Márte.—A'la.—Encampment at Díkowa.—Fire-arms and Civilization.—Slavery and Slave-trade.—The Shúwa.—The Interior of Díkowa.—Industry.—Banks of the Yálowe.—Cotton Plantations.—The Camp Market.—Friendly Services.—Important Information.—Háj Edrís..... 314

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE BORDER REGION OF THE SHÚWA.

News from Mándara.—A'fagé.—Thieves forced to fight.—The sweet Sorghum.—Variations of Temperature.—Shallow Water-courses.—Subjection of Mándará.—Extensive Rice-fields.—Hard Ground.—Elephants.—The Court of A'dishén.—The Army on the March.—The Súmmoli.—The Army badly off.—Entering the Músgu Country.—Industry pillaged.—Native Architecture.—Affinity of the Músgu.—Their chief Places.—The adventurous Chieftain.—A'dishén.—Christmas Events..... 337

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE COUNTRY OF THE SHALLOW RIVERS.—WATER-PARTING BETWEEN THE RIVERS BÉNUWÉ AND SHÁRÍ.

The Deléb Palm.—New Features.—Worship of Ancestors.—Cut off from the Army.—Spoil and Slaughter.—Alarm and Cowardice.—Músgu Weapons.—The Túburi not attacked.—Ngáljam of Démmo.—Destruction.—New Year.—Pagan Chiefs and Priests.—Fine Landscape.—The River of Logón.—Singular Water-combat.—The Túburi and their Lake.—The swampy Character of the Ngáljam.—The River again.—Water-communication.—Plucky Pagans.—Balls and Stones.—Consequences of Slave-hunts.—Penetrating southward..... 361

CHAPTER XLV.

RETURN TO BÓRNU.

Another Alarm.—Policy of Negroland.—Cattle indigenous or imported.—Another District plundered.—The Musgu Slave.—Narrow Escape.—Attack by Bees.—African Netherlands.—Miseries of Slave-hunts.—Barren Country.—Residence of Kábishmé.—Native Architecture.—Ground-plan of a Dwelling.—Amount of Booty.—Wáza.—Encampment at Wáza.—Re-arrival at Kúkawa.....Page 396

CHAPTER XLVI.

SETTING OUT FOR BAGÍRMI.—THE COUNTRY OF KÓTOKÓ.

Mestréma, the Consul of Bagírmi.—Setting out for Bagírmi.—Remains of Pagan Rites.—*Poa Abyssinica*.—The Water.—Arborescent *Euphorbiacea*.—Scarcity of Water.—Ngála; Buildings; Language.—Rén.—A'fadé.—Historical View of Kótokó.—Former Towns of the Soy..... 425

CHAPTER XLVII.

PROVINCE OF LOGÓN.—LOGÓN BÍRNI.

Kala, new Character.—Húlluf.—The Deléb Palm again.—Reception in the Kárnak.—The Ibálaghwán.—Palace of the Sultan.—Sultan Y'suf.—The River.—The Water-king.—Embarking on the River.—Names of Rivers.—Bathing in the River.—Historical Account of Logón—Date of their Islám.—Government.—Food.—Manufactures.—Language..... 439

CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE TWO RIVERS.—ENTRANCE INTO BAGÍRMI.

Crossing the River.—Animated Scenery.—Political State of the Country.—The real Shárí.—River Scenery.—Sent back by the Ferrymen.—Intrigues and Fears.—Trying another Ford.—The Shárí at Mélé.—Character of the Natives.—Entering a Country by Stealth.—Overtaken.—Residence at Mélé.—Ordered to wait at Búgomán.—Character of the River.—Mustáfají.—The Shárí again.—Sent back from Búgomán.—Búgarí.—Mókorí.—Arrival at Bákadá.—Háj Bu-Bakr Sadík.—Decay of Bagírmi.—Destructive Insects.—Character of Bákadá.—The Natives.—Intercourse.—Trees of Negroland.—Return of Messenger..... 461

CHAPTER XLIX.

ENDEAVOR TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY.—ARRESTED.—FINAL ENTRANCE INTO MÁSEÑÁ.—ITS CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES.

Stay in Mókorí.—Importance of Needles.—Want of Water.—Leaving the right Track.—A Night in the Wilderness.—Kókoroché.—Mélé again.—Laid in Irons.—Released.—Return eastward.—Arrival at the Capital.—The Lieutenant Governor.—Háj A'hmed.—The Fáki Sámbo.—Mohammedan Learning.—The Fáki I'brahím.—Suspected of being a Rain-maker.—Superstition of the Natives.—Becoming Retail Dealer.—The Market.—Articles of Commerce.—Difficulties of a Journey into Wádáy.—Market of A'bú-Gher..... 491

CHAPTER L.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TOWN.—ARRIVAL OF THE SULTAN.—FINAL DEPARTURE.

General Character of Más-eñá.—The Palace.—The Bedá.—Patients.—The other Sex.—Occurrences of Daily Life.—Battle with Ants.—Arrival of the Sultan.—The Sultan's Retinue.—His Entry into the Town.—Dispatches and Letters.—A serious Visit.—Escape by Frankness.—Audience with the Sultan.—Asked for a Cannon.—Pardoning Enemies.—Death of Máina Beládemí.—Present from the Sultan.—Reward of Friends.—Departure from the Capital. Page 517

CHAPTER LI.

HISTORICAL SURVEY OF BAGÍRMI.—GENERAL CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY AND ITS INHABITANTS.

Scarcity of Information.—The Dájó.—The Kingdom of Gaoga.—Introduction of Islám.—Early History of Bagírmi.—Foundation of Más-eñá.—The Kings 'Abd-Allah and Mohammed.—Restless Reign of 'Othmán.—Subjection to Wáday.—Struggle with Bórnu.—The Present King, 'Abd el Káder.—His Policy.—General Character of Bagírmi.—Mountain Gére.—No Snow on Mountains.—Edible *Poa*.—Vegetable Produce.—Arms.—Language.—Dress.—Government.—Tribute.—Power of the Sultan..... 544

CHAPTER LII.

HOME JOURNEY TO KÚKAWA.—DEATH OF MR. OVERWEG.

Pleasant Starting.—Bákadá Hospitality.—A'su and the Shárí.—The Shúwa of Mókoró.—River of Logón.—Difficulty of proceeding without Delay.—A'fadé.—Crossing Rivers.—Bogheówa.—Meeting with Mr. Overweg.—Treaty signed.—Money-matters.—Rising of the Komádugu.—Mr. Overweg's last Excursion.—Death of Mr. Overweg.—His Grave on the Shore of the Tsád..... 564

APPENDIX.

Page

I. Chronological Table, containing a List of the Séfuwa, or Kings of Bórnu descended from Séf, with the few historical facts and events under their respective reigns that have come to our knowledge 581

II. Account of the Eastern Parts of Kánem, from Native Information 606

M'awó and its Neighborhood 607

I. Itinerary from M'awó to Tághghel, directly South 608

II. From Berí to Tághghel, going along the border of the Lake ... 609

III. The Bahr el Ghazál, called "Burrum" by the Kánembú, and "Féde" by the Tebu Gur'aán 610

Mondó, Egé, Búrku, Tribes of the Tebu or Teda 613

III. Geographical Details contained in "the Diván," or Account given by the Imám A'hmed ben Sofíya of the Expeditions of the King Edrís Alawóma from Bórnu to Kánem 617

First Expedition 617

Second Expedition 625

Third Expedition 626

Fourth Expedition 629

Fifth Expedition 634

Last Expedition to the Borders of Kánem; Treaty 636

IV. Account of the various Detachments of Cavalry composing the Bórnu Army in the Expedition to Músgu 638

V. Towns and Villages of the Province of Logón or Lógone 641

VI. Copy of a Dispatch from Lord Palmerston 642

VII. Historical Sketch of Wádáy 643

VIII. Ethnographical Account of Wáday 649

IX. Government of Wádáy 654

X. Collection of Itineraries for fixing the Topography of Wádáy, and those parts of Bagírmi which I did not visit myself 663

I. Roads from Más-eñá to Wára 663

II. Routes in the Interior of Wádáy 667

III. Routes in the Interior of Bagírmi 677

XI. Fragments of a Meteorological Register 695

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

IN

THE SECOND VOLUME.

	Page
Músgu Chief	*Frontispiece.*
Ground-plan of House in Kúkawa	46
Ground-plan of the Town of Kúkawa	50
Kúlu-Kemé, the open Water of the Tsád	69
Shores of Lake Tsád	73
The Seghëum of the Marghí	107
Double Peak of Mount Mindif	115
View of Mountain Chain of U'ba	129
Mountain	130
Another Mountain	131
Mount Kilba-Gáya	131
Mountain Chain, Fingting	132
Mbutúdi	136
Mount Hólma	141
Mount Kurúlu	145
Ground-plan of Huts	146
Couch-screen	148
Picturesque Cone	149
Mountain Range beyond Saráwu	154
Mount Kónkel	155
Tépe, the confluence of the Bénuwé and Fáro	165
The Governor's Audience-hall	182
Picturesque Cone	201
Demsa-Póha	204
Múglebu	208
Ground-plan of Hut in Múbi	211
Household Furniture	212
Hand-bill	214
Shield	218
Different Shape of Huts	226
Yó and the Komádugu	251
Herd of Elephants near the Tsád	263
Bír El Ftáim	287
Hénderí Síggesí	299
Kánembú Chief	314

Page
Granary 355
Landscape of the Músgu Country 365
Encampment in Forest 372
Shallow Water (Ngáljam) at Démmo 377
Landscape in Wúliya 399
Bárëa and the Deléb Palm 404
Harpoon 405
Ornamented Granary 414
Ground-plan of Building 414
Interior of Dwelling 415
Encampment at Wáza 421
Ground-plan of Palace in Logón Bírni 446
Logón Bírni 460
The Sháŗí at Mélé 468
Ground-plan of Town of Más-eñá 516
Más-eñá, Return of the Sultan from the Expedition 529
Hoe 672

TRAVELS AND DISCOVERIES

IN

AFRICA.

CHAPTER XXIX.

AUTHENTICITY AND GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE HISTORY OF BÓRNU.

ANY writer who attempts to recall from obscurity and oblivion the past ages of an illiterate nation, and to lay before the public even the most elementary sketch of its history, will probably have to contend against the strong prejudices of numerous critics, who are accustomed to refuse belief to whatever is incapable of bearing the strictest inquiry.

The documents upon which the history of Bórnu is based, besides the scanty information contained in the narratives of recent explorers, are,

1. A chronicle ("diván"), or rather the dry and sterile abridgment of a chronicle, comprising the whole history of Bórnu from the earliest time down to Ibrahím, the last unfortunate offspring of the royal family, who had just ascended the crumbling throne of the Bórnu empire when the last English expedition arrived in that country. 6 pp. 4to.*

2. Two other still shorter lists of the Bórnu kings.

3. A detailed history of the first twelve years of the reign of

* Of this document I have sent a copy from Kúkawa to the Leipsic Oriental Society; and a translation of it has been published in the Journal (Zeitschrift) of that society in the year 1852, p. 305, ff., with notes by M. Blau.

the King Edrís Alawóma, consisting of two parts, in my copy one of 77 and the other of 145 pages, and written by a contemporary of the above-mentioned king, the Imám Ahmed, son of Sofíya. Of this very interesting and important history a copy was forwarded by the late Vizier of Bórnu, Háj Beshír ben Tiráb, at my urgent request,* to her Britannic majesty's government, and is now in the Foreign Office; another copy I myself have brought back.

4. A few facts regarding the history of this country, mentioned by Arabic writers, such as E'bn S'aíd (A.D. 1282), E'bn Batúta (A.D. 1353), E'bn Khaldún (A.D. 138½), and Makrízi (about A.D. 1400), Leo Africanus (A.D. 1528).

5. A short document containing information about embassies sent to Tripoli by some Bórnu kings, and published in the "Bulletin de la Société Géographique de Paris," 1849, 252, ff.

I now proceed to inquire into the character of the first of these documents, which is the only one among them comprising the whole history of Bórnu, and which therefore forms the basis of our tables. The most momentous question is upon what authority this document rests, and when it was compiled. As for the first point, I have been assured by Shitíma Makarémma (a man intimately connected with the old dynasty, who made the two copies for me, and of whom some notice will be found in my journal) that it is a mere extract from a more voluminous work, which he represented to me as still existing, but which I was unable to procure, as it is carefully concealed. The whole business of collecting documents and information relative to the history of the old dynasty was most difficult, and demanded much discretion, as the new dynasty of the Kánemíyín endeavors to obliterate as much as possible the memory of the old Kanúri dynasty, and has assiduously destroyed all its records wherever they could be laid hold of.

As regards the time when the chronicle, of which the manuscript in question is a very meagre and incorrect abridgment, was written, it is stated that the various parts of it were com-

* See a letter of mine from Kúkawa, November 20, 1852, addressed to Chevalier Bunsen, and published in Petermann's Mittheilungen, 1855, p. 7.

posed at different times, at the beginning of every new reign; and the question is, when the Kanúri people, or rather their 'ulama, began to commit to writing the most important facts of their history. This question we are fortunately enabled, from Imám Ahmed's work, to answer satisfactorily; namely, that there existed no written record whatever of the history of his country previous to the King Edrís Katakarmábi, whose reign falls in the first half of the sixteenth century of our era. For when that writer refers to facts of the older history, he is only able to cite as his authority oral information received from old men versed in historical tradition; and he evidently mentions as the oldest author of a written history the fákih Masfárma 'Omár ben 'Othmán, who wrote the history of the king in question.

The annals, therefore, of the time preceding the period of this king and of his predecessor, 'Ali Gajidéni, appear to be based entirely upon oral information, and can not but be liable to a certain degree of inaccuracy as to the actions attributed to each king, the length of their respective reigns, and even the order of succession, where it was not dependent on genealogy or descent. For it would be the extreme of hypercriticism to deny that the royal family of Bórnu, in the middle of the sixteenth century, could not or may not justly be supposed to have preserved with great precision their line of descent for fifteen or twenty generations; and in this respect the chronicle No. 1 is entirely confirmed and borne out by Imám Ahmed, who, in the introduction to his history, gives the pedigree of his master, Edrís Alawóma, up to his first royal ancestor, while the difference in the form of the names, and one slight variance in the order of succession, as given by these two documents, is a plain proof that they have not been borrowed from each other, but have been based on independent authorities.

The disagreement in question is certainly a remarkable one, but it is easily explained. For Makrízi, in harmony with the extract from the chronicle, names the father of the kings Edrís and Dáud (whose reign he places about the year 700 of the Hejra) Ibrahím, while Imám Ahmed calls them sons of Nikále, son

of Ibrahím; and this is the general statement of the natives of the country even at the present time, every educated man knowing "Dáúd tata Nikálebe," or Dáúd Nikálemi. The fact is that the name Bíri, which the chronicle attributes to the father of Ibrahím, the grandfather of Edrís and Dáúd, being a variation of the form Bíram, is identical with Ibrahím, whence it appears that Nikále was another name of Ibrahím, the son of Bíri. The same is the case with regard to the names A'hmed and Dúnama, which are identical, if not with regard to their meanings, at least with regard to their applications, as well as the names Sélma or Sélmama and 'Abd el Jelíl.

This general harmony between the pedigree of the Bórnu kings as given by the chronicle No. 1 and the Imám A'hmed, a learned and clever man in a high position, and in constant connection with the court, is, I think, very satisfactory, and the more so if we take into consideration that, from a reason which I shall soon mention, and which, at the same time, is a strong argument in favor of the authenticity of these two documents, the pedigree as given by them is not the only one current in Bórnu, but the line of descent and succession varies greatly in one of the two other short chronicles which are mentioned in No. 2, while the third one, which does not appear to make any pretensions to completeness, can not be taken into account here. Hence, as far as regards the line of descent or succession, I have not thought these two lists worthy of attention, except only with regard to the reign following that of the 58th king, if we count the reign of the usurper S'aíd 'Alí, the son of Háj 'Omár. For here the chronicle No. 1 has omitted, by mistake or negligence, the well-established reign of Edrís ben 'Alí, who, succeeding to his father 'Alí, preceded his younger brother Dúnama ben 'Alí, and reigned 20 years.*

What I have here said with regard to the authenticity of the chronicle refers only to the line of descent and succession of

* Indeed, in the copy which I sent to Europe, the copyist has corrected this error; but, unfortunately, instead of inserting this reign in the right place, he has added the twenty years to the thirty-three years of the reign of the elder Edrís ben 'Alí.

the kings mentioned; but, of course, it is quite another question, if we take into view the length of time attributed to the reign of each succeeding king. But even here the dates of the chronicle are confirmed in a most surprising and satisfactory manner by the history of Imám A'hmed, who, in relating the successful expedition of Edrís A''aishámi to Kánem, states that from the time when Dáúd Nikálemi was obliged to leave his capital Njímiye, down to the period when Edrís made his entrance into it, 122 years elapsed. Now, according to the dates of the chronicle, between the end of the reign of Dáúd and the beginning of the reign of Edrís, who is expressly stated by the historian to have undertaken that expedition in the first year of his reign, there intervened exactly 121 years. And, indeed, we see from the imám's account, that most people thought this was the real length of the period, and not 122 years; so well were the educated inhabitants of Bórnu at that time acquainted with the history of their country. Perhaps, also, Imám A'hmed wishes here to refute Masfárma, the historian of Edrís A''aishámi, who adhered to the general opinion.

Unfortunately, the length of the several reigns is our only guide with regard to the chronology of this history, as neither the chronicle nor even Imám A'hmed specifies particular years with reference to any of the events which they mention. This is indeed a very great defect, not so apparent in the dry chronicle as in the account of the learned priest; and it seems almost inconceivable, as he is very particular, not only with regard to seasons, but even to months and days, mentioning with great exactness on what day of the month his master did so and so, and even disputing, in this respect, slight variations of opinion. If he had only given us the date of a single year, we should be much better off as to the chronology of the history of Bórnu. As it is, if we put out of account other chronological data which we are fortunately in possession of, in order to reduce to chronology the events mentioned by the chronicle, we can only reckon backward the number of years attributed by it to the reign of each successive king, commencing from the death of Sultan Dúnama, who, in the year A.H. 1233, was killed in the battle

at Ngála (written "Ghála" in Arabic, but called "Angala" by the members of the former expedition).*

If we now count together the years attributed to each reign, proceeding in a backward order, and beginning with the end of the year H. 1233, we obtain, in an inverse order, the following chronological dates for the more important periods of the history of Bórnu.

	A.H.	A.D.
Beginning of the reign of Ayúma	391	1000, 1
Beginning of the reign of Humé, the first Moslim king	479	1086
Reign of Dúnama Dibalemi, the warlike and daring king who spoiled the talisman of Bórnu	618–658	1221–1259, 60
Beginning of the reign of Ibrahim Nikalemi	707	1307
Beginning of the reign of Edrís ben Ibrahim	754	1353
End of the reign of Dáúd, who succumbed to the Bulála	789	1387
End of the reign of 'Othman ben Edrís	795	1392, 3
The reign of 'Omár, who abandoned his residence in Kánem altogether, ceding it to the Bulála	796–799	1393–1396
Beginning of the reign of 'Alí Dúnamámi	877	1472
Beginning of the reign of Edrís Katarkamábi	911	1505
Beginning of the reign of Edrís Alawóma	980	1572
Beginning of the reign of Háj 'Omar	1036	1626, 7
Beginning of the reign of 'Alí ben Háj 'Omár	1055	1645

* I have here to correct an error made by Mr. Blau, the translator of the chronicle, who, owing to a mere slip of the pen in the document, has been induced to insert between the reign of the 50th, or, according to him (as he does not count the usurper S'aíd), the 49th king, Mohammed son of Edrís, and the 51st, 'Alí son of Zineb, another king also named Mohammed, with a reign likewise of 19 years. But to every one who reads the chronicle with attention, and is aware of its negligent character, it must be evident that in the article in question it is only by mistake that Mohammed, when mentioned the second time, is called the son of Dúnama instead of Edrís. There is certainly some difficulty in the passage in question, with regard to the circumstance that this prince is said to have resided 19 (years?) at Ladé; but it is easily to be explained, when we remember that even at the present day there is such a place in the neighborhood of old Bírni (Denham and Clapperton's Travels, vol. i., p. 150, 152); another place of the same name was situated a few days N.E. from Ghámbarú, on the road to Kánem. But, be this as it may, the historical introduction of Imám A'hmed to his account of the reign of Edrís A'aishámi Alawóma, where he passes in review the proceedings of this king's predecessors with regard to Kánem, leaves not the least doubt about the line of succession. As for the length of the reign of Edrís ben 'Alí, the 54th king, there was, as I have mentioned above, a mistake in the copy from which the translation was made, giving 53 years instead of 33: but these 20 years just compensate for the 20 years of the homonymous King Edrís ben 'Alí, which, just on account of the homonymy, have been left out by mistake, adding the 20 years due to him to the reign of the elder king of the same name.

Having obtained these dates, we have first to observe that to fill up the period from Ayúma to Dhu Yazan, the presumed ancestor of the Séfuwa, and even known as such to Abú 'l Fedá as well as to Makrízi, and whose age (as being that of a man who predicted the coming of the prophet) is fixed beyond all doubt, only six generations are left. This is the circumstance which I mentioned above as speaking greatly in favor of the authenticity of this chronicle and its genealogies, even with regard to the more remote times; for, if it had not been necessary to preserve scrupulously a well-established line of succession, how easy would it have been to introduce a few more individuals in order to fill up this blank, as has been done in the other list (*b*), instead of admitting the palpable nonsense of attributing to the two oldest kings a reign of from 250 to 300 years. Even Séf and Ibrahím, the first two princes of the line, are, I think, quite historical persons, whose existence was so well established that a conscientious chronicler could not change any thing in the number of years attributed to the length of their reigns.

Following, therefore, the hints given to us by the chronicle itself, we fix the foundation of the dynasty of the Séfuwa in Kánem about the middle of the third century after Mohammed, or a little before the year 900 of our era. We shall afterward return to this circumstance.

Now we shall first see how triumphantly the authenticity of the chronicle is confirmed in every respect by the occasional remarks made by Makrízi and Ebn Batúta with regard to the history of Bórnu.

Unfortunately, the oldest date which Makrízi (on the authority, as it would seem, of Eb'n S'aíd) mentions with regard to Kánem,* namely, an expedition made by its king into the fertile districts of Mábiná in the year H. 650, can not be used as a sufficient test of the authenticity of the chronicle, as the historian does not mention the name of the king: but the deed itself harmonizes exceedingly well with the warlike and enterprising character of Dúnama Díbalámi, whose reign, according to our chronicle, falls between the years 618 and 658. Just the same

* Hamaker, Specimen Catal., p. 107.

is to be said of the fact mentioned by E'bn Khaldún, who, in his valuable history of the Berbers, which has been recently made accessible to all, relates* the interesting fact that, among other valuable presents, a giraffe was sent by the King of Kánem (to whom, even at that early date, he gives the title of "Master of Bórnu") to Abú 'Abd-Allah el Mostánser, the King of Tunis, in the year of the Hejra 655. The same historian, in another passage of his work, referring to the year 656, mentions again the King of Kánem as having caused the death of a son of Kárakosh el Ghozzi el Modáfferi, the well-known adventurous chieftain who had tried to establish himself in Wadán.†

But, fortunately, we have other data which afford us a very fair test. According to Makrízi,‡ not long after the close of the seventh century of the Hejra (fi hedúd sennet seb'a mayet), the king of Kánem was Háj Ibrahím; after him reigned his son, El Háj Edrís—the historian does not say that he immediately succeeded his father; then Dáúd, the brother of Edrís, and another son of Ibrahím; then 'Omar, the son of Dáúd's elder brother, Háj Edrís; and then 'Othmán, the brother of the former, and another son of Edrís. Makrízi adds that this last-named king reigned shortly before A.H. 800; and then he states that the inhabitants of Kánem revolted against the successors of Ibrahím, and made themselves independent, but that Bórnu remained their kingdom.

All these dates given by Makrízi, as may be seen from the few most important events which I have extracted from the chronicle, are in most surprising harmony with the information conveyed in a dry and sterile but uncorrupted way by the latter. Notwithstanding the slight discrepancy in the order of succession of the later kings, whose reign was of very short

* E'bn Khaldún, ed. Macguckin de Slane, Algér., 1847, vol. i., p. 429. With regard to the friendship existing between the Beni Háfis and the kings of Kánem, see E'bn Khaldún, vol. i., p. 263.

† E'bn Khaldún, vol. i., p. 300, transl. vol. ii., p. 96. E'bn Khaldún, according to his own statement, follows here the authority of the sheikh Abú-Mohammed, e' Tijáni. Compare Journal Asiatique, 4me série, vol. xx., p. 158.

‡ Makrízi, Hamaker, Specimen Catal., p. 206. Makrízi is mistaken in supposing Kánem to be a town and the capital of Bórnu.

duration, and whose relationship is rather perplexing, is it possible to find a harmony more complete than this, if we take into consideration the only way in which Makrízi could have obtained his information, that is to say, from merchants or pilgrims visiting Egypt on their way to Mekka?*

We now come to E'bn Batúta; and we again find the same surprising harmony between the fact regarding Bórnu, as mentioned by him, and the dates of the chronicle. The famous and enterprising traveler of Tangiers, on his return-journey from his visit to Western Sudán, left the capital of Mélle or Máli (that is, Mungo Park's Jára) the 22d of Moharrem, 754, and, proceeding by way of Timbúktu or Túmbutu, and thence down the I'sa or Niger to Gágho or Gógo, and thence to Tekádda,† in speaking about the copper found in the mines near this town,

* Makrízi has two other interesting statements with regard to the kings of Kánem, which, although they certainly can not lay claim to absolute accuracy, nevertheless have evidently reference to certain facts which the diligent historian, placed at such a distance from the object of his inquiry, has not rightly understood. The first of these passages (Hamaker, p. 206) states that Mohammed the son of Jíl (so—جيل—the name is to be read, instead of the absurd Jebl or Jabal), that is, most probably, Jíl Shikomémi, the founder of the dynasty of the Bulála, was the first of them who accepted the Mohammedan creed: this statement evidently regards the dynasty of the Bulála, who, at the time when Makrízi wrote, had driven the Bórnu dynasty out of Kánem, and it does not at all affect the statement of the chronicle, which calls Humé the first Moslim king of Bórnu. The second passage of the celebrated historian of Egypt (Quatremère, Mémoires sur l'Egypt, t. ii., p. 28; Burckhardt, Travels in Nubia, 2d edit., App. iii., p. 456, f.) is very remarkable; and, although we are not yet able to understand perfectly its real purport, nevertheless it seems to refer to some circumstance of great interest; for, according to this statement, the Islám was introduced into Kánem by Hády el 'Othmáni, a pretended descendant of the Khalif 'Othmán, even before the period of the Séfuwa, or the Yazaníyín (descendants of Dhu Yazan). Here the excellent inquirer has most probably confounded the successors of Humé with the Dúguwa, forgetting that even the dynasty of the pagan Dúguwa belonged to the Séfuwa. In other respects this statement is in perfect harmony with the common tradition of the Bórnu people—that the Islám was brought to the Séfuwa, when they were still settled in Búrgu, by a special messenger of the Prophet.

† See vol. i., p. 365. I will here only mention that the forty days' journey stated by E'bn Batúta to intervene between Tekádda and Bórnu are to be counted, as it seems, to Njímiye, the old capital of Kanem; Bírni, or rather Ghasréggomo, at least, not being founded at that time.

relates that the bars made of it were exported to Góber and Rágha (or rather Ragháy), and also to Bórnu, and then adds the interesting fact that the name of the ruling king of the latter country was Edrís.

Now, if we follow implicitly the dates of the chronicle, Edrís ben Ibrahím (Nikále) ascended the throne in that very year (753) when, according to this precious and unimpeachable testimony of the illustrious and intelligent traveler, he actually occupied the throne.

The very remarkable and really surprising harmony here shown to exist between the chronicle and the dates which have come to our knowledge from other sources will, I hope, give to any unprejudiced mind some degree of confidence in the authenticity of that document, and will make him aware of its superiority over the information of a man like Leo Africanus, or rather Hasen Ebn Mohammed el Wasás, who, though he undoubtedly has, and will always have, the merit of having given to Europe a clear general view of the political and linguistic groups of Central Africa, yet, on account of the manner in which his report was drawn up (merely from memory, after the lapse of many years), can not be a decisive authority on any special circumstance. Hence, when he states that the name of the King of Bórnu, at the time when he visited the country, was Abraham (Ibrahím), we may confidently assume that he is wrong, and that he speaks of the illustrious conqueror 'Alí ben Dúnama, who restored peace and glory to that distracted country, and, on account of his warlike character and his various expeditions, obtained the surname El Gházi. I shall return to this subject in the chronological table, in speaking of the reign of 'Alí ben Dúnama.

As for the document mentioned above as No. 5, it contains a few valuable dates with regard to those Bórnu kings who reigned near the time when the author obtained his information in Tripoli, while for the older times, about which the people could only inform him "*par tradition de leurs pères*," his information is of little value. The most important dates which it contains are those which have reference to the time of the accession

to the throne of the three Bórnu kings, 'Abd-Allah ben Dúnama, Háj 'Omar, and Háj 'Ali; and these vary but little from the dates computed from the chronicle, and serve, therefore, to confirm its accuracy.

However, it is not my design to vindicate this chronicle from all possibility of error; but my object is to show that its general character, dry and meagre as it is, has the strongest claim to authenticity. Indeed, I am sure that it can be fully relied upon, all uncertainty being reduced to a space of one or two years; I may therefore be allowed to assert that the chronological table, which I shall give in the Appendix, is something more than a mere fairy tale. But in this place, I think it well to offer a few general remarks on the characteristic features of the history of Bórnu.

I have first to speak of the origin of the Séfuwa or Dúguwa. We have already seen that the chronology of the Bórnu people, if palpable absurdities be left out of consideration, does not carry their history further down than the latter half of the ninth century of our era. Accordingly, there can be no further question as to whether Séf was really the son of the celebrated Dhu Yazan, and identical with Séf Dhu Yazan, the last native ruler of the Himyaritic kingdom, who celebrated his accession to the throne in the famous castle of Gumdán, and with the assistance of Khosru Parvis liberated Yeman from the dominion of the Abyssinians. I frankly confess that, while Ibrahím the son of Séf, as "father of the king" (as he appears to have been entitled occasionally), seems to me to have a really historical character, I entertain sincere doubts whether Séf be not a mere imaginary personage, introduced into the pedigree expressly in order to connect it with Yeman. Indeed, in one short list of Bórnu kings which I possess, several princes are mentioned before Séf, whose names, such as Futírmi, Hálar Sukayámi, Halármi, Bunúmi, Rizálmi, Mairímí, have quite a Kanúri character. As the reader will see, I do not at all doubt of some connection existing between the ruling family of Bórnu and the Himyaritic or Kushitic stock, but I doubt its immediate descent from the royal Himyaritic family.

But, be this as it may, I think that Leo Africanus, who is a very good authority for general relations, is right in stating that the kings of Bórnu originated from the Libyan tribe of the Bardoa, a tribe also mentioned by Makrízi as Berd'oa. That there is an ethnological connection between the names Bérnu or Bórnu, Bónga, Berd'oa, Berdáma, Berauni, Berber, can scarcely be doubted; but to many the Berd'oa might seem to have nearer relation with the Tedá or Tébu than with the real Berber or Mazígh. Sultan Béllo certainly, in the introduction to his history of the conquests of the Fúlbe, expressly says that the Bórnu dynasty was of Berber origin; and it is on this account that the Háusa people call every Bórnu man "ba-Bérberche,"* and the Bórnu nation "Bérbere." This view of the subject is confirmed by the distinct statement of Makrízi,† who says that that was the common tradition of the people at his time—"it is said that they are descended from the Berbers"—and, moreover, in another passage‡ informs us that the King of Kánem was a nomade or wanderer, although it seems that this statement refers properly to the Bulála dynasty.

Before the time of Sélma, or Sélmama, the son of Bíkoru, whose reign began about A.H. 581, the kings are stated by the chronicle to have been of a red complexion,§ like the Arabs; and to such an origin from the red race, the Syrian-Berber stock, is certainly to be referred their custom of covering the face and never showing the mouth, to which custom E'bn Batúta adverts in speaking of King Edrís, who ruled in his time. To this origin is also to be referred the custom, till recently practiced, of putting the new king upon a shield and raising him up over the heads of the people,‖ as well as the polity of the empire, which originally was entirely aristocratical, based

* This "ba" is evidently the indefinite article a, corresponding to the Berber "va." Compare what I have said in vol. i. about "ba-Túre."

† See the second passage referred to in the note, p. 23.

‡ Makrízi, Hamaker, p. 206, و هو بدوي رحال.

§ Even the governor of Zínder is still complimented in the songs to his praise as "já" (red).

‖ Compare with this custom E'bn Batúta's description of a similar custom in Timbúktu, Journal Asiat., série iv., t. i., p. 226.

upon a council of twelve chiefs, without whose assent nothing of importance could be undertaken by the king.

We have a very curious statement concerning the Bórnu empire, emanating from Lucas, the traveler employed by the African Association,* and based on the authority of his Arab informants, principally Ben 'Alí, who, no doubt, was a very clever and intelligent man. He describes the Bórnu kingdom as an elective monarchy, the privilege of choosing a successor among the sons of a deceased king, without regard to priority of birth, being conferred by the nation on three of the most distinguished men of the country. He does not say whether these belonged to the courtiers, or whether every private individual might be called upon promiscuously to fulfill this important duty; but the strict etiquette of the court of Bórnu makes it probable that the former was the case.

Be this as it may, the choice being made, the three electors proceeded to the apartment of the sovereign elect, and conducted him in silence to the gloomy place in which the unburied corpse of his deceased father was deposited; for, till this whole ceremony was gone through, the deceased could not be interred. There, over the corpse of his deceased father, the newly-elected king seems to have entered into some sort of compromise sanctioned by oath, binding himself that he would respect the ancient institutions, and employ himself for the glory of the country.

I shall have to mention a similar custom still prevailing at the present day in the province of Múniyó, which belonged to that part of the empire called Yerí, while the dynasty of the Múniyóma probably descended from the Berber race. Every newly elected Múniyóma still at the present day is in duty bound to remain for seven days in a cave hollowed out by nature or by the hand of man in the rock behind the place of sepulchre of the former Múniyóma, in the ancient town of Gámmasak, although it is quite deserted at present, and does not contain a living soul.

* Proceedings of the African Association, vol. i., p. 148, f.

But that not only the royal family, but even a great part of the whole nation, or rather one of the nations which were incorporated into the Bórnu empire, was of Berber origin, is still clear so late as the time of Edrís Alawóma, that is to say, only two centuries and a half ago; for, in the report of his expeditions, constant mention is made of the Berber tribes ("kabáil el Beráber") as a large component part of his army, and constantly two parts of this army are distinguished as the Reds, "el A´hhmar," and the Blacks, "e' Súd."*

This part of the population of Bórnu has separated from the rest, I suspect, in consequence of the policy of 'Alí, the son and successor of Háj 'Omár, a very warlike prince, who, in the second half of the 17th century, waged a long war with A´gades.

Viewed in the light thus shed by past history, the continual and uninterrupted warlike expeditions made by the Tawárek at the present time against the northern regions of Bórnu and against Kánem assume quite a new and far more interesting character.

Now if it be objected that the Kanúri or Bórnu language does not appear to contain any Berber elements† (which, indeed, it does not), I have only to adduce the exactly parallel example of the Bulála, a brother dynasty of the Bórnu royal family, descended from the same stock, who, having settled and founded a dynasty among the tribe of the Kúka, in the territory Fíttri, still continued to speak their native language, that is, the Kanúri, in the time of Leo,‡ but have now entirely forgotten it,

* Makrízi says of the inhabitants of Kánem in general that they were molá-themún, that is to say, they covered their faces with a lithám. The names of towns like Bérberwá and others may be also mentioned here. Compare Leo's expression, "Negri e Bianchi."

† In the vocabulary of the Kanúri language a few words may easily be discovered which have some relation to the Berber language, the most remarkable among which seems to me the term for ten, "meghú," which is evidently connected with the Temáshight word "meraú," or rather "meghaú;" but the grammar is entirely distinct, and approaches the Central Asiatic or Turanian stock.

‡ Leo, when he says that the language of Gaoga is identical with the Bórnu language, does not speak of the language of the whole nation, but only of that of the ruling tribe, the Bulála. But of this interesting fact I shall say more on another occasion.

adopting the language of the people over whom they ruled; and similar examples are numerous.

A second point which deserves notice is that the Kanúri, even at the present day, call people in general, but principally their kings, always after the name of their mother, and that the name of the mother's tribe is almost continually added in the chronicle as a circumstance of the greatest importance. Thus the famous king Dúnama ben Selm'aa is known in Bórnu generally only under the name of Díbalámi, from the name of his mother Díbala; and the full form of his royal title is Díbalámi Dúnama Selmámi, his mother's name, as the most noble and important, preceding his individual name, which is followed by the name derived from his father. It is also evident, even from the dry and jejune report of the chronicle, what powerful influence the Walíde or "Mágira"—this is her native title—exercised in the affairs of the kingdom; I need only mention the examples of Gúmsu ("gúmsu" means the chief wife) Fasámi, who imprisoned her son Bíri, when already king, for a whole year, and of A'aishad or 'Aisa, the mother of Edrís, who for a number of years exercised such paramount authority that in some lists, and even by many 'ulama at the present time, her name is inserted in the list of the sovereigns of the country.

These circumstances may be best explained by supposing that a kind of compromise took place between the strangers—Berbers, or, rather, Imóshagh (Mazígh) from the tribe of the Berd'or—and the tribe or tribes among whom they settled, just in the same manner as we have seen that a stipulation of the same kind was probably made between the conquering Kél-owí and the ancient inhabitants of Aïr of the Góber race; and the same circumstances, with similar results, are observable in ancient times, in the relations subsisting between the Grecian colonists and the original inhabitants of Lycia.

The most important among the indigenous tribes of Kánem are the Kíye or Beni Kíya, also mentioned in the time of Edrís Alawóma,* the Meghármah, who may possibly be identical with

* بنى كيه من اهل درق or قبيله كى. The diacritic points over

the Ghemármah, the Temághera* (evidently a Berber name), the Débiri, the Kúnkuna, at present established in Kárgá, and, finally, the Tébu or Tubu, or rather Tedá. Of all these the last-named constituted by far the most important and most numerous tribe. To them belonged the mother of Dúnama ben Humé, the most powerful of the older kings of Bórnu, who appears to have thrice performed the pilgrimage to Mekka. Indeed, it would seem that the real talisman which Díbalámi Dúnama Selmámi spoiled consisted in the friendly relation between the Berauni or Kanúri and the Tébu, which was so intimate that the name of Berauni, which originally belonged to the inhabitants of Bórnu, is still at present the common name given by the Tawárek to the Tébu; or, rather, the latter are a race intimately related to the original stock of the Kanúri, as must become evident to every unprejudiced mind that investigates their language.†

How powerful a tribe the Tedá were is sufficiently shown by the length of the war which they carried on with that very king

ق in the word درق have been omitted in the copy of the chronicle which I forwarded to Leipsic, and Mr. Blau therefore reads "Derw;" but where the name is mentioned by Imám Ahmed the points are never omitted. However, where the country Derk or Derg is to be looked for I can not say with any degree of certainty. I once thought that اهل درق might be the "people of the shields," or "armed with shields," like the Kánembú at present; but I have satisfied myself that this is not the case. The Kíye still at the present day form the chief portion of the Koyám.

* تماغره من اهل كرا. Kerá, not Keraw, is the name of the place which Mr. Blau (p. 332) tries to identify with Keráwa, the old capital of Mándará; but this is evidently wrong. There can be scarcely any doubt that the Temághera have given their name to the province Demágherim or Damágherim. The letter beginning the name was a ط.

† I shall say more on this subject in the historical introduction to my vocabularies. At present I can only refer the reader to a few remarks which I have made on the relation between the módi Tedá (the Tébu language) and the Kanúri, in a letter addressed to M. Lepsius, and published in Gumprecht's Monatsberichte (Journal of the Geographical Society of Berlin), 1854, vol. ii., p. 373. The Tedá, together with the Kanúri, formed the stock called by Makrízi زغاى (Zaghái) and السكى by Masúdi. (Meadows, l. xxxiii., p. 138).

Dúnama Selmámi, and which is said to have lasted more than seven years. Indeed, it would seem as if it had been only by the assistance of this powerful tribe that the successors of Jíl Shikoméni were able to found the powerful dynasty of the Bulála, and to lay the foundation of the great empire called by Leo Gaoga, comprehending all the eastern and northeastern parts of the old empire of Kánem, and extending at times as far as Dóngola, so that in the beginning of the sixteenth century it was larger than Bórnu.* Even in the latter half of the sixteenth century the Tedá appear to have constituted a large proportion of the military force of the Bulála in Kánem; and great numbers of them are said, by the historian of the powerful king Edrís Alawóma, to have emigrated from Kánem into Bórnu in consequence of the victories obtained by that prince over the Bulála. At that time they seem to have settled principally in the territories of the Koyám, a tribe very often mentioned in the book of Imám Ahmed as forming part of the Bórnu army, and with whom at present they are completely intermixed.† It is very remarkable that neither by the chronicle nor by the historian of Edrís Alawóma, the large tribe of the Mánga, which evidently formed a very considerable element in the formation of the Bórnu nation, is ever once mentioned.

While the tribes above enumerated were more or less absorbed by the empire of Kánem, and, in the course of time,

* This, I think, is also the meaning of Leo when he says (l. c., c. 7), "Il dominio del re di Borno, il quale ne à la minore" (parte). But Leo wrote just at the time when Bórnu was about again to rise to new splendor.

† However, even in the time of Lucas (Proceedings of the Afric. Assoc., vol. i., p. 119), great part at least of the Koyám were still living in Kánem. The I'keli, or, rather, "people of I'keli," اهل اكلى, mentioned by Makrízi, seem not to have constituted a separate tribe, although they had a chief or ملك of their own, there being not the least doubt that they were the inhabitants of the celebrated place I'keli, اكله, usually called Fúrtwa by the Bórnu people, about which I shall speak in the course of my journey to Kánem. A peculiar tribe is mentioned frequently by the Imám Ahmed as El Kaníyín, but I am not yet able to offer a well-established opinion with regard to them. With regard to the Arabs who are mentioned several times in Imám Ahmed's history as a powerful element in the population of Kánem, I shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

adopted the Mohammedan religion professed by its rulers, there was, on the other hand, a very numerous indigenous tribe which did not become amalgamated with the conquering element, but, on the contrary, continued to repel it in a hostile manner, and for a long time threatened its very existence. These were the "Soy" or "Só," a tribe settled originally in the vast territory inclosed toward the north and northwest by the komáduga Wáube, erroneously called the Yeou, and toward the east by the Shári, and divided, as it would seem, into several small kingdoms.

This powerful tribe was not completely subjugated before the time of Edrís Alawóma, or the latter part of the 16th century; and it might be matter of surprise that they are not mentioned at all by the chronicle before the middle of the 14th century, if it were not that even circumstances and facts of the very greatest importance are passed over in silence by this arid piece of nomenclature. It would therefore be very inconsistent to conclude from this silence that before the period mentioned the princes of Kánem had never come into contact with the tribe of the Soy; the reason why the chronicle, sparing as it is of information, could not any longer pass them over in silence was, that in the space of three years they had vanquished and killed four successive kings. The places mentioned in the list, where the first three of these princes were slain, can not be identified with absolute certainty; but as for Nánighám, where Mohammed ben 'Abd Allah was killed, it certainly lay close to and probably in the territory of the Soy. After this period we learn nothing with regard to this tribe until the time of Edrís Alawóma, although it seems probable that Edrís Nikálemi, the successor of Mohammed ben 'Abd Allah, and the contemporary of E'bn Batúta, had first to gain a victory over the Soy before he was able to sit down quietly upon his throne.

Altogether, in the history of Bórnu we can distinguish the following epochs. First, the rise of power in Kánem, Njímiye being the capital of the empire, silent and imperceptible till we see on a sudden, in the beginning of the 12th century, the powerful prince Dúnama ben Humé start forth under the impulse

of Islám, wielding the strength of a young and vigorous empire, and extending his influence as far as Egypt. The acme, or highest degree of prosperity of this period coincides with the reign of Díbalámi Dúnama Selmámi, in the middle of the 13th century, during the prime of the dynasty of the Beni Háfis in Tunis. But this reign already engendered the germs of decay; for during it the two cognate elements of which the empire consisted, namely, the Tedá and the Kanúri, were disunited, and it yielded too much influence to the aristocratical element, which was represented by the twelve great offices, an institution which seems to deserve particular attention.*

The consequence was that a series of civil wars and regicides ensued, interrupted only by the more tranquil reign of Ibrahím Nikálemi in the first half of the 14th century, which was followed, however, by the most unfortunate period of the empire, when the great native tribe of the Soy burst forth and killed four kings in succession. Then followed another respite from turmoil, just at the time when E'bn Batúta visited Negroland; but the son of the very king who in the time of that distinguished traveler ruled over Bórnu, fell the first victim in the struggle that ensued with a power which had arisen from the same root, had gained strength during the civil wars of Bórnu, and which now threatened to swallow it up altogether. This was the dynasty of the Bulála, which, originating with the fugitive Bórnu prince, Jíl Shikomémi, had established itself in the district of Fíttri over the tribe of the Kúka, and from thence spread its dominion in every direction, till, after a sanguinary struggle, it conquered Kánem, and forced the Kanúri dynasty to seek refuge in the western provinces of its empire about the year 1400 of our era.

The Bórnu empire (if we may give the name of empire to the shattered host of a belligerent tribe driven from their home and reduced to a few military encampments) for the next seventy years seemed likely to go to pieces altogether, till the great king 'Ali Dúnamámi opened another glorious period; for, hav-

* I shall say more of it in the chronological table, under the reign of Mohammed.

ing at length mastered the aristocratical element, which had almost overwhelmed the monarchy, he founded as a central point of government a new capital or "birni," Ghasréggomo, the empire having been without a fixed centre since the abandonment of Njímiye. It was in his time that Leo Africanus visited Negroland, where he found the Bulála empire (Gaoga) still in the ascendant; but this was changed in the beginning of the 16th century, even before the publication of his account; for in the one hundred and twenty-second (lunar) year from the time when 'Omár was compelled to abandon his royal seat in Njímiye, ceding the rich country of Kánem, the very nucleus of the empire, to his rivals, the energetic king Edrís Katakarmábi entered that capital again with his victorious army, and from that time down to the beginning of the present century Kánem has remained a province of Bórnu, although it was not again made the seat of government.

Altogether the 16th century is one of the most glorious periods of the Bórnu empire, adorned as it is by such able princes as the two Edrí's and Mohammed, while in Western Negroland the great Sónghay empire went to pieces, and was finally subjugated by Mulay Hámed el Mansúr, the Emperor of Morocco. Then followed a quieter period, and old age seemed gradually to gain on the kingdom, while pious and peaceful kings occupied the throne, till, in the middle of the last century, the energetic and enterprising king 'Ali 'Omármi began a violent struggle against that very nation from which the Bórnu dynasty had sprung, but which had now become its most fearful enemy—the Imóshagh or Tawárek. He made great exertions in every direction, but his efforts seem to have resembled the convulsions of death, and, being succeeded by an iudolent king, for such was A'hmed, the fatal hour which was to accomplish the extinction of the dynasty of the Séfuwa rapidly approached. At last, when the very centre of the empire had already fallen a prey to a new nation which had started forth on a career of glory, the Fúlbe or Felláta, there arose a stranger, a nationalized Arab, who, in saving the last remains of the kingdom, founded a new dynasty, that of the Kánemíyín, which, after having shone forth

very brightly under its founder, was recently reduced by civil discord, and seems now destined to a premature old age.

Having here offered this general view of the empire of Bórnu, I refer for particulars to the appended chronological tables, which, I trust, although very imperfect, particularly in the beginning, will yet form a sufficient groundwork wherewith to begin more profitable inquiries into the history of those regions than have been hitherto made.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE CAPITAL OF BÓRNU.

HAVING endeavored to impart to the reader a greater interest in the country by relating its former history, as far as I was able to make it out, I shall now give an account of my stay in Kúkawa before setting out on my journey to Adamáwa.

Regarding Kúkawa only as the basis of my further proceedings, and as a necessary station already sufficiently known to the European public by the long stay of the former expedition, I endeavored to collect as much information as possible with regard to the surrounding countries. Two of my friends were distinguished by a good deal of Mohammedan learning, by the precision with which they recollected the countries they had wandered through, and by dignified manners; but they differed much in character, and were inclined to quarrel with each other as often as they happened to meet in my house.

These two men, to whom I am indebted for a great deal of interesting and precise information, were the Arab Ahmed bel Mejúb, of that division of the tribe of the Welád bu-Seb'a who generally live in the Wadi Sákiyet el Hamra, to the south of Morocco, and the Púllo Ibrahím, son of the Sheikh el Mukhtár, in Kaháide on the Senegal, and cousin of the late Mohammed el Amín, the energetic prince of Fúta-Tóro. Ahmed had traveled over almost the whole of Western Africa, from Arguín on the ocean as far as Bagírmi, and had spent several years in

Adamáwa, of which country he first gave me an exact description, especially with regard to the direction of the rivers. He was a shrewd and very intelligent man, yet he was one of those Arabs who go round all the courts of the princes of Negroland, to whatever creed or tribe they may belong, and endeavor to obtain from them all they can by begging and by the parade of learning. I esteemed him on account of his erudition, but not in other respects.

Quite a different person was the Púllo Ibrahím—a very proud young man, fully aware of the ascendency, and strongly marked with the distinguishing character of the nation to which he belonged. He had performed the pilgrimage to Mekka, crossing the whole breadth of Africa from west to east, from warm religious feeling mixed up with a little ambition, as he knew that such an exploit would raise him highly in the esteem of his countrymen, and secure to him a high position in life. He had been two years a hostage in Ndér (St. Louis), and knew something about the Europeans. It had struck him that the French were not so eager in distributing Bibles as the English, while he had truly remarked that the former were very sensible of the charms of the softer sex, and very frequently married the pretty daughters of the Dembaséga. He obtained from me, first the Zabúr, or the Psalms of David, which even the Arabs esteem very highly, and would esteem much more if they were translated into a better sort of Arabic, and afterward the whole Bible, which he wished to take with him on his long land-journey.

The Arabs and the Fúlbe, as is well known, are in almost continual warfare all along the line from the Senegal as far as Timbúktu; and it was most interesting for me to see him and Ahmed in violent altercation about the advantages of their respective nations, while I was thereby afforded an excellent means of appreciating their reports with regard to the state of the tribes and countries along the Senegal. The way in which they began to communicate to me their information was in itself expressive of their respective characters, Ahmed protesting that, before he dared to communicate with me, he was compelled

to ask the permission of the vizier, while Ibrahím laughed at him, declaring that he felt himself fully authorized to give me any information about Negroland. Ibrahím became an intimate friend of mine, and took a lively interest in me, particularly commiserating my lonely situation in a foreign country, far from home, without the consolations of female companionship.

As an example of the risks which European travelers may incur by giving medicines to natives to administer to themselves at home, I will relate the following incident. Ibrahím told me one day that he wanted some cooling medicine, and I gave him two strong doses of Epsom salts, to use occasionally. He then complained the following day that he was suffering from worms; and when I told him that the Epsom salts would not have the effect of curing this complaint, but that worm-powder would, he begged me to give him some of the latter; and I gave him three doses, to use on three successive days. However, my poor friend, though an intelligent man, thought that it might not be amiss to take all this medicine at once, viz., four ounces of Epsom salts and six drachms of worm-powder; and the reader may imagine the effect which this dose produced upon a rather slender man. Unfortunately, I had just taken a ride out of the town; and he remained for full two days in a most desperate state, while his friends, who had sent in vain to my house to obtain my assistance, were lamenting to all the people that the Christian had killed their companion, the pious pilgrim.

Besides these two men, there were many interesting strangers at that time in Kúkawa, from whom I learned more or less. Some of them I shall here mention, as their character and story will afford the reader a glance at one side of life in Negroland. A man who had performed travels of an immense extent, from Khórasán in the east as far as Sansándi in the west, and from Tripoli and Morocco in the north as far as Asiantí and Jenakhéra and Fertít toward the south, would have been of great service if he had preserved an exact recollection of all the routes which he had followed in his devious wanderings; but, as it was, I could only gather from him some general information, the most interesting part of which had reference to Mósi, or rather

Móre, a large and populous country, known by name already from Sultan Béllo's curious communications to Captain Clapperton, but always misplaced in the maps, and its capital Wóghodoghó.

This enterprising man, who generally traveled as a dervish, had gone from Sofára on the Máyo balléo or Niger, between Hamdallâhi and Ségo, across a most unsettled country, to Wóghodoghó; but he was unable to give me any precise details with regard to it, and I never met another person who had traveled this dangerous route. He had also traveled all along the pagan states to the south of Bagírmi and Wadáy, and advised me strongly, if it were my plan to penetrate to the upper Nile (as, indeed, I then intended, notwithstanding my total want of means), to adopt the character of a dervish, which he deemed essential for my success. But while such a character might, indeed, insure general success, it would preclude the possibility of making any accurate observations, and would render necessary the most painful, if not insupportable privations. And, on the whole, this poor fellow was less fortunate than I; for in the year 1854 he was slain on that very route from Yóla to Kúkawa which I myself had twice passed successfully. He was a native of Baghdád, and called himself Sheríf Ahmed el Baghdádi.

There was another singular personage, a native of Sennár, who had been a clerk in the Turkish army, but, as malicious tongues gave out, had been too fond of the cash intrusted to his care, and absconded. He afterward resided some years in Wadáy, where he had drilled a handful of the sultan's slaves, had come to this kingdom to try his fortune, and was now about to be sent to Wadáy by the Sheikh of Bórnu, as a spy, to see if the prince of that country had still any design of recommencing hostilities. From all persons of this description a traveler may learn a great deal; and, intriguing fellows as they generally are, and going from court to court spreading reports every where, prudence requires that he should keep on tolerably good terms with them.

Most interesting and instructive was a host of pilgrims from

different parts of Másena or Mélle, partly Fúlbe, partly Sónghay, who, having heard of the white man, and of his anxiety to collect information respecting all parts of the continent, came repeatedly to me to contribute each his share. I used to regale them with coffee, while they gave me ample opportunities of comparing and testing their statements. The most interesting and best informed among them were Bu-Bakr, a native of Hamdalláhi, the capital of the sheikh (sekho) Ahmedu ben Ahmedu, who, having made a pilgrimage to Mekka, had long resided in Yeman, and was now returning homeward with a good deal of knowledge; and another cheerful and simple-hearted old man from Sá, on the Isa or Niger, between Hamdalláhi and Timbúktu. Indeed, as the report of Ahmed bel Mejúb about Adamáwa had confirmed me in my determination to sacrifice every thing in order to visit that country as soon as possible, so the manifold information of these people with respect to the countries on the middle course of the so-called Niger excited in me a most ardent desire to execute the design, previously but vaguely entertained, of accomplishing also a journey westward to Timbúktu.

Among my Bórnu friends at this time, the most instructive were Shitíma Makarémma and A'msakay. The former, who had been a courtier under the old dynasty, and who had saved his life by his intrigues, was a very intelligent old man, but an acknowledged rascal, to whom unnatural vices, which seem in general entirely unknown in these regions, were imputed. Nevertheless, he was the only man who was master of all the history of the old dynasty; and he spoke the Kanúri language with such exquisite beauty as I have never heard from any body else. He had two very handsome daughters, whom he succeeded in marrying, one to the vizier and one to his adversary, 'Abd e' Rahmán; but in December, 1853, he was executed, together with the vizier, but on totally different grounds, as having long forfeited his life. Quite a different sort of man was A'msakay, a simple Kánemma chief, who has been represented in one of my sketches. He had formerly distinguished himself by his expeditions against the Búdduma, till those enterprising

islanders succeeded in conciliating him by the gift of one of their handsome daughters for a wife, when he became half settled among them.

I had also some interesting pagan instructors, among whom I will only mention Agíd Búrku, a very handsome youth, but who had undergone the horrible process of castration. The abolition of this practice in the Mohammedan world ought to be the first object of Christian governments and missionaries, not merely on account of the unnatural and desecrated state to which it reduces a human being, but on account of the dreadful character of the operation itself, which, in these countries at least, is the reason why scarcely one in ten survives it. With extreme delight, Agíd Búrku dwelt upon the unconstrained nudity in which his countrymen indulged, and with great *naïveté* described a custom of the pagans, which is identical with a custom of the civilized Europeans, but is an abomination in the eyes of every Mohammedan. He had wandered about a good deal in the southern provinces of Bagírmi and Wadáy, and gave me the first information about the interesting mountain group near Kénga Matáya.

But I must principally dwell upon my relations to the vizier El Háj Beshír ben Ahmed Tiráb, upon whose benevolent disposition the whole success of the mission depended, as he ruled entirely the mind of the sheikh, who was more sparing of words, and less intelligent.

Mohammed el Beshír, being the son of the most influential man in Bórnu after the sheikh, enjoyed all the advantages which such a position could offer for the cultivation of his mind, which was by nature of a superior cast. He had gone on a pilgrimage to Mekka in the year 1843, by way of Ben-Gházi, when he had an opportunity both of showing the Arabs near the coast that the inhabitants of the interior of the continent are superior to the beasts, and of getting a glimpse of a higher state of civilization than he had been able to observe in his own country.

Having thus learned to survey the world collectively from a new point of view, and with an increased eagerness after every

thing foreign and marvelous, he returned to his native country, where he soon had an opportunity of proving his talent, his father being slain in the unfortunate battle at Kúsuri, and Sheikh 'Omár, a fugitive in his native country, having much need of a faithful counselor in his embarrassed situation. The sheikh was beset by a powerful and victorious host, encamping in the largest of the towns of his kingdom, while the party of the old dynasty was rising again, and not only withdrawing from him the best forces wherewith to face the enemy, but threatening his very existence, at the same time that a brother was standing in fierce rivalry to him at the head of a numerous army. Sheikh 'Omár was successful, the host of Wadáy was obliged to withdraw, and, abandoning the purpose for which they had come, namely, that of re-establishing the old dynasty, commenced a difficult retreat of many hundred miles at the beginning of the rainy season; the partisans of the old dynasty were entirely crushed, the last prince of that family slain, the residence of the sultans leveled to the ground, and even the remembrance of the old times was almost effaced. There remained to be feared only his brother 'Abd e' Rahmán. 'Abd e' Rahmán was a good soldier, but a man of very loose and violent character. When a youth he had committed all sorts of violence and injustice, carrying off young brides by force to indulge his passions; he was, besides, a man of little intelligence. Being but a few months younger than 'Omar, he thought himself equally entitled to the succession; and if once admitted into a high position in the empire, he might be expected to abuse his influence on the very first opportunity.

Sheikh 'Omár, therefore, could not but choose to confide rather in the intelligent son of his old minister, the faithful companion in the field and counselor of his father, than in his own fierce and jealous brother; and all depended upon the behavior of Háj Beshír, and upon the discretion with which he should occupy and maintain his place as first, or rather only minister of the kingdom. Assuredly his policy should have been to conciliate, as much as possible, all the greater "kokanáwa" or courtiers, in order to undermine the influence of 'Abd e' Rahmán, whom

it might be wise to keep at a respectful distance. But in this respect the vizier seems to have made great mistakes, his covetousness blinding him to his principal advantages; for covetous he certainly was—first, from the love of possessing, and also in order to indulge his luxurious disposition, for he was certainly rather "kamúma," that is to say, extremely fond of the fair sex, and had a harím of from three to four hundred female slaves.

In assembling this immense number of female companions for the entertainment of his leisure hours, he adopted a scientific principle; in fact, a credulous person might suppose that he regarded his harím only from a scientific point of view, as a sort of ethnological museum, doubtless of a peculiarly interesting kind, which he had brought together in order to impress upon his memory the distinguishing features of each tribe. I have often observed that, in speaking with him of the different tribes of Negroland, he was at times struck with the novelty of a name, lamenting that he had not yet had a specimen of that tribe in his harím, and giving orders at once to his servants to endeavor to procure a perfect sample of the missing kind. I remember, also, that on showing to him one day an illustrated ethnological work in which he took a lively interest, and coming to a beautiful picture of a Circassian female, he told me, with an expression of undisguised satisfaction, that he had a living specimen of that kind; and when, forgetting the laws of Mohammedan etiquette, I was so indiscreet as to ask him whether she was as handsome as the picture, he answered only with a smile, at once punishing and pardoning my indiscreet question. I must also say that, notwithstanding the great number and variety of the women who shared his attention, he seemed to take a hearty interest in each of them; at least I remember that he grieved most sincerely for the loss of one who died in the winter of 1851. Poor Háj Beshír! He was put to death in the last month of 1853, leaving seventy-three sons alive, not counting the daughters, and the numbers of children which may be supposed to die in such an establishment without reaching maturity.

But to return to his political character. I said that he neg-

lected to attach to himself the more powerful of the courtiers, with whose assistance he might have hoped to keep the rival brother of Sheikh 'Omár at some distance; indeed, he even alienated them by occasional, and sometimes injudicious use of his almost unlimited power, obliging them, for instance, to resign to him a handsome female slave or a fine horse. If he had possessed great personal courage and active powers, he might have mastered circumstances and kept his post, notwithstanding the ill will of all around him; but he wanted those qualities, as the result shows; and yet, well aware of the danger which threatened him, he was always on his guard, having sundry loaded pistols and carbines always around him, upon and under his carpet. Shortly before I arrived, an arrow had been shot at him in the evening while he was sitting in his court-yard.

I have peculiar reason to thank Providence for having averted the storm which was gathering over his head during my stay in Bórnu, for my intimacy with him might very easily have involved me also in the calamities which befell him. However, I repeat that, altogether, he was a most excellent, kind, liberal, and just man, and might have done much good to the country if he had been less selfish and more active. He was incapable, indeed, of executing by himself any act of severity, such as in the unsettled state of a semi-barbarous kingdom may at times be necessary; and, being conscious of his own mildness, he left all those matters to a man named Lamíno, to whom I gave the title of "the shameless left hand of the vizier," and whom I shall have frequent occasion to mention.

I pressed upon the vizier the necessity of defending the northern frontier of Bórnu against the Tawárek by more effectual measures than had been then adopted, and thus retrieving, for cultivation and the peaceable abode of his fellow-subjects, the fine borders of the komádugu, and restoring security to the road to Fezzán. Just about this time the Tawárek had made another expedition into the border districts on a large scale, so that Kashélla Belál, the first of the war-chiefs, was obliged to march against them; and the road to Kanó, which I, with my usual good luck, had passed unmolested, had become so unsafe that a

numerous caravan was plundered, and a well-known Arab merchant, the Sheríf El Ghâli, killed.

I remonstrated with him on the shamefully-neglected state of the shores of the lake, which contained the finest pasture-grounds, and might yield an immense quantity of rice and cotton. He entered with spirit into all my proposals, but in a short time all was forgotten. He listened with delight to what little historical knowledge I had of these countries, and inquired particularly whether Kánem had really been in former times a mighty kingdom, or whether it would be worth retaking. It was in consequence of these conversations that he began to take an interest in the former history of the country, and that the historical records of Edrís Alawóma came to light; but he would not allow me to take them into my hands, and I could only read over his shoulders. He was a very religious man; and though he admired Europeans very much on account of their greater accomplishments, he was shocked to think that they drank intoxicating liquors. However, I tried to console him by telling him that, although the Europeans were also very partial to the fair sex, yet they did not indulge in this luxury on so large a scale as he did, and that therefore he ought to allow them some other little pleasure.

He was very well aware of the misery connected with the slave-trade; for, on his pilgrimage to Mekka, in the mountainous region between Fezzán and Ben-Gházi, he had lost, in one night, forty of his slaves by the extreme cold, and he swore that he would never take slaves for sale if he were to travel again. But it was more difficult to make him sensible of the horrors of slave-hunting, although, when accompanying him on the expedition to Músgu, I and Mr. Overweg urged this subject with more success, as the further progress of my narrative will show. He was very desirous to open a commerce with the English, although he looked with extreme suspicion upon the form of articles in which the treaty was proposed to be drawn up; but he wished to forbid to Christians the sale of two things, viz., spirituous liquors and Bibles. He did not object to Bibles being brought into the country, and even given as presents, but

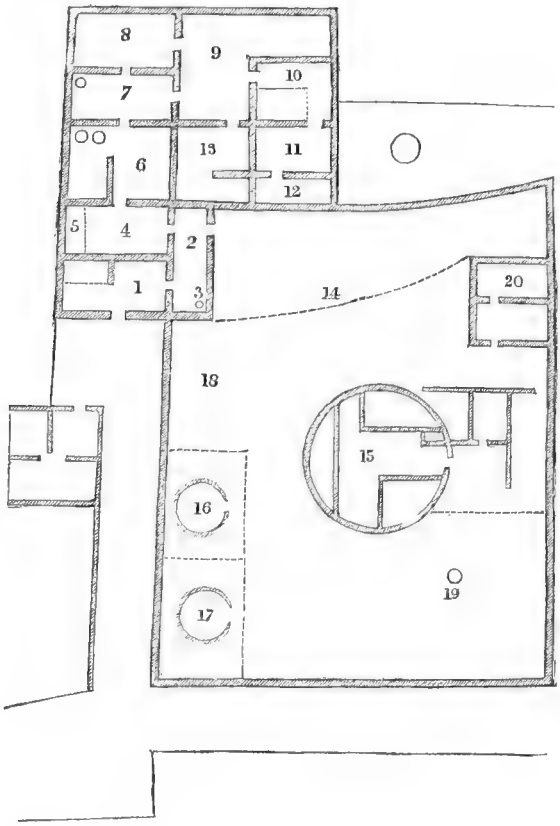
he would not allow of their being sold. But the difficulties which I had to contend with in getting the treaty signed will be made more conspicuous as my narrative proceeds.

The most pressing matter which I had with the vizier in the first instance, after my arrival, was to obtain some money, in order to settle, at least partly, the just claims of the late Mr. Richardson's servants, and to clear off debts which reflected little credit on the government which had sent us. I could scarcely expect that he would lend me the money without any profit, and was therefore glad to obtain it at the rate of 1000 cowries, or kúngona as they are called in Bórnu, for a dollar, to be paid in Fezzán; and I lost very little by the bargain, as the creditors, well aware of the great difficulty I was in, and acknowledging my desire to pay them off, agreed to receive for every dollar of the sum which they claimed only 1280 cowries, while in the market the dollar fetched a much higher price. Indeed, it was most grateful to my feelings to be enabled, on the 13th of April, to distribute among the eight creditors 70,000 shells; and it was the more agreeable, as the more arrogant among them, seeing my extreme poverty, had assumed a tone of great insolence toward me, which I found it difficult to support in silence. Being now relieved a little in circumstances, I immediately rid myself of the carpenter, the grandiloquent Son of Jerusalem, and sent him away. He died on the road before reaching Múrzuk — a fact which the natives attributed to the curse which I had given him for having stolen something from my house.

My household now became more comfortable. Already, on the 10th of April, late in the evening, I had removed my quarters from the large empty court-yard in the eastern town, or billa gedíbe, to a small clay house in the western, or billa futébe.

This dwelling consisted of several small but neatly-made rooms, and a yard. Afterward we succeeded in obtaining in addition an adjoining yard, which was very spacious, and included several thatched huts; and all this together formed "the English house," which the sheikh was kind enough to concede to the English mission as long as any body should be left there to take care of it.

Its situation was very favorable, as will be seen from the plan a few pages further on, being situated almost in the middle of the town, and nevertheless out of the way of the great thoroughfares: the internal arrangement is shown in the annexed woodcut.



1. Segífa, or "soró chínnabe," into which a person coming from the small yard before the house first enters through the principal gate. In the corner there is a spacious clay bench, "dágali," raised three feet from the ground.
2. Small open court-yard, with a very fine chédia or caoutchouc-tree (3), in which we had generally a troop of monkeys, while at the bottom a couple of squirrels (*Sciurus*) were living in a hole.
4. A second court-yard with a hen-house. (5.)
6. Inner segífa, where, in the beginning, the servants loitered, and which was afterward changed into a simple dining-room. Here generally the water-jars were kept.
7. Small court-yard, with water-jar.
8. Inner room, where I used to live, and afterward Mr. Vogel.
9. Inner large court-yard, where, in the corner, the kitchen was established.

10. Room with a large clay-bank, where Mr. Overweg used to recline in the day-time.
11. Bed-room of Mr. Overweg, and afterward of the Sappers, Corporal Church and Macguire.
12. Small back court-yard.
13. Store-room.
14. Outer inclosure of great court-yard in the beginning of our residence in Kúkawa. This wall we afterward pulled down, when we obtained a very large yard for our horses and cattle. We, at times, had six horses and five or six cows.
15. Very large, well-built conical hut, with clay wall and thatched roof. In the interior there were two spacious raised clay-banks of the kind called "dágali" and "zinzin," and in the background a raised recess, separated by a wall two feet high, for luggage or corn. This hut I occupied during my last stay in Kúkawa after my return from Timbúktu, when I built in front of it a large shed with that sort of coarse mats called síggedí.
16. Hut occupied by Ma'adi, a liberated slave, first in the service of Mr. Richardson, afterward in that of Mr. Overweg, and lastly Mr. Vogel's head servant. Having been wounded in the service of the expedition, a small pension has been granted to him.
17. Hut occupied by another servant.
18. Place for our cattle.
19. A well. The sandy soil, as I have said, obliged us to change the place of our well very often, and we had great trouble in this respect.
20. A clay house, which, during the latter part of our stay, fell to ruins.

I immediately took possession of the room No. 8, which, although very small, was altogether the best, and was very cool during the hot hours of the day. Mr. Vogel, too, when he afterward arrived, immediately fixed upon this room. There was a most splendid kórna-tree in the neighboring court-yard, which spread its shade over the terrace of this room, and over part of the small court-yard in front of it. In our own yard we had only a very fine specimen of a chédia or caoutchouc-tree (in the first yard, No. 3), which was afterward a little damaged by Mr. Overweg's monkeys, besides two very small kórna-trees in the great yard around the huts Nos. 16 and 17. Having thus made myself as comfortable as possible, I began without delay to dig a well in the small court before the house, as we had to fetch the water from another well at some distance, which was much used by the people. My attempt caused some amusement to the vizier, who soon heard of it, and recognized in it a feature of the European character; for digging a well is no small undertaking

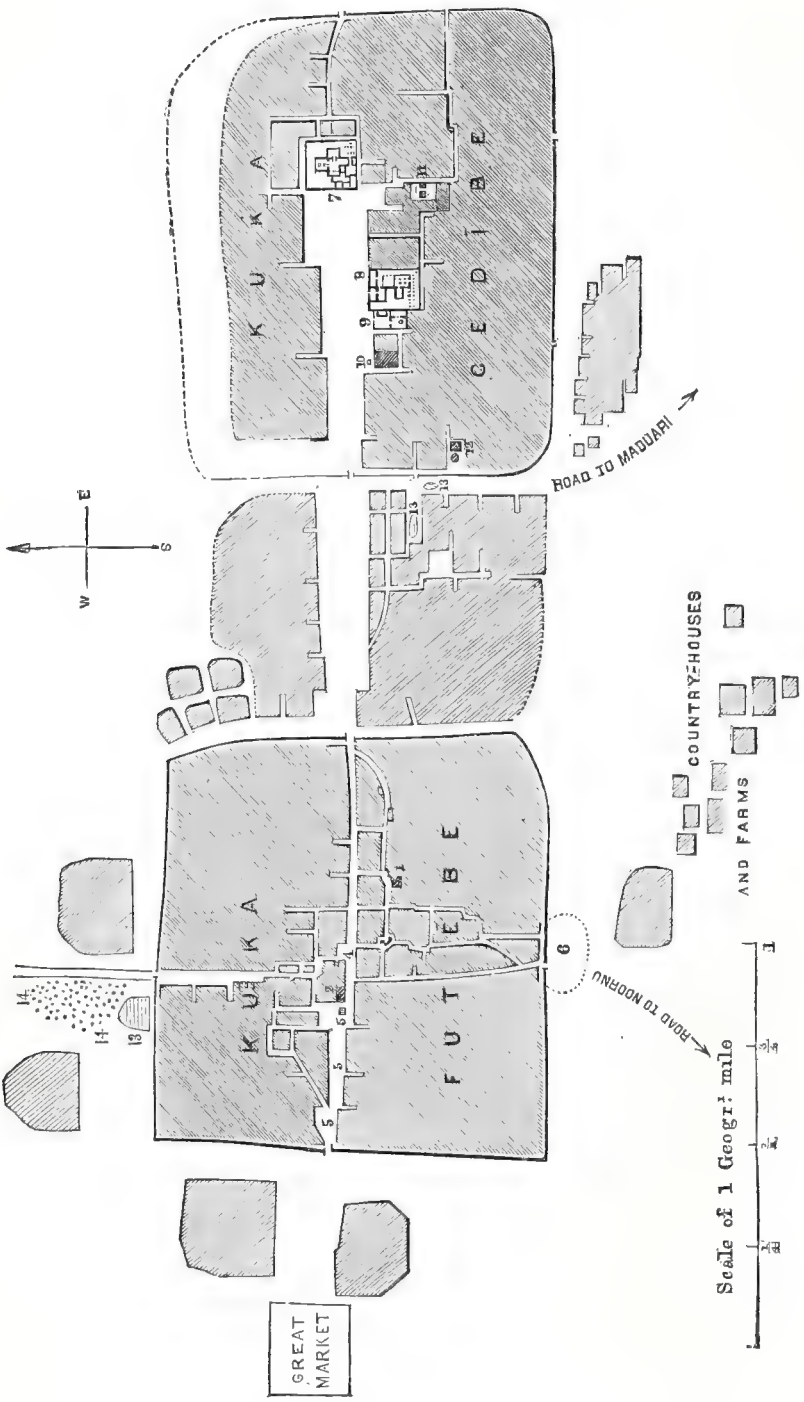
in Kúkawa, although water is to be found at only nine fathoms depth; for the ground, consisting of loose sand under an upper thin layer of clay, is very apt to fall in, while the slender boughs with which the shaft is upheld offer but little resistance. We had a great deal of trouble with our well, not only in constantly repairing it, but in the course of our stay we were thrice obliged to change the spot and dig a new well altogether. We should have been glad to set an example to the natives by building up our shaft with bricks; but, with our scanty means, or rather our entire want of means, we could scarcely think of undertaking such a costly work. At a later period Mr. Overweg found a layer of shell lime in a spot of our court-yard, and got our house neatly whitewashed. The great point in this place is to protect one's self against the countless swarms of fleas which cover the ground, the best preservative being considered a frequent besmearing of the walls and the floor with cow-dung. The large white ant, too, is most troublesome, and sugar particularly is kept with difficulty from its voracious attacks. Our rooms swarmed also with bugs, "bermáde," but I am almost afraid that we ourselves imported them with our books. The bug, however, in Bórnu is not regarded as that nasty insect which creates so much loathing in civilized countries; on the contrary, the native thinks its smell aromatic.

My poor Kátsena nag, the present of the extraordinary governor of that place, almost against my expectation, had successfully carried me as far as Kúkawa; but at that point it was quite exhausted, wanting at least some months' repose. I was therefore without a horse, and was obliged at first to walk on foot, which was very trying in the deep sand and hot weather. I had once entreated the vizier to lend me a horse, but Lamíno had, in consequence, sent me such a miserable animal that I declined mounting it. The sheikh, being informed afterward that I was bargaining for a horse, sent me one as a present; it was tall and well-formed, but of a color which I did not like, and very lean, having just come from the country, where it had got no corn, so that it was unfit for me, as I wanted a strong animal, ready to undergo a great deal of fatigue. I was already preparing for my

journey to Adámawa, and, having made the acquaintance of M'allem Katúri, a native of Yákoba, or, rather, as the town is generally called, Garún Báuchi, and an excellent man, who had accompanied several great ghazzias in that country, and particularly that most remarkable one of Amba-Sambo, the governor of Chámba, as far as the I'gbo country, at the Delta of the Niger, I hired him, and bought for his use a good traveling horse. I bought, also, a tolerable pony for my servant Mohammed ben S'ad, so that, having now three horses at my command, I entered with spirit upon my new career as an explorer of Negroland. All this, of course, was done by contracting a few little debts.

The vizier, who was well aware of the difficulties and dangers attending my proposed excursion to Adamáwa, was rather inclined to send me to the Músgu country, whither it was intended to dispatch an expedition under the command of Kashélla Belál; but, fortunately for me, and perhaps, also, for our knowledge of this part of the continent, the design was frustrated by an inroad of Tawárek, which demanded the presence of this officer, the most warlike of the empire. This incursion of the plundering Kindín was made by a considerable body of men, who, having in vain tried to surprise some town on the frontier of Bórnu, turned their march toward Kánem, and went as far as Báteli, where, however, they met with but little success.

Having nŏw a horse whereon to mount, I rode every day, either into the eastern town to pay a visit to the sheikh or to the vizier, or roving around the whole circuit of the capital, and peeping into the varied scenes which the life of the people exhibited. The precincts of the town, with its suburbs, are just as interesting, as its neighborhood (especially during the months that precede the rainy season) is monotonous and tiresome in the extreme. Certainly the arrangement of the capital contributes a great deal to the variety of the picture which it forms, laid out, as it is, in two distinct towns, each surrounded with its wall, the one occupied chiefly by the rich and wealthy, containing very large establishments, while the other, with the exception of the principal thoroughfare, which traverses the town from


KU KA
CE DI BE
ROAD TO MADUARI
E
W
S
COUNTRY-HOUSES
AND FARMS
KU KA
FU TE BE
ROAD TO NOORNU
GREAT MARKET
Scale of 1 Geogr.l mile

west to east, consists of rather crowded dwellings, with narrow, winding lanes. These two distinct towns are separated by a space about half a mile broad, itself thickly inhabited on both sides of a wide, open road, which forms the connection between them, but laid out less regularly, and presenting to the eye a most interesting medley of large clay buildings and small thatched huts, of massive clay walls surrounding immense yards, and light fences of reeds in a more or less advanced state of decay, and with a variety of color, according to their age, from the brightest yellow down to the deepest black. All around these two towns there are small villages or clusters of huts, and large detached farms surrounded with clay walls, low enough to allow a glimpse from horseback over the thatched huts which they inclose.

In this labyrinth of dwellings a man, interested in the many forms which human life presents, may rove about at any time of the day with the certainty of never-failing amusement, although the life of the Kanúri people passes rather monotonous-

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Explanation of References in the Engraving on the preceding Page.

1. English house, of which a special plan is given on page 46.
2. Palace, "fáto maibe," of the sheikh, in the western town or billa futébe, with the mosque, "máshidí," at the corner.
3. Minaret of mosque.
4. Square at the back of the palace, with a most beautiful caoutchouc-tree, the finest in Kúkawa.
5. Déndal, or principal street.
6. Area before the southern gate, where all the offal and dead bodies of camels and cattle, and sometimes even of slaves, are thrown, and which, during the rainy season, is changed into a large and deep pond.
7. Palace of the sheikh in the eastern town, or billa gedíbe.
8. Palace of the Vizier El Háj Beshír.
9. House where I was first lodged on my arrival, afterward occupied by Lamíno, the vizier's head man.
10. (The house west from this) Palace belonging to Abu-Bakr, the sheikh's eldest and favorite son, with a very large caoutchouc-tree in front.
11. House belonging to Abba Yusuf, second brother of the sheikh.
12. House occupied during my later stay by Lamíno.
13. Hollows from whence the clay has been taken for building material, and which, during the rainy season, are changed into deep pools of stagnant water.
14. Cemetery.

ly along, with the exception of some occasional feasting. During the hot hours, indeed, the town and its precincts become torpid, except on market-days, when the market-place itself, at least, and the road leading to it from the western gate, are most animated just at that time. For, singular as it is, in Kúkawa, as well as almost all over this part of Negroland, the great markets do not begin to be well attended till the heat of the day grows intense; and it is curious to observe what a difference prevails in this, as well as in other respects, between these countries and Yóruba, where almost all the markets are held in the cool of the evening.

The daily little markets, or durríya, even in Kúkawa, are held in the afternoon, and are most frequented between the 'aser (lásari) and the mughreb (almágribu) or sunset. The most important of these durríyas is that held inside the west gate of the billa futébe, and here even camels, horses, and oxen are sold in considerable numbers; but they are much inferior to the large fair, or great market, which is held every Monday on the open ground beyond the two villages which lie at a short distance from the western gate. Formerly it was held on the road to Ngóru, before the southern gate, but it has been removed from thence on account of the large pond of water formed during the rainy season in the hollow close to this gate.

I visited the great fair, "kásukú letenínbe," every Monday immediately after my arrival, and found it very interesting, as it calls together the inhabitants of all the eastern parts of Bórnu, the Shúwa and the Koyám, with their corn and butter, the former, though of Arab origin, and still preserving in purity his ancient character, always carrying his merchandise on the back of oxen, the women mounted upon the top of it, while the African Koyám employs the camel, if not exclusively, at least with a decided preference;* the Kánembu with their butter and dried fish, the inhabitants of Mákari with their tobes (the kóre berné): even Búdduma, or rather Yédiná, are very often seen in the market, selling whips made from the skin of the hippo-

* This custom, I think, confirms the opinion that the Koyám migrated from Kánem into Bórnu. They are expressly called "ahel el bil."

potamus, or sometimes even hippopotamus meat, or dried fish, and attract the attention of the spectator by their slender figures, their small, handsome features, unimpaired by any incisions, the men generally wearing a short black shirt and a small straw hat, "súní ngáwa," their neck adorned with several strings of kúngona or shells, while the women are profusely ornamented with strings of glass beads, and wear their hair in a very remarkable way, though not in so awkward a fashion as Mr. Overweg afterward observed in the island Belárigo.

On reaching the market-place from the town, the visitor first comes to that part where the various materials for constructing the light dwellings of the country are sold, such as mats, of three different kinds, the thickest, which I have mentioned above as lágará, then síggedí, or the common coarse mat made of the reed called kalkálti, and the búshi, made of dúm-leaves, or "ngílle," for lying upon; poles and stakes; the framework, "léggerá," for the thatched roofs of huts, and the ridge-beam, or "késkan súmo;" then oxen for slaughter, "fé debáterám," or for carrying burdens, "knému lápterám;" farther on, long rows of leathern bags filled with corn, ranging far along on the south side of the market-place, with either "kéwa," the large bags for the camel, a pair of which form a regular camel's load, or the large "jerábu," which is thrown across the back of the pack-oxen, or the smaller "fállim," a pair of which constitutes an ox-load, "kátkun knémube." These long rows are animated not only by the groups of the sellers and buyers, with their weatherworn figures and torn dresses, but also by the beasts of burden, mostly oxen, which have brought the loads, and which are to carry back their masters to their distant dwelling-places; then follow the camels for sale, often as many as a hundred or more, and numbers of horses, but generally not first-rate ones, which are mostly sold in private. All this sale of horses, camels, &c., with the exception of the oxen, passes through the hands of the dilélma or broker, who, according to the mode of announcement, takes his percentage from the buyer or the seller.

The middle of the market is occupied by the dealers in other

merchandise of native and of foreign manufacture, the "amagdí" or tob from Ujé, and the kóre or rébshi, the farásh or "fetkéma," and the "selláma," the people dealing in cloths, shirts, túrkedís, beads of all sizes and colors, leather-work, colored boxes of very different shape and size, very neatly and elegantly made of ox-hide. There are also very neat little boxes made of the kernel or "nége" of the fruit of the dúm-tree. Then comes the place where the kómbuli disposes of his slaves.

There are only a few very light sheds or stalls ("kaudi") erected here and there. In general, besides a few of the retail dealers, only the dilélma or broker has a stall, which, on this account, is called diléllam; and, no shady trees being found, both buyers and sellers are exposed to the whole force of the sun during the very hottest hours of the day, between eleven and three o'clock, when the market is most full and busy, and the crowd is often so dense that it is difficult to make one's way through it; for the place not being regularly laid out, nor the thoroughfares limited by rows of stalls, each dealer squats down with his merchandise where he likes. There are often from twelve to fifteen thousand people crowded together in the market; but the noise is not great, the Kanúri people being more sedate and less vivacious than the Háusáwa, and not vending their wares with loud cries. However, the wanzám or barber, going about, affords amusement by his constant whistling, "kangádi." In general, even amusements have rather a sullen character in Bórnu; and of course, in a place of business like the market, very little is done for amusement, although sometimes a serpent-tamer ("kadíma") or a story-teller ("kosgolíma") is met with. Also the luxuries offered to the people are very few in comparison with the varieties of cakes and sweetmeats in the market-places of Háusa, and "kólche" (the common sweet ground-nut), "gángala" (the bitter ground-nut), boiled beans or "ngálo," and a few dry dates from the Tébu country, are almost the only things, besides water and a little nasty sour milk, offered as refreshment to the exhausted customer.

The fatigue which people have to undergo in purchasing their

week's necessaries in the market is all the more harassing, as there is not at present any standard money for buying and selling; for the ancient standard of the country, viz., the pound of copper, has long since fallen into disuse, though the name, "rotl," still remains. The "gábagá," or cotton strips, which then became usual, have lately begun to be supplanted by the cowries or "kúngona," which have been introduced, as it seems, rather by a speculation of the ruling people than by a natural want of the inhabitants,* though nobody can deny that they are very useful for buying small articles, and infinitely more convenient than cotton strips. Eight cowries or kúngona are reckoned equal to one gábagá, and four gábagá, or two-and-thirty kúngona, to one rotl. Then, for buying larger objects, there are shirts of all kinds and sizes, from the "dóra," the coarsest and smallest one, quite unfit for use, and worth six rotls, up to the large ones, worth fifty or sixty rotls. But, while this is a standard value, the relation of the rotl and the Austrian dollar,† which is pretty well current in Bórnu, is subject to extreme fluctuation, due, I must confess, at least partly, to the speculations of the ruling men, and principally to that of my friend the Háj Beshír. Indeed, I can not defend him against the reproach of having speculated to the great detriment of the public; so that when he had collected a great amount of kúngona, and wished to give it currency, the dollar would suddenly fall as low as to five-and-forty or fifty rotls, while at other times it would fetch as much as one hundred rotls, or three thousand two hundred shells, that is, seven hundred shells more than in Kanó. The great advantage of the market in Kanó is that there is one standard coin, which, if a too large amount of dollars be not on a sudden set in circulation, will always preserve the same value.

But to return to the market. A small farmer who brings his

* I shall have occasion to mention what an influence the introductien of cowries into Bórnu, by draining the Háusa country of this article, has had upon the demand for cowries in Yoruba and on the coast in the years following 1849.

† The Austrian dollar, the "bú-tér," though less in intrinsic value, is better liked in Bórnu than the Spanish one, the "bú medf'a."

corn to the Monday market, or the "kásukú léteníbe," in Kúkawa, will on no account take his payment in shells, and will rarely accept of a dollar: the person, therefore, who wishes to buy corn, if he has only dollars, must first exchange a dollar for shells, or rather buy shells; then with the shells he must buy a "kúlgu" or shirt; and, after a good deal of bartering, he may thus succeed in buying the corn, be it some kind of argúm, wheat, or rice. However, these two articles are not always to be got, while more frequently they are only in small quantities. The rice sold in Kúkawa is wild rice, the refuse of the elephants, and of a very inferior description.

The fatigue to be undergone in the market is such that I have very often seen my servants return in a state of the utmost exhaustion. Most of the articles sold on the great Monday fair may also be found in the small afternoon markets or durríya, but only in small quantity and at a higher price, and some articles will be sought for there in vain. But while there is certainly a great deal of trouble in the market of Kúkawa, it must be acknowledged that the necessaries of life are cheaper there than in any other place which I have visited in Central Africa, almost half as cheap again as in Kátsena and Sokóto, a third cheaper than in Kanó, and about a fourth cheaper than in Timbúktu. About the cheapness of meat and corn in the latter place, which is, indeed, a very remarkable fact, and struck me with the utmost surprise when I first reached that celebrated town, I shall speak in the proper place. But I must remark that dukhn, argúm móro, or millet (*Pennisetum typhoïdeum*), is in greater quantity, and therefore cheaper, in Kúkawa than the durra or sorghum, "ngáberi," just as it is in Timbúktu and Kanó, while in Bagírmi durra is much cheaper. The ngáberi of Bórnu, however, particularly that kind of it which is called matíya, and which is distinguished by its whiteness, is most excellent; and the "senásin," a kind of thin pancake prepared from this grain, is the lightest and best food for a European in this country.

Of course, the price of food varies greatly according to the season, the lowest rates ruling about a month or two after the

harvest, when all the corn in the country has been thrashed, and the highest rates just about the harvest time. In general, a dollar will purchase in Kúkawa three ox-loads, "kátkun knémube," of argúm; a dollar and a half will buy a very good ox of about six hundred pounds' weight; two dollars fetch a pack-ox ("knému") or a milch-cow ("fé mádarabé"); one dollar, two good sheep; from seventeen to twenty rotls, a "téndu" of butter, containing about four pounds' weight. For wheat and rice, the general rule in Negroland is that they fetch double price of the native corn. Rice might seem indigenous in Central Africa, growing wild every where, as well in Bághena, in Western Africa, as in Kótoko or Bagírmi. Wheat, on the contrary, was evidently introduced some hundred years ago, together with onions, the favorite food of the Arab, to the merits of which the native African is insensible, although it is a most wholesome article of diet in this climate, as I shall have repeatedly occasion to state.

Of fruits, the most common are the two sorts of ground-nut, "kólché" and "gángala," the former of which is a very important article of food, though by no means on so large a scale as in the eastern parts of Adamáwa; the "bíto," the fruit of the hajilíj or *Balanites Ægyptiaca* (which is so much valued by the Kanúri, that, according to a common proverb, a bíto-tree and a milch-cow are just the same—"Késka bítowa féwa mádarabé kal"); a kind of *Physalis*, the native name of which I have forgotten; the bírgim, or the African plum, of which I shall speak farther on; the kórna, or the fruit of the *Rhamnus lotus;* and fruit of the dúm-palm, "kírzim," or *Cucifera Thebaïca.*

Of vegetables, the most common in the market are beans of various descriptions, which likewise form a very important article of food in many districts, certainly as much as the third of the whole consumption; onions, consumed in great quanity by the Arabs, but not by the natives, who prefer to season their food with the young leaves of the monkey-bread-tree, "kálu kúka," or the "káras," or with a sauce made from dried fish. There are no sweet potatoes and no yams in this part of Bórnu,

the consequence of which is that the food of the natives is less varied than in Háusa, Kébbi, or Yóruba. Yams are brought to this country as rarities, and are given as presents to influential persons.

Camels sell at from eight to twenty dollars. When there is no caravan in preparation, a very tolerable beast may be bought for the former price; but when a caravan is about to start, the best will fetch as much as twenty dollars—very rarely more; and a good camel may always be had for about fifteen dollars. Some camels may be bought for four or five dollars each, but can not be relied on.

Very strong traveling horses for servants were, during my first visit, purchasable for from six to eight dollars, while an excellent horse would not fetch more than thirty dollars; but in the year 1854 the price had risen considerably, in consequence of the exportation of horses, which had formerly been forbidden, having been permitted, and great numbers having been exported to the west—chiefly to Múniyo, Kátsena, and Márádi. A first-rate horse of foreign race, however, is much dearer, and will sometimes fetch as much as three hundred dollars. I shall have another opportunity of speaking of the horses of Bórnu, which is rather an interesting and important subject, as the breed is excellent, and, besides being very handsome and of good height, they bear fatigue marvelously—a fact of which one of my own horses gave the best proof, having carried me during three years of almost incessant fatigue on my expedition to Kánem, to the Músgu country, to Bagírmi, to Timbúktu, and back to Kanó, where my poor dear companion died in December, 1854: and let it be taken into consideration that, though I myself am not very heavy, I constantly carried with me a double-barreled gun, one or two pairs of pistols, a quantity of powder and shot, several instruments, my journals, and generally even my coffee-pot and some little provision.

But to return to the picture of life which the town of Kúkawa presents. With the exception of Mondays, when just during the hottest hours of the day there is much crowd and bustle in the market-place, it is very dull from about noon till three o'clock

in the afternoon; and even during the rest of the day those scenes of industry which in the varied panorama of Kanó meet the eye are here sought for in vain. Instead of those numerous dyeing-yards or máriná, full of life and bustle, though certainly also productive of much filth and foul odors, which spread over the town of Kanó, there is only a single and a very poor máriná in Kúkawa; no beating of tobes is heard, nor the sound of any other handicraft.

There is a great difference of character between these two towns; and, as I have said above, the Bórnu people are by temperament far more phlegmatic than those of Kanó. The women in general are much more ugly, with square, short figures, large heads, and broad noses with immense nostrils, disfigured still more by the enormity of a red bead or coral worn in the nostril. Nevertheless, they are certainly quite as coquettish, and, as far as I had occasion to observe, at least as wanton also as the more cheerful and sprightly Háusa women. I have never seen a Háusa woman strolling about the streets with her gown trailing after her on the ground, the fashion of the women of Kúkawa, and wearing on her shoulders some Manchester print of a showy pattern, keeping the ends of it in her hands, while she throws her arms about in a coquettish manner. In a word, their dress, as well as their demeanor, is far more decent and agreeable. The best part in the dress or ornaments of the Bórnu women is the silver ornament (the fállafálle kélabé") which they wear on the back of the head, and which in taller figures, when the hair is plaited in the form of a helmet, is very becoming; but it is not every woman who can afford such an ornament, and many a one sacrifices her better interests for this decoration.

The most animated quarter of the two towns is the great thoroughfare, which, proceeding by the southern side of the palace in the western town, traverses it from west to east, and leads straight to the sheikh's residence in the eastern town. This is the "dendal" or promenade, a locality which has its imitation, on a less or greater scale, in every town of the country. This road, during the whole day, is crowded by numbers

of people on horseback and on foot; free men and slaves, foreigners as well as natives, every one in his best attire, to pay his respects to the sheikh or his vizier, to deliver an errand, or to sue for justice or employment, or a present. I myself very often went along this well-trodden path—this high road of ambition; but I generally went at an unusual hour, either at sunrise in the morning, or while the heat of the midday, not yet abated, detained the people in their cool haunts, or late at night, when the people were already retiring to rest, or, sitting before their houses, beguiling their leisure hours with amusing tales or with petty scandal. At such hours I was sure to find the vizier or the sheikh alone; but sometimes they wished me also to visit and sit with them, when they were accessible to all the people; and on these occasions the vizier took pride and delight in conversing with me about matters of science, such as the motion of the earth, or the planetary system, or subjects of that kind.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE TSÁD.

My stay in the town was agreeably interrupted by an excursion to Ngórnu and the shores of the lake.

Thursday, April 24th. Sheikh 'Omár, with his whole court, left Kúkawa in the night of the 23d of April, in order to spend a day or two in Ngórnu, where he had a tolerably good house; and, having been invited by the vizier to go there, I also followed on the morning of the next day. This road to Ngórnu is strongly marked with that sameness and monotony which characterize the neighborhood of Kúkawa. At first nothing is seen but the melancholy "káwo," *Asclepias procera* or *gigantea;* then "ngílle," low bushes of *Cucifera*, appear, and gradually trees begin to enliven the landscape, first scattered here and there, farther on forming a sort of underwood. The path is broad and well trodden, but consists mostly of deep sandy soil.

There are no villages on the side of the road, but a good many at a little distance. In the rainy season some very large ponds are formed by its side. Two miles and a half before the traveler reaches Ngórnu the trees cease again, being only seen in detached clusters at a great distance, marking the sites of villages, while near the road they give way to an immense fertile plain, where beans are cultivated, besides grain. However, this also is covered at this season of the year with the tiresome and endless *Asclepias*. Among the sites of former towns on the east side of the road is that of New Bírni, which was built by the Sultan Mohammed when residing in Berberuwá, about the year 1820, and destroyed by Háj Beshír in the year 1847, and does not now contain a living soul. Farther on is a group of kitchen-gardens belonging to some grandees, and adorned with two or three most splendid tamarind-trees, which in this monotonous landscape have a peculiar charm.

It was about one o'clock in the afternoon when I entered Ngórnu, the town of "the blessing." The heat being then very great, scarcely any body was to be seen in the streets; but the houses, or rather yards, were full of people, tents having been pitched to accommodate so many visitors, while fine horses looked forth every where over the low fences, saluting us as we passed by. Scarcely a single clay house was to be seen, with the exception of the house of the sheikh, which lies at the end of the déndal; but, nevertheless, the town made the impression of comfort and ease, and every yard was neatly fenced with new "síggedí" mats, and well shaded by kórna-trees, while the huts were large and spacious.

Having in vain presented myself at the house of the vizier, where the people were all asleep, and wandered about the town for a good while, I at length took up my quarters provisionally with some Arabs, till the cool of the afternoon aroused the courtiers from their long midday slumber, which they certainly may have needed, inasmuch as they had been up at two o'clock in the morning. But, even after I had the good fortune to see Háj Beshír, I found it difficult to obtain quarters, and I was obliged to pitch my tent in a court-yard.

Being tired of the crowd in the town, I mounted on horseback early next morning in order to refresh myself with a sight of the lake, which I supposed to be at no great distance, and indulged beforehand in anticipations of the delightful view which I fondly imagined was soon to greet my eye. We met a good many people and slaves going out to cut grass for the horses, and leaving them to their work, we kept on toward the rising sun. But no lake was to be seen, and an endless glassy plain, without a single tree, extended to the farthest horizon. At length, after the grass had increased continually in freshness and luxuriance, we reached a shallow swamp, the very indented border of which, sometimes bending in, at others bending out, greatly obstructed our progress. Having struggled for a length of time to get rid of this swamp, and straining my eyes in vain to discover the glimmering of an open water in the distance, I at length retraced my steps, consoling myself with the thought that I had seen at least some slight indication of the presence of the watery element, and which seemed indeed to be the only thing which was at present to be seen here.

How different was this appearance of the country from that which it exhibited in the winter from 1854 to 1855, when more than half of the town of Ngórnu was destroyed by the water, and a deep open sea was formed to the south of this place, in which the fertile plain as far as the village of Kúkiya lay buried. This great change seems to have happened in consequence of the lower strata of the ground, which consisted of limestone, having given way in the preceding year, and the whole shore on this side having sunk several feet; but, even without such a remarkable accident, the character of the Tsád is evidently that of an immense lagoon, changing its border every month, and therefore incapable of being mapped with accuracy. Indeed, when I saw to-day the nature of these swampy lowlands surrounding the lake, or rather lagoon, I immediately became aware that it would be quite impossible to survey its shores, even if the state of the countries around should allow us to enter upon such an undertaking. The only thing possible would be on one side to fix the farthest limit reached at times by the inundation

of the lagoon, and on the other to determine the extent of the navigable waters.

Having returned to the town, I related to the vizier my unsuccessful excursion in search of the Tsád, and he obligingly promised to send some horsemen to conduct me along the shore as far as Káwa, whence I should return to the capital.

Saturday, April 20th. The sheikh, with his court, having left Ngórnu before the dawn of day on his return to Kúkawa, I sent back my camel, with my two men also, by the direct road; and then, having waited a while in vain for the promised escort, I went myself with Bu-S'ad to look after it, but succeeded only in obtaining two horsemen, one of whom was the Kashélla Kótoko, an amiable, quiet Kánemma chief, who ever afterward remained my friend, and the other a horse-guard of the sheikh's, of the name of Sále. With these companions we set out on our excursion, going northeast; for due east from the town, as I now learned, the lagoon was at present at more than ten miles' distance. The fine grassy plain seemed to extend to a boundless distance, uninterrupted by a single tree, or even a shrub; not a living creature was to be seen, and the sun began already to throw a fiery veil over all around, making the vicinity of the cooling element desirable. After a little more than half an hour's ride we reached swampy ground, and began to make our way through the water, often up to our knees on horseback. We thus came to the margin of a fine open sheet of water, encompassed with papyrus and tall reed, of from ten to fourteen feet in height, of two different kinds, one called "méle," and the other "bóre" or "bóle." The méle has a white, tender core, which is eaten by the natives, but to me seemed insipid; the bóre has a head like the common bulrush, and its stalk is triangular. The thicket was interwoven by a climbing plant with yellow flowers, called "bórbuje" by the natives, while on the surface of the water was a floating plant, called, very facetiously, by the natives, "fánna-billabágo" (the homeless fánna). This creek was called "Ngíruwá."

Then turning a little more to the north, and passing still through deep water full of grass, and most fatiguing for the

horses, while it seemed most delightful to me, after my dry and dreary journey through this continent, we reached another creek, called "Dímbebér." Here I was so fortunate as to see two small boats, or "mákara," of the Búdduma, as they are called by the Kanúri, or Yédiná, as they call themselves, the famous pirates of the Tsád. They were small flat boats, made of the light and narrow wood of the "fógo," about twelve feet long, and managed by two men each: as soon as the men saw us, they pushed their boats off from the shore. They were evidently in search of human prey; and as we had seen people from the neighboring villages who had come here to cut reeds to thatch their huts anew for the rainy season, we went first to inform them of the presence of these constant enemies of the inhabitants of these fertile banks of the lagoon, that they might be on their guard; for they could not see them, owing to the quantity of tall reeds with which the banks and the neighboring land was overgrown.

We then continued our watery march. The sun was by this time very powerful; but a very gentle cooling breeze came over the lagoon, and made the heat supportable. We had water enough to quench our thirst—indeed, more than we really wanted; for we might have often drunk with our mouth, by stooping down a little, on horseback, so deeply were we immersed. But the water was exceedingly warm, and full of vegetable matter. It is perfectly fresh, as fresh as water can be. It seems to have been merely from prejudice that people in Europe have come to the conclusion that this Central African basin must either have an outlet or must be salt; for I can positively assert that it has no outlet, and that its water is perfectly fresh. Indeed, I do not see from whence saltness of the water should arise in a district in which there is no salt at all, and in which the herbage is so destitute of this element that the milk of the cows and sheep fed on it is rather insipid, and somewhat unwholesome. Certainly, in the holes around the lagoon, where the soil is strongly impregnated with natron, and which are only for a short time of the year in connection with the lake, the water, when in small quantity, must savor of the peculiar

quality of the soil; but when these holes are full, the water in them likewise is fresh.

While we rode along these marshy, luxuriant plains, large herds of "kelára" started up, bounding over the rushes, and, sometimes swimming, at others running, soon disappeared in the distance. This is a peculiar kind of antelope, which I have nowhere seen but in the immediate vicinity of the lake. In color and size it resembles the roe, and has a white belly. The kelára is by no means slender, but rather bulky, and extremely fat; this, however, may not be a specific character, but merely the consequence of the rich food which it enjoys here. It may be identical with, or be a variety of the *Antilope Arabica*, and the Arabs, and those of the natives who understand a little Arabic, call both by the same name, "el áriyel."

Proceeding onward, we reached, about noon, another creek, which is used occasionally by the Búdduma as a harbor, and is called "Ngúlbeá." We, however, found it empty, and only inhabited by ngurútus or river-horses, which, indeed, live here in great numbers, snorting about in every direction, and by two species of crocodiles. In this quarter there are no elephants, for the very simple reason that they have no place of retreat during the night; for this immense animal (at least in Africa) appears to be very sensible of the convenience of a soft couch in the sand, and of the inconvenience of musquitoes too; wherefore it prefers to lie down on a spot a little elevated above the swampy ground, whither it resorts for its daily food. On the banks of the northern part of the Tsád, on the contrary, where a range of low sand-hills and wood encompasses the lagoon, we shall meet with immense herds of this animal.

Ngúlbeá was the easternmost point of our excursion; and, turning here a little west from north, we continued our march over drier pasture-grounds, placed beyond the reach of the inundation, and after about three miles reached the deeply-indented and well-protected creek called "Ngómarén." Here I was most agreeably surprised by the sight of eleven boats of the Yédiná. Large, indeed, they were, considering the ship-building of these islanders; but otherwise they looked very

small and awkward, and, resting quite flat on the water, strikingly reminded me of theatrical exhibitions in which boats are introduced on the stage. They were not more than about twenty feet long,* but seemed tolerably broad; and one of them contained as many as eleven people, besides a good quantity of natron and other things. They had a very low waist, but rather a high and pointed prow. They are made of the narrow boards of the fógo-tree, which are fastened together with ropes from the dúm-palm, the holes being stopped with bast.

The Kánembú inhabitants of many neighboring villages carry on trade with the islanders almost uninterruptedly, while elsewhere the latter are treated as most deadly enemies. Two parties of Kánembú happened to be here with argúm or millet, which they exchange for the natron. They were rather frightened when they saw us, the Búdduma being generally regarded as enemies; but the sheikh and his counselors are well aware of this intercourse, and, wanting either the spirit or the power to reduce those islanders to subjection, they must allow their own subjects, whom they fail to protect against the continual inroads of the Búdduma, to deal with the latter at their own discretion. It was my earnest wish to go on board one of the boats, and to examine their make attentively; and, with the assistance of Kashélla Kótoko, who was well known to the Búdduma, I should perhaps have succeeded, if Bú-S'ad, my Mohammedan companion, had not behaved like a madman; indeed, I could scarcely restrain him from firing at these people, who had done us no harm. This was certainly a mere outbreak of fanaticism. When the people in the boats saw my servant's excited behavior, they left the shore, though numerous enough to overpower us; and we then rode on to another creek called Méllelá, whence we turned westward, and in about an hour, partly through water, partly over a grassy plain, reached Maduwári.

Maduwári, at that time, was an empty sound for me—a name

* This certainly did not belong to the largest craft of the islanders; for one of the boats which accompanied Mr. Overweg afterward on his voyage on the lake was almost fifty feet long, and six and a half wide.

without a meaning, just like the names of so many other places at which I had touched on my wanderings; but it was a name about to become important in the history of the expedition, to which many a serious remembrance was to be attached. Maduwári was to contain another white man's grave, and thus to rank with Ngurútuwa.

When I first entered the place from the side of the lake, it made a very agreeable impression upon me, as it showed evident signs of ease and comfort, and, instead of being closely packed together, as most of the towns and villages of the Kanúri are, it lay dispersed in eleven or twelve separate clusters of huts, shaded by a rich profusion of korna- and bíto-trees. I was conducted by my companion, Kashélla Kótoko, to the house of Fúgo 'Ali. It was the house wherein Mr. Overweg, a year and a half later, was to expire; while Fúgo 'Ali himself, the man who first contracted friendship with me, then conducted my companion on his interesting navigation round the islands of the lake, and who frequented our house, was destined to fall a sacrifice in the revolution of 1854. How different was my reception then, when I first went to his house on this my first excursion to the lake, and when I revisited it with Mr. Vogel in the beginning of 1855, when Fúgo 'Ali's widow was sobbing at my side, lamenting the ravages of time, the death of my companion, and that of her own husband.

The village pleased me so much that I took a long walk through it before I sat down to rest; and after being treated most sumptuously with fowls and a roasted sheep, I passed the evening very agreeably in conversation with my black friends. The inhabitants of all these villages are Kánembú,* belonging to the tribe of the Sugúrti, who in former times were settled in Kánem, till, by the wholesale devastation of that country, they were compelled to leave their homes and seek a retreat in these regions. Here they have adopted the general dress of the Kanúri; and only very few of them may at present be seen exhibiting their original native costume, the greatest ornament of

* Kánembú is the plural of Kánémma.

which is the head-dress, while the body itself, with the exception of a tight leathern apron, or "fúno," is left naked. This is a remarkable peculiarity of costume, which seems to prevail among almost all barbarous tribes. The original head-dress of the Sugúrti, that is to say, of the head men of the tribe, consists of four different articles: first, the "jóka," or cap, rather stiff, and widening at the top, where the second article, the "ariyábu" (aliyáfu), is tied round it; from the midst of the folds of the ariyábu, just over the front of the head, the "múllefu" stands forth, a piece of red cloth, stiffened, as it seems, by a piece of leather from behind; and all round the crown of the head a bristling crown of reeds rises with barbaric majesty to a height of about eight inches. Round his neck he wears a tight string of white beads, or "kulúlu," and hanging down upon the breast several small leather pockets, containing written charms or láya, while his right arm is ornamented with three rings, one on the upper arm, called "wíwi or bíbi," one made of ivory, and called "chíla," above the elbow, and another, called "kúllo," just above the wrist. The shields of the Sugúrti, at least most of them, are broad at the top as well as at the base, and, besides his large spear or kasákka, he is always armed with three or four javelins, "bállem." But besides the Sugúrti there happened to be just then present in the village some Búdduma, handsome, slender, and intelligent people, their whole attire consisting in a leathern apron and a string of white beads round the neck, which, together with their white teeth, produces a beautiful contrast with the jet-black skin. They gave me the first account of the islands of the lake, stating that the open water, which in their language is called "Kalilémma," or rather Kúlu kemé, begins one day's voyage from Káya, the small harbor of Maduwári, stretching in the direction of Sháwi, and that the water is thenceforth from one to two fathoms deep. I invariably understood from all the people with whom I spoke about this interesting lake, that the open water, with its islands of elevated sandy downs, stretches from the mouth of the Sháry toward the western shore, and that all the rest of the lake consists of swampy meadow-lands, occasionally inundated. I shall have

KULU-KEME, THE OPEN WATER OF THE TSAD.

occasion to speak again about this point when briefly reporting my unfortunate companion's voyage on the lake.*

Having closed my day's labor usefully and pleasantly, I lay down under a sort of shed, but had much to suffer from musquitoes, which, together with fleas, are a great nuisance near the banks of the lagoon.

Sunday, April 27th. Before sunrise we were again in the saddle, accompanied by Fúgu or Púfo 'Ali, who had his double pair of small drums with him, and looked well on his stately horse. It was a beautiful morning, and I was delighted with the scene around. Clear and unbroken were the lines of the horizon, the swampy plain extending on our right toward the lake, and blending with it, so as to allow the mind that delights in wandering over distant regions a boundless expanse to rove in—an enjoyment not to be found in mountainous regions, be the mountains ever so distant. For

"'Tis distance lends enchantment to the view."

Thus we went on slowly northward, while the sun rose over the patches of water, which spread over the grassy plain; and on our left the village displayed its snug yards and huts, neatly fenced and shaded by spreading trees. We now left Maduwári, and after a little while passed another village called Dógoji, when we came to a large hamlet or "berí" of Kánembú cattle-breeders, who had the care of almost all the cattle of the villages along the shores of the lake, which is very credibly reported to amount together to eleven thousand head. The herd here collected—numbering at least a thousand head, most of them of

* The Yédiná named to me the following islands as the largest and most important: Gúriyá, Yíwaa Dóji, Belárge, Húshiyá Billán, Purrám, Maibuluwá, Fidda, Kóllea Dallabórme, Turbó Dakkabeláya, Fujia Chílim, and Bréjaré, the latter having many horses. Almost all these names have been since confirmed by Mr. Overweg, although he spells some of them in a different way, and perhaps less accurately, as he obtained all his information from his Kanúri companions; indeed, notwithstanding his long sojourn among the islanders, he did not even learn their real name, viz., Yédiná. The Yédiná belong evidently to the Kótoko, and are most nearly related to the people of Nghála; they are probably already indicated by Makrízi under the name ابغنا, and their language was originally entirely distinct from the Kanúri, although in process of time they have adopted many of their terms.

that peculiar kind called kúri, mentioned above—was placed in the midst, while the men were encamped all around, armed with long spears and light shields; at equal distances long poles were fixed in the ground, on which the butter was hung up in skins or in "kórió," vessels made of grass. Here we had some delay, as Fúgo 'Ali, who was the inspector of all these villages, had to make inquiries respecting three head of cattle belonging to the vizier which had been stolen during the night. On our left the considerable village of Bínder, which is at least as large as Maduwári, exhibited an interesting picture, and I had leisure to make a sketch.

Having here indulged in a copious draught of fresh milk, we resumed our march, turning to the eastward; and, having passed through deep water, we reached the creek "Kógorám," surrounded by a dense belt of tall rushes of various kinds. We were just about to leave this gulf, when we were joined by Zíntelma, another Kánemma chief, who ever afterward remained attached to me and Mr. Overweg, with five horsemen. Our troop having thus increased, we went on cheerfully to another creek called Tábirám, whence we galloped toward Bolé, trying in vain to overtake a troop of kelára (the antelope before mentioned), which rushed headlong into the water and disappeared in the jungle. Before, however, we could get to this latter place, we had to pass very deep water, which covered my saddle, though I was mounted on a tall horse, and swamped altogether my poor Bú-S'ad on his pony; nothing but his head and his gun were to be seen for a time. But it was worth while to reach the spot which we thus attained at the widest creek of the lake as yet seen by me—a fine, open sheet of water, the surface of which, agitated by a light east wind, threw its waves upon the shore. All around was one forest of reeds of every description, while the water itself was covered with water-plants, chiefly the water-lily, or *Nymphæa lotus*. Numberless flocks of water-fowl of every description played about. The creek has an angular form, and its recess, which makes a deep indentation from E. 30° N. to W. 30° S., is named Nghélle.

Having made our way through the water and rushes, and at

length got again on firm ground, we made a momentary halt to consider what next to do. Háj Beshír had taught me to hope that it would be possible to reach on horseback the island Só-yurum,* which extends a long way into the lake, and whence I might have an extensive view over the Kúlu kemé and many of the islands; but my companions were unanimously of opinion that the depth of the water to be crossed for many miles exceeded the height of my horse; and although I was quite ready to expose myself to more wetting in order to see a greater portion of this most interesting feature of Central Africa, I nevertheless did not think it worth while to ride a whole day through deep water, particularly as in so doing I should not be able to keep my chronometer and my compass dry; for these were now the most precious things which I had on earth, and could not be replaced or repaired so easily as gun and pistols. But, moreover, my horse, which had never been accustomed to fatigue, and had not been well fed, had become quite lame, and seemed scarcely able to carry me back to Kúkawa. I therefore gave up the idea of visiting the island, which, in some years, when the lake does not rise to a great height, may be reached with little inconvenience,† and followed my companions toward the large village of Káwa.‡

Passing over fields planted with cotton and beans, but without native corn, which is not raised here at all, we reached Káwa after an hour's ride, while we passed on our left a small swamp. Káwa is a large, straggling village, which seems to enjoy some political pre-eminence above the other places hereabouts, and on this account is placed in a somewhat hostile position to the independent inhabitants of the islands, with which the Kánembú

* Mr. Overweg writes Sëurum.

† The distance of the western shore of this island can not be more than, at the utmost, thirty miles from the shore of the lagoon, at least at certain seasons. Mr. Overweg's indications in respect to this island, which he would seem to have navigated all round, are very vague. At all events, I think that it must be considerably nearer the shore than it has been laid down by Mr. Petermann; but it is difficult, nay, impossible, to fix with precision the form or size of these islands, which, according to season, vary continually.

‡ One of the horsemen from Bínder informed me of some other harbors hereabouts, named Kelá kemágenbe (elephant's head), Daláwa, Kabáya, and Ngíbia.

in general keep up a sort of peaceful intercourse. What to me seemed the most interesting objects were the splendid trees adorning the place. The sycamore under which our party was desired to rest in the house of Fúgo 'Ali's sister was most magnificent, and afforded the most agreeable resting-place possible, the space overshadowed by the crown of the tree being inclosed with a separate fence, as the "fágé" or place of meeting. Here we were feasted with a kind of "boló-boló," or water mixed with pounded argúm or dukhn, sour milk, and meat, and then continued our march to Kúkawa, where we arrived just as the vizier was mounting on horseback to go to the sheikh. Galloping up to him, we paid him our respects, and he expressed himself well pleased with me. My companions told him that we had been swimming about in the lake for the last two days, and that I had written down every thing. The whole cavalcade, consisting of eight horsemen, then accompanied me to my house, where I gave them a treat.

I returned just in time from my excursion, for the next day the caravan for Fezzán encamped outside the town, and I had to send off two of my men with it. One of them was the carpenter Ibrahím, a handsome young man, but utterly unfit for work, of whom I was extremely glad to get rid; the other was Mohammed el Gatróni, my faithful servant from Múrzuk, whom I dismissed with heartfelt sorrow. He had a very small salary, and I therefore promised to give him four Spanish dollars a month, and to mount him on horseback, but it was all in vain; he was anxious to see his wife and children again, after which he promised to come back. I therefore, like the generals of ancient Rome, gave him leave of absence—"pueris procreandis daret operam."

On the other side, it was well worth a sacrifice to send a trustworthy man to Fezzán. The expedition had lost its director, who alone was authorized to act in the name of the government which had sent us out; we had no means whatever, but considerable debts, and, without immediate aid by fresh supplies, the surviving members could do no better than to return home as soon as possible. Moreover, there were Mr. Rich-

ardson's private things to be forwarded, and particularly his journal, which, from the beginning of the journey down to the very last days of his life, he had kept with great care—more fortunate he, and more provident in this respect than my other companion, who laughed at me when, during moments of leisure, I finished the notes which I had briefly written down during the march, and who contended that nothing could be done in this respect till after a happy return home. I therefore provided Mohammed, upon whose discretion and fidelity I could entirely rely, with a camel, and intrusted to him all Mr. Richardson's things and my parcel of letters, which he was to forward by the courier, who is generally sent on by the caravan after its arrival in the Tébu country.

There were two respectable men with the caravan, Háj Hasan, a man belonging to the family of El Kánemi, and in whose company Mr. Vogel afterward traveled from Fezzán to Bórnu, and Mohammed Titíwi. On the second of May, therefore, I went to pay a visit to these men, but found only Titíwi, to whom I recommended my servant. He promised to render him all needful assistance. I had but little intercourse with this man, yet this little occurred on important occasions, and so his name has become a pleasant remembrance to me. I first met him when sending off the literary remains of my unfortunate companion. I at the same time ventured to introduce myself to her majesty's government, and to try if it would so far rely upon me, a foreigner, as to intrust me with the further direction of the expedition, and to ask for means; it was then Titíwi again who brought me the most honorable dispatches from the British government, authorizing me to carry out the expedition just as it had been intended, and at the same time means for doing so. It was Titíwi who, on the day when I was leaving Kúkawa on my long, adventurous journey to Timbúktu, came to my house to wish me success in my arduous undertaking; and it was Titíwi again who, on the second of August, 1855, came to the consul's house in Tripoli to congratulate me on my successful return from the interior.

He was an intelligent man, and, being informed that I was

about to undertake a journey to Adamáwa, the dangers of which he well knew, he expressed his astonishment that I should make the attempt with a weak horse, such as I was then riding. My horse, though it had recovered a little from its lameness, and was getting strength from a course of dumplings made of the husk of Negro corn mixed with natron, which it had to swallow every morning and evening, was any thing but a good charger; and having previously determined to look about for a better horse, I was only confirmed in my intention by the observation of the experienced merchant.

This was one of the largest slave caravans which departed during my stay in Bórnu; for, if I am not mistaken, there were seven hundred and fifty slaves in the possession of the merchants who went with it. Slaves are as yet the principal export from Bórnu, and will be so till the slave-trade on the north coast is abolished.*

Overweg had not yet arrived, although we had received information that he was on his way directly from Zínder, having given up his intention of visiting Kanó. Before I set out on my journey to Adamáwa, it was essential that I should confer with him about many things, and particularly as to what he himself should first undertake, but the rainy season was fast approaching even here, while in Adamáwa it had set in long ago, and it seemed necessary that I should not delay any longer. In the afternoon of the fifth of May we had the first unmistakable token of the rainy season—a few heavy claps of thunder followed by rain. But I did not tarry; the very same day I bought in the market all that was necessary for my journey, and the next day succeeded in purchasing a very handsome and strong gray horse, "kerí bul," for twelve hundred and seventy rotls, equal at that moment to two-and-thirty Austrian dollars, while I sold my weak horse which the sheikh had given me for nine hundred rotls, or twenty-two dollars and a half.

Having also bought an Arab saddle, I felt myself quite a match for any body, and hearing in the afternoon that the sheikh

* This is now really the case. I shall speak of the articles of trade in Bórnu at the end of my work.

had gone to Gawánge, a place two miles and a half east from the town toward the lake, I mounted my new steed, and setting off at a gallop, posted myself before the palace just when 'Omár was about to come out with the flourishing of the trumpets, sounding the Háusa word "gashí, gashí," "here he is, here he is." The sheikh was very handsomely dressed in a fine white bernús, over another of light blue color, and very well mounted on a fine black horse, "fir kéra." He was accompanied by several of his and the vizier's courtiers, and about two hundred horsemen, who were partly riding by his side, partly galloping on in advance and returning again to the rear, while sixty slaves, wearing red jackets over their shirts, and armed with matchlocks, ran in front of and behind his horse. The vizier, who saw me first, saluted me very kindly, and sent Hámza Weled el Góni to take me to the sheikh, who made a halt, and asked me very graciously how I was going on, and how my excursion to the lake had amused me. Having then taken notice of my sprightly horse, the vizier called my servant, and expressed his regret that the horse which they had presented to me had not proved good, saying that I ought to have informed them, when they would have given me a better one. I promised to do so another time, and did not forget the warning.

Wednesday, May 7th. Mr. Overweg arrived. The way in which he was announced to me was so singular as to merit description. It was about an hour before noon, and I was busy collecting some interesting information from my friend Ibrahím el Futáwi about Tagánet, when suddenly the little M'adi arrived. This lad, a liberated slave, had been Mr. Richardson's servant, and is frequently mentioned in that gentleman's journal. As he had been among those of my companion's people who, to my great regret, had left Kúkawa the day before I arrived without having their claims settled, I was very glad when he came back, but could not learn from him how it happened that he returned; when, after some chat, he told me, incidentally, that the tabíb (Mr. Overweg) was also come, and was waiting for me in Kálilwá. Of course it was the latter who, meeting the lad on the road, had brought him back, and had sent him now expressly

to inform me of his arrival. This dull but good-natured lad, who was afterward severely wounded in the service of the mission, is now Mr. Vogel's chief servant.

As soon as I fully understood the purport of this important message, I ordered my horse to be saddled, and mounted. The sun was extremely powerful just about noon, shortly before the setting in of the rainy season, and as I had forgotten, in the hurry and excitement, to wind a turban round my cap, I very nearly suffered a sun-stroke. A traveler can not be too careful of his head in these countries.

I found Overweg in the shade of a nebek-tree near Kálilwá. He looked greatly fatigued and much worse than when I left him, four months ago, at Tasáwa; indeed, as he told me, he had been very sickly in Zínder—so sickly that he had been much afraid lest he should soon follow Mr. Richardson to the grave. Perhaps the news which he just then heard of our companion's death made him more uneasy about his own illness. However, we were glad to meet him alive, and expressed our hopes to be able to do a good deal for the exploration of these countries. He had had an opportunity of witnessing, during his stay in Góber and Marádi, the interesting struggle going on between this noblest part of the Háusa nation and the Fúlbe, who threaten their political as well as religious independence;* and he was deeply impressed with the charming scenes of unrestrained cheerful life which he had witnessed in those pagan communities; while I, for my part, could assure him that my reception in Bórnu seemed to guarantee success, although, under existing circumstances, there seemed to be very little hope that we should ever be able to make a journey all round the Tsád; but I thought that, with the assistance of those people in Bínder and Maduwári whom I had just visited, and who appeared to be on friendly terms with the islanders, it might be possible to explore the navigable part of the lagoon in the boat.

* Unfortunately, Mr. Overweg made no report on this his excursion, most probably on account of his sickness in Zínder, and his afterward being occupied with other things. His memoranda are in such a state that, even for me, it would be possible, only with the greatest exertion, to make any thing out of them, with the exception of names.

Mr. Overweg was, in some respects, very badly off, having no clothes with him but those which he actually wore, all his luggage being still in Kanó, though he had sent two men to fetch it. I was therefore obliged to lend him my own things, and he took up his quarters in another part of our house, though it was rather small for our joint establishment. The vizier was very glad of his arrival, and, in fulfillment of his engagement to deliver all the things left by Mr. Richardson* as soon as Mr. Overweg should arrive, he sent all the half-empty boxes of our late companion in the evening of the next day; even the gun and pistols, and the other things which had been sold, were returned, with the single exception of Mr. Richardson's watch, which, as the sheikh was very fond of it, and kept it near him night and day, I thought it prudent to spare him the mortification of returning.

Mr. Overweg and I, having then made a selection from the articles that remained to us, presented to the vizier, on the morning of the ninth, those destined for him, and in the afternoon we presented the sheikh with his share. These presents could not be now expected to please by their novelty, or to awaken a feeling of gratitude in the receivers, who had long been in possession of them; but, although made to understand by Mr. Richardson's interpreters that he alone had been authorized by the British government, Mr. Overweg and I not being empowered to interfere, and that consequently they might regard themselves as legitimate possessors of our deceased companion's property, they must yet have entertained some doubt about the equity of their claim; and as soon as I arrived, and began to act with firmness, they grew ashamed of having listened to intriguing servants. In short, though we had put them to shame, they esteemed us all the better for our firmness, and received their presents in a very gracious manner.

We now spoke also about the treaty, the negotiation of which, we said, had been specially intrusted to our companion, but now, by his death, had devolved on us. Both of them assured us

* A complete list of all these things was forwarded to the government at the time.

of their ardent desire to open commercial intercourse with the English, but at the same time they did not conceal that their principal object in so doing was to obtain fire-arms. They also expressed their desire that two of their people might return with us to England, in order to see the country and its industry, which we told them we were convinced would be most agreeable to the British government. Our conversation was so unrestrained and friendly that the sheikh himself took the opportunity of excusing himself for having appropriated Mr. Richardson's watch.

But the following narrative will show how European travelers, endeavoring to open these countries to European intercourse, have to struggle against the intrigues of the Arabs, who are well aware that as soon as the Europeans, or rather the English, get access to Negroland, not only their slave-trade, but even their whole commerce, as they now carry it on, will be annihilated.

We had scarcely re-entered our house, when, the rumor spreading through the Arab quarter of the manner in which we had been received, and of the matters talked of, El Khodr, a native of Dar-Fúr, and the foremost of the native traders, went to the sheikh with the news that seven large vessels of the English had suddenly arrived at Núpe, and that the natives were greatly afraid of them. This announcement was soon found to be false, but nevertheless it served its purpose, to cool a little the friendly and benevolent feeling which had been manifested toward us.

The following day we went to pitch the large double tent which we had given to the sheikh on the open area before his palace in the eastern town; and having fully succeeded in arranging it, although a few pieces were wanting, it was left the whole day in its place, and made a great impression upon the people. At first it seemed rather awkward to the natives, whose tents, even if of large size, are mere bell-tents; but in the course of time it pleased the sheikh so much, that, when I finally left the country, he begged me to entreat the British government to send him another one like it.*

* Such a tent has lately been sent through the liberality of the Earl of Clarendon, together with some other presents.

We also paid our respects to the principal of the sheikh's brothers, as well as to his eldest son. Having obtained permission, we visited 'Abd e' Rahmán, the brother and rival of the sheikh, as we could not prudently be wanting in civility to a person who might soon get the upper hand. We presented him with a fine white heláli bernús, and sundry small things; he received us very graciously, and laughed and chatted a good deal with us on the first as well as on a second visit, when I was obliged to show him the pictures in Denham's and Clapperton's work, and the drawing I had myself made of his friend, the Kánemma chief, A'msakay, of which he had heard; but his manners did not please us very much. His countenance had a very wild expression, and he manifested little intelligence or princely demeanor, wrangling and playing the whole day with his slaves. Besides, we were obliged to be cautious in our dealing with him; for we had scarcely made his acquaintance, when he sent us a secret message, begging for poison, with which he most probably wished to rid himself of his deadly enemy, the vizier. Quite a different man was Yúsuf, the sheikh's second brother, with whom, during my last stay in Kúkawa, in the beginning of 1855, I became intimately acquainted. He was a learned and very religious man, always reading, and with a very acute sense of justice; but he was not a man of business. As for Bú-Bakr, the eldest son of 'Omár, who now unfortunately seems to have the best claim to the succession, he was a child, devoid of intelligence or noble feelings. Twice was I obliged to have recourse to his father to make him pay me for some articles which he had bought of me.

The much desired moment of my departure for Adamáwa drew nearer and nearer. The delay of my starting on this undertaking, occasioned by the late arrival of Mr. Overweg, had been attended with the great advantage that, meanwhile, some messengers of the governor of that country had arrived, in whose company, as they were returning immediately, I was able to undertake the journey with a much better prospect of success. The subject of their message was that Kashélla 'Alí Ladán, on his late predatory incursion into the Marghí country, had en-

slaved and carried away inhabitants of several places to which the Governor of Adamáwa laid claim, and it was more in order to establish his right than from any real concern in the fate of these unfortunate creatures that he was pleased to lay great stress upon the case. Indeed, as the sequel shows, his letter must have contained some rather harsh or threatening expressions, to which the ruler of Bórnu was not inclined to give way, though he yielded* to the justice of the specific claim. At first these messengers from Adamáwa were to be my only companions besides my own servants, and on the 21st of May I was officially placed under their protection, in the house of the sheikh, by several of the first courtiers or kokanáwa, among whom were the old Ibrahím Wadáy, the friend and companion of Mohammed el Kánemi in his first heroical proceedings, Shítima Náser, Hámza, and Kashélla 'Ali; and the messengers promised to see me safe to their country, and to provide for my safe return.

Ibrahíma, the head man of these messengers, who were all of

* I will here give verbatim a few extracts of my dispatch to government, dated Kúkawa, May 24, 1851, from which it will be seen how sure I was already at that time of the immense importance of the river which I was about to discover.

"My Lord,—I have the honor to inform your lordship that, on Tuesday next, I am to start for Adamáwa, as it is called by the Fellátah (Fullan), or Fúmbiná, a very extensive country, whose capital, Yóla, is distant from here fifteen days S.S.W., situated on *a very considerable river* called Fáro, which, joining another river not less considerable, and likewise navigable, called Bénuwé, falls into the Kwára, or Niger, at a place between Kakanda and Adda, not more than a few days distant from the mouth of that celebrated river." "My undertaking seemed to me the more worthy, *as it has long been the intention of the government to explore that country;* for orders had been given to the Niger expedition to turn aside, if possible, from the course of that river, and to reach Bórnu by a southern road, which, it was presumed, might be effected partly or entirely by water, &c. As for my part, I can at present certify, with the greatest confidence, that there is *no connection whatever between those two rivers*, the Chadda, which is identical with the Bénuwé on the one, and the Shári, the principal tributary of Lake Tsád, on the other side. Nevertheless, the Fáro as well as the Bénuwé seem to have their sources to the E. of the meridian of Kúkawa; and the river formed by these two branches being navigable for larger boats into the very heart of Adamáwa, there will be *a great facility for Europeans to enter that country* after it shall have been sufficiently explored." After speaking of the northern road into the interior by way of Bílma, I concluded with these words:

"By-and-by, I am sure *a southern road will be opened* into the heart of Central Africa, but the time has not yet come."

rather inferior rank, was not such a man as I wished for; but, fortunately, there was among them another person named Mohámmedu, who, although himself a Púllo by descent, had more of the social character of the Háusa race, and was ready to gratify my desire for information. He proved most useful in introducing me into the new country which I was to explore, and would have been of immense service to me if I had been allowed to make any stay there.

After much delay, and having twice taken official leave of the sheikh in full state, I had at length the pleasure of seeing our little band ready for starting in the afternoon of Thursday, the 29th May, 1851. Rather more, I think, with a view to his own interest than from any apprehension on my account, the sheikh informed me, in the last interview which I had with him, that he would send an officer along with me. This move puzzled me from the beginning, and caused me some misgiving; and there is not the least doubt, as the sequel will show, that to the company of this officer it must be attributed that I was sent back by Mohammed Láwl, the Governor of Adamáwa, without being allowed to stay any time in the country; but, for truth's sake, I must admit that if I had not been accompanied by this man it is doubtful whether I should have been able to overcome the very great difficulties and dangers which obstruct this road.

CHAPTER XXXII.

SETTING OUT ON MY JOURNEY TO ADAMÁWA.—THE FLAT, SWAMPY GROUNDS OF BÓRNU.

Thursday, May 29th. At four o'clock in the afternoon I left the "chínna ánumbe," the southern gate of Kúkawa, on my adventurous journey to Adamáwa. My little troop was not yet all collected; for, being extremely poor at the time, or rather worse than poor, as I had nothing but considerable debts, I had cherished the hope that I should be able to carry all my

luggage on one camel; but when the things were all packed up—provisions, cooking utensils, tent, and a few presents—I saw that the one weak animal which I had was not enough, and bought another of Mr. Overweg, which had first to be fetched from the pasture-ground. I therefore left two servants and my old experienced Háusa warrior, the M'allem Katúri, whom, as I have stated above, I had expressly hired for this journey, behind me in the town, in order to follow us in the night with the other camel.

Mr. Overweg, attended by a spirited little fellow named 'Ali, a native of Ghát, who had brought his luggage from Kanó, accompanied me. But the most conspicuous person in our troop was Billama,* the officer whom the sheikh had appointed to accompany me, a tall, handsome Bórnu man, mounted on a most splendid gray horse of great size and of a very quick pace. He had two servants with him, besides a man of Malá Ibrám, likewise mounted on horseback, who was to accompany us as far as the Marghí country. The messengers from Adamáwa, as we proceeded onward, gradually collected together from the hamlets about, where they had been waiting for us, and the spearmen among them saluted me by raising their spears just in my face, and beating their small, round hippopotamus shields; Mohámmedu was armed with a sword and bow and arrows. They had not been treated so well as, with reference to my prospects, the sheikh ought to have treated them, and Ibrahíma, instead of a handsome horse which was promised him, had received a miserable poor mare, quite unfit for himself, and scarcely capable of carrying his little son and his small provision-bag.

As soon as I had left the town behind me, and saw that I was fairly embarked in my undertaking, I indulged in the most pleasant feelings. I had been cherishing the plan of penetrating into those unknown countries to the south for so long a time that I felt the utmost gratification in being at length able to carry out my design. At that time I even cherished the hope that I

* "Billama" properly means mayor, from "billa," a town; but in many cases it has become a proper name.

might succeed in reaching Báya, and thus extend my inquiries as far as the equator; but my first design was, and had always been, to decide by ocular evidence the question with regard to the direction and the tributaries of the great river which flowed through the country in the south.

Leaving the Ngórnu road to our left, we reached the village Kárba at sunset, but were received so inhospitably that, after much opposition from a quarrelsome old woman, we took up our quarters, not inside, but outside her court-yard, and with difficulty obtained a little fire, with which we boiled some coffee, but had not fire-wood enough for cooking a supper, so that we satisfied our appetite with cold "díggwa," a sweetmeat made of meal, honey, and butter. The inhabitants of the villages at no great distance from the capital are generally very inhospitable; but the traveler will find the same in any country.

Friday, May 30th. At an early hour we were ready to resume our march, not having even pitched a tent during the night. The morning was very fine, and, in comparison with the naked and bare environs of the capital, the country seemed quite pleasant to me, although the flora offered scarcely any thing but stunted acacias of the gáwo and kindíl kind, while dúm-bush and the *Asclepias procera* formed the underwood, and coarse dry grass, full of "ngíbbu," or *Pennisetum distichum*, covered the ground. Now and then a fine tamarind-tree interrupted this monotony and formed a landmark; indeed, both the well which we passed (Tamsúkú-korí) and the village Tamsúkwá have received their names from this most beautiful and useful tree, which in Kanúri is called tamsúku or temsúku.

After only four hours' march we halted near the village Pírtwa, as Mr. Overweg was now to return, and as I wished my other people to come up. Having long tried in vain to buy some provisions with our "kúngona" or shells, Mr. Overweg at length succeeded in purchasing a goat with his servant's shirt. This article, even if much worn, is always regarded as ready money in the whole of Negroland, and as long as a man has a shirt he is sure not to starve. Afterward the inhabitants of the village brought us several bowls of "bírri," or porridge of

Negro corn, and we employed ourselves in drinking coffee and eating till it was time for Mr. Overweg to depart, when we separated with the most hearty wishes for the success of each other's enterprise; for we had already fully discussed his undertaking to navigate the lagoon in the English boat.

We then started at a later hour, and, following a more westerly path, took up our night's quarters at Dýnnamarí, the village of Dýnnama or A'made. Instead of this most westerly road, my people had taken the most easterly, and we at length joined them, a little before noon of the following day, at the village U'lo Kurá, which, with the whole district, belongs to the "Mágirá" (the mother of the sheikh), and so forms a distinct domain called "Mágirári." But the country for thirty or forty miles round Kúkawa is intersected by so many paths that it is very difficult for parties to meet if the place of rendezvous has not been precisely indicated. The country hereabouts at this time of the year presents a most dreary appearance, being full of those shallow hollows of deep black argillaceous soil, called "fírki" by the Kanúri and "ghadír" by the Arabs, which during the rainy season form large ponds of water, and when the rainy season draws to an end and the water decreases, afford the most excellent soil for the cultivation of the "másakwá," a species of holcus (*H. cernuus*), which constitutes a very important article of cultivation in these alluvial lowlands round the Tsád, or even for wheat. At a later season, after the grain is harvested, these hollows, being sometimes of immense extent, and quite bare and naked, give the country a most dismal appearance. The water in U'lo Kurá was extremely disagreeable, owing to this nature of the ground.

Continuing our march in the afternoon, after the heat had decreased, we passed, after about four miles, the first encampment of Shúwa, or berí Shúwabe, which I had yet seen in the country. Shúwa is a generic name, denoting all the Arabs (or rather eastern Arabs) settled in Bórnu, and forming a component part of the population of the country; in Bagírmi they are called Shíwa. No Arab from the coast is ever denoted by this name, but his title is Wásirí or Wásilí. This native Arab

population appears to have immigrated from the east at a very early period, although at present we have no direct historical proof of the presence of these Arabs in Bórnu before the time of Edrís Alawóma,* about two hundred and fifty years ago.

Of the migration of these Arabs from the east there can not be the least doubt. They have advanced gradually through the eastern part of Negroland, till they have overspread this country, but without proceeding farther toward the west. Their dialect is quite different from the Mághrebí, while in many respects it still preserves the purity and eloquence of the language of Hijáz, particularly as regards the final vowels in the conjugation. Many of their national customs also still point to their ancient settlements, as we shall see farther on. I became very intimate with these people at a later period, by taking into my service a young Shúwa lad, who was one of my most useful servants on my journey to Timbúktu. These Shúwa are divided into many distinct families or clans, and altogether may form in Bórnu a population of from 200,000 to 250,000 souls, being able to bring into the field about 20,000 light cavalry. Most of them have fixed villages, where they live during the rainy season, attending the labors of the field, while during the remaining part of the year they wander about with their cattle. I shall say more about them in the course of my proceedings, as opportunity occurs. The clan, whose encampment or berí we passed to-day, are generally called Kárda by the Bórnu people—I can not say why ;† while their indigenous name, "Bajáudi," seems to indicate an intermixture with the Fúlbe or Felláta, with whom the Shúwa in general are on the most friendly terms, and may often be confounded with them on account of the similarity of their complexion and manners. In fact, there is no doubt that it was the Shúwa who prepared and facilitated the settlement of the Fúlbe or Felláta in Bórnu.

We took up our quarters for the night in one of the four clusters of huts which form the village Múngholo Gezáwa, and which,

* See the Chronological Tables in the Appendix.

† Kárda is properly the name of that division of the Mánga which is settled in the province of Máshena.

by the neatness and cleanliness of its yards and cottages, did honor to its lord, the Vizier of Bórnu. It was here that I first observed several small pools of rain-water, which bore testimony to the greater intensity and the earlier setting in of the rainy season in these regions. There were also great numbers of water-fowl seen hereabouts.

Sunday, June 1st. When we left our quarters in the morning we hesitated a while as to what road to take, whether that by "Múbiyó," or that by "U'da" or "Wúda," but at length we decided for the latter. The country exhibited a peculiar but not very cheerful character, the ground consisting, in the beginning, of white clay, and farther on of a soil called "gárga" by the Kanúri people, and now and then quite arid and barren, while at other times it was thickly overgrown with prickly underwood, with a tamarind-tree shooting up here and there. We then came to a locality covered with a dense forest, which at a later period in the rainy season forms one continuous swamp, but at present was dry, with the exception of some deep hollows already filled with water. Here we found some of the inhabitants of the district, all of whom are Shúwa, busy in forming watering-places for the cattle by inclosing circular hollows with low dikes. One of these people was of a complexion so light as to astonish me; indeed, he was no darker than my hands and face, and perhaps even a shade lighter; his features were those of the Shúwa in general, small and handsome, his figure slender. The general size of these Arabs does not exceed five feet and a half, but they look much taller on account of the peculiar slenderness of their forms; for, although I have seen many specimens of stout Fúlbe, I have scarcely ever seen one robust Shúwa. The forest was enlivened by numberless flocks of wild pigeons.

We then emerged into a more open country, passing several villages of a mixed population, half of them being Shúwa, the other half Kanúri. All their huts have a thatched roof of a perfectly spherical shape, quite distinct from the general form of huts in this country, the top, or "kógi ngímbe," being entirely wanting. One of these villages, called Dásedísk, is well

remembered by the people on account of the sheikh, Mohammed el Kánemi, having been once encamped in its neighborhood. At a rather early hour we halted for the heat of the day in a village called Ménoway, where an old decrepit Shúwa from U′da, led by his equally aged and faithful better half, came to me in quest of medicine for his infirmities. To my great vexation, a contribution of several fowls was laid by my companions upon the villagers for my benefit, and I had to console an old blind man who stumbled about in desperate search after his cherished hen. There was a numerous herd of cattle just being watered at the two wells of the village.

Starting again in the afternoon, we reached one of the hamlets forming the district Magá just in time to avoid the drenching of a violent storm which broke forth in the evening. But the lanes formed by the fences of the yards were so narrow that we had the greatest difficulty in making our camels pass through them—an inconvenience which the traveler experiences very often in these countries, where the camel is not the indigenous and ordinary beast of burden. The well here was nine fathoms deep.

Monday, June 2d. Starting tolerably early, we reached after two miles an extensive fírki, the black boggy soil of which, now dry, showed a great many footprints of the giraffe. This I thought remarkable at the moment, but still more so when, in the course of my travels, I became aware how very rarely this animal, which roams over the extensive and thinly-inhabited plains on the border of Negroland, is found within the populous districts. This "fírki" was the largest I had yet seen, and exceeded three miles in length. Much rain had already fallen hereabouts; and further on, near a full pond, we observed two wild hogs (gadó), male (bí) and female (kúrgurí), running one after the other. This also was a new sight for me, as heretofore I had scarcely seen a single specimen of this animal in this part of the world; but afterward I found that, in the country between this and Bagírmi, this animal lives in immense numbers. We here overtook a small troop of native traders, or "tugúrchi," with sumpter oxen laden with natron, while an-

other with unloaded beasts was just returning from Ujé. A good deal of trade is carried on in this article with the last-named place.

Having gone on in advance of the camels with Bíllama and M'allem Katúri, I waited a long time under a splendid "chédia" or "jéja" (the Háusa name), the caoutchouc-tree, indicating the site of a large town of the Gámerghú, called Muná (which has been destroyed by the Fúlbe or Felláta), expecting our people to come up, as we intended to leave the direct track, and go to a neighboring village wherein to spend the hot hours of the day; but, as they delayed too long, we thought we might give them sufficient indication of our having left the road by laying a fresh branch across it. This is a very common practice in the country; but it requires attention on the part of those who follow, and may sometimes lead to confusion. On one occasion, when I had, in like manner, gone on in advance of my people, a second party of horsemen, who had likewise left their people behind, came between me and my baggage-train, and, as they were pursuing a by-way, they laid a branch across the chief road; my people, on coming up to the branch, thought that it was laid by me, and, following the by-way, caused much delay. Other people make a mark with a spear. I and my horsemen went to the village and lay down in the cool shade of a tamarind-tree; but we soon became convinced that our people had not paid attention to the mark. With difficulty we obtained something to eat from the villagers.

The heat had been very oppressive; and we had just mounted our horses when a storm broke out in the south, but fortunately without reaching us. Proceeding at a swift pace, we found our people encamped in a village called I'bramrí, and, having roused them, immediately continued our march. Beyond this village I observed the first cotton-field occurring on this road. The country was thickly inhabited, and gave evidence of a certain degree of industry; in the village Bashírorí I observed a dyeing-place. The country was laid out in corn-fields of considerable extent, which had just been sown. All this district then belonged to Mestréma, as an estate in fee; but after the

revolution of 1854 this man was disgraced and the estate taken from him.

I had already felt convinced that the kúka, or *Adansonia digitata*, is one of the commonest trees of Negroland; but all the numerous specimens which I had hitherto seen of this colossal tree were leafless, forming rather gloomy and unpleasant objects: here, however, I saw it for the first time adorned with leaves; and though the foliage seemed to bear no proportion to the colossal size of the boughs, yet the tree had a much more cheerful aspect. We took up our quarters for the night in Ujé Maidúguri, a large and comfortable-looking place, such as I had not yet met with since I left Kúkawa; but the yard, which was assigned to us by the slaves of Mestréma, was in the very worst state, and I was obliged to pitch my tent. However, we were hospitably treated, and fowls and a sheep, as well as bírri, were brought to us.

We had now reached one of the finest districts of Bórnu, which is collectively called Ujé, but which really comprises a great many places of considerable size. This was once the chief province of the Gámerghú, a tribe often mentioned in the history of Edrís Alawóma,* and who, as their language shows, are closely related to the Wándalá, or, as they are generally called, Mándara.† This tribe has at present lost all national independence, while its brethren in Morá and the places around, protected by the mountainous character of the country, still maintain their freedom against the Kanúri and Fúlbe, but, as it seems, will soon be swallowed up by the latter. While the greater part of the Gámerghú have been exterminated, the rest are heavily taxed, although the tribute which they have to deliver to the sheikh himself consists only in butter. Every large place in this district has a market of its own; but a market of very considerable importance is held in Ujé, and is from this

* See Chronological Tables.

† The Mándara people, or rather Ur-wándalá, call the Gámerghú Múks-amálguwá, which I think is a nickname, the word múkse meaning woman; but the latter part of the name, Amálguwá, may be the original form of Gámerghú. I had no opportunity of asking the people themselves about their original name.

circumstance called Ujé Kásukulá — "kásukú" means "the market." In Ujé Maíduguri* a market is held every Wednesday on the west side of the town, where a small quadrangular area is marked out with several rows of stalls or sheds. The place was once surrounded by an earthen wall, the circumference of which seems to show its greater magnitude in former times.

Escorted by a troop of Mestréma's idle servants, we entered, on the following morning, the fine, open country which stretches out on the south side of Maíduguri. The whole plain appeared to be one continuous corn-field, interrupted only by numerous villages, and shaded here and there by single monkey-bread-trees, or Adansonias, and various species of fig-trees, such as the ngábbore, with their succulent, dark-green foliage, and báure, with large, fleshy leaves of a bright green color. Since I left Kanó I had not seen so fine a country. The plain is traversed by a large fiumara or komádugu, which comes from the neighborhood of Aláwó, where there is a great collection of water, and reaches the Tsád by way of Díkowa, Nghála, and Mbulú. At the three letter places I have crossed it myself in the course of my travels; and between Ujé and Díkowa it has been visited by Mr. Vogel, but I do not know whether he is able to lay down its course with accuracy.

We had to cross the water-course twice before we reached Mábaní, a considerable place situated on a broad, sandy hill, at a distance of little more than four miles from Maíduguri. To my great astonishment, at so early an hour in the morning, my party proceeded to take up quarters here; but the reason was that the messengers from A'damáwa had to inquire hereabouts for some people, who, as I have stated before, had been carried away by Kashélla 'Ali. However, in the absence of the billama or head man of the town, a long time elapsed before we could procure quarters; but at length we succeeded in obtaining a sort of open yard, with two huts and two stalls, or "fáto síggidibé," when I gave up the huts to my companions, and took possession of the best of the stalls, near which I pitched my tent. The

* Maíduguri means the Place of the Maídugu or nobleman.

town covers not only the whole top of the hill, but, descending its southern slope, extends along its foot and over another hill of less size. It may contain from nine to ten thousand inhabitants, and seems to be prosperous; indeed, all the dwellings, despicable as they may appear to the fastidious European, bear testimony to a certain degree of wealth, and few people here seem destitute of the necessaries of life. Besides agriculture, there appears to be a good deal of domestic industry, as the market-place, situated on the eastern slope of the hill, and consisting of from a hundred and fifty to two hundred stalls, and a dyeing-place close by it, amply testify.* I have already mentioned in another place the shirts which are dyed in this district, and which are called "ámaghdí."

When the heat had abated a little I made a pleasant excursion on horseback, accompanied by Billama and Bú-S'ad, first in an easterly direction, through the plain to a neighboring village, and then turning northward to the komádugu, which forms here a beautiful sweep, being lined on the north side by a steep, grassy bank adorned with fine trees. The southern shore was laid out in kitchen-gardens, where, a little farther in the season, wheat and onions are grown. In the bottom of the fiumara we found most delicious water only a foot and a half beneath the surface of the sand, while the water which we obtained in the town, and which was taken from the pools at the foot of the hill, was foul and offensive. These pools are enlivened by a great number of water-fowl, chiefly herons and flamingoes.

The forenoon of Wednesday, also, I gave up to the solicitation of my A'damáwa companions, and usefully employed my time in writing "bolíde Fulfúlde," or the language of the Fúlbe, and more particularly the dialect spoken in A'damáwa, which is, indeed, very different from the Fulfúlde spoken in Góber and Kébbi. Meanwhile old M'allem Katúri was bitten by a scor-

* It was in this place, as I have ascertained with some difficulty, that Mr. Vogel made the astronomical observation which he assigns to Ujé, whereas Ujé is an extensive district. He has made a similar mistake with regard to his observation at Múniyo or Mínyo. Unfortunately, there seems to be a mistake or slip of the pen in the cipher representing the longitude of the place, and I have therefore not been able to make use of it.

pion, and I had to dress the wound with a few drops of ammonia, for which he was very grateful.

In the afternoon we pursued our march; and I then became aware that we had made a great *détour*, Maíduguri, as well as Mábaní, not lying on the direct route. We had been joined in the latter place by a party of "pilgrim traders" from the far-distant Másena, or, as in European maps the name is generally written, Massina, on their home-journey from Mekka, who excited much interest in me. The chief person among them was a native of Hamd-Alláhi,* the capital of the new Púllo kingdom of Mélle or Másena, who carried with him a considerable number of books, which he had bought in the East more for the purposes of trade than for his own use. He was mounted on a camel, but had also a pack-ox laden with salt, which he had been told he might dispose of to great advantage in A'damáwa. Thus pilgrims are always trading in these countries. But this poor man was not very successful, for his books were partly spoiled in crossing the River Bénuwé, and his camel died during the rainy season in A'damáwa. However, he thence continued his journey homeward, while his four companions returned eastward and met with me once more in Logón, and the last time on the banks of the Shári. Two of them were mounted on fine asses, which they had brought with them from Dár-Fúr.

Our way led us through a populous and fertile country, first along the meandering course of the komádugu, which was here lined with ngábbore or *ficus*, and with the birgim or diña (as it is called in Háusa), a tree attaining a height of from thirty to forty feet, but not spreading wide, with leaves of a darkish green, and fruit like a small plum, but less soft, and of a black color, though it was not yet ripe. Here I was greeted by the cheerful sight of the first corn-crop of the season which I had yet seen, having lately sprung up, and adorning the fields with its lively fresh green. Rain had been very copious hereabouts,

* This is the only form of the name actually used by the natives, as the founders of that city have not taken the trouble to ask scholars if that was grammatically right. However, there is a small village of the name of Hamdu-lilláhi, as we shall see, but entirely distinct from the former.

and several large pools were formed along the komádugu, in which the boys of the neighboring villages were catching small fish three or four inches long, while in other places the banks of the river were overgrown with beautifully-fresh grass. Having crossed and recrossed the gumara, we ascended its steep left bank, which in some places exhibited regular strata of sandstone. Here we passed a little dyeing-yard of two or three pots, while several patches of indigo were seen at the foot of the bank, and a bustling group of men and cattle gathered round the well. Villages were seen lying about in every direction; and single cottages, scattered about here and there, gave evidence of a sense of security. The corn-fields were most agreeably broken by tracts covered with the bushes of the wild gonda, which has a most delicious fruit, of a fine cream-like taste, and of the size of a peach, a great part of which, however, is occupied by the stone. The country through which we passed was so interesting to me, and my conversation with my Háusa m'allem about the labors of the field so animated, that we made a good stretch without being well aware of it, and took up our quarters in a place called Pálamarí* when it was already dark. However, our evening rest passed less agreeably than our afternoon's ride, owing to a violent conjugal quarrel in an adjoining cottage, the voices of the leading pair in the dispute being supported by the shrill voices of village gossips.

Thursday, June 5th. In riding through the village as we set out in the morning, I observed that the yards were unusually spacious, and the cottages very large; but it struck me that I did not see a single "bóngo," or hut of clay walls, and I thought myself justified in drawing the conclusion that the inhabitants must find shelter enough under their light thatched walls, and consequently that the rainy season is moderate here.

We had scarcely emerged from the narrow lanes of the village when I was gratified with the first sight of the mountainous region: it was Mount Deládebá or Dalántubá, which appeared toward the south, and the sight of which filled my heart

* It might seem that the name should rather be Billamarí; but that is not the case. I do not know the meaning of "pálama."

with joyous anticipations, not unlike those with which, on my first wanderings in 1840, I enjoyed the distant view of the Tyrolean Alps from the village Semling, near Munich. But our march was but a pretense; we had not been a full hour on the road, crossing a country adorned chiefly with the bushes of the wild gonda, when Billama left the path and entered the village Fúgo Mozári. The reason was that to-day (Thursday) the market was held in the neighboring Ujé Kasúkulá, and it was essential that some of our party should visit or (to use their expression) "eat" this market.

However, I did not stay long in our quarters, which, though comfortable, were rather close, and of an extremely labyrinthine character, being divided into several small yards separated from each other by narrow passages inclosed with high síggedi mats. After a brief delay I mounted again with Billama and Bu-S'ad, and after two miles reached the market-town, crossing on our path a shallow branch of the komádugu, overgrown with succulent herbage, and exhibiting a scene of busy life.

The market was already well attended, and answered to its fame. As it is held every Thursday and Sunday, it is visited not only by people from Kúkawa, but also from Kanó,* for which reason European as well as Háusa manufactures are often cheaper in Ujé than in Kúkawa. This we found to be the case with common paper, "tre lune." The articles with which the market is provided from Kúkawa are chiefly natron and salt; and I myself bought here a good supply of this latter article, as it has a great value in A'damáwa, and may be used as well for buying small objects as for presents. Ujé, however, derives also great importance from the slave-trade, situated as it is on the border of several pagan tribes; and I have often heard it said that in the neighborhood of Ujé a husband will sell his wife, or a father his child, when in want of money; but this may be an exaggeration. It is true, however, that slaves who have run away from Kúkawa are generally to be found

* The route from Kanó to Ujé passes by Katágum, from hence to Mésaw, five days; from hence to Gújeba, eight days; and from hence to Ujé, five days—at a slow rate.

here. There might be from five to six thousand customers; but there would be many more if any security were guaranteed to the visitors from the many independent tribes who are living round them, especially the Marghí, Bábir, and Kerékeré. But, as it is, I did not see a single individual in the market who by his dress did not bear testimony to his Mohammedan profession.

Making several times the round of the market, I greatly excited the astonishment of the native traders, who had never seen a European. I then started with Billama on an excursion to Aláwó, the burial-place of the great Bórnu king Edrís Alawóma, although the weather was extremely sultry, and the sun almost insupportable. The whole country is densely inhabited; and my companion, who had formerly been governor of the district, was every where kindly saluted by the inhabitants, particularly the women, who would kneel down by the road side to pay him their respects. However, I was prevented from seeing the sepulchre itself by an immense morass extending in front of the town of Aláwó, and the turning of which would have demanded a great circuit. Numberless flocks of water-fowl enlivened it, while rank herbage and dense forest bordered it all round.

We therefore thought it better to return, particularly as a storm was evidently gathering; but we first went to an encampment of Shúwa, where we found a numerous family engaged, under the shade of a wide-spreading ngábbore, in all the various occupations of household work; but we were very inhospitably received when we begged for something to drink. I shall often have occasion to mention the inhospitality of these people, whom I was sometimes inclined to take for Jews by descent rather than real Arabs. Passing then the village Pálamarí, and keeping along the lovely bed of the fiumara, bordered by fine wide-spreading trees, and richly overgrown with succulent grass, upon which numbers of horses were feeding, we reached our quarters just in time; for, shortly afterward, the storm, which had been hanging in the air the whole day, and had made the heat about noon more insupportable than I ever felt it in my life, came down with considerable violence. The consequence

was that I was driven from the cool shed which I had occupied in the morning into the interior of a hut, where flies and bugs molested me greatly. The sheds or stalls, which are often made with great care, but never water-proof, have the great inconvenience in the rainy season that, while they do not exclude the rain, they retain the humidity, and at the same time shut out the air from the huts to which they are attached.

In the course of the day we obtained the important news that Mohammed Lowel, the governor of A'damáwa, had returned from his expedition against the Bána, or rather Mbána, a tribe settled ten days' march northeastward from Yóla, but at less distance from Ujé. Billama gave me much interesting information about the country before us, chiefly with reference to Sugúr, a powerful and entirely independent pagan chief in the mountains south from Mándará. With regard to this latter country, I perceived more clearly, as I advanced, what a small province it must be, comprehending little more than the capital and a few hamlets lying close around. There came to me also an intelligent-looking Púllo merchant, who was trading between Kanó and Ujé along the route indicated above; but, unluckily, he did not call on me until sunset, just as the prayer of the almákárifú was approaching, and he did not return in the evening as I wished him to do.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE BORDER-COUNTRY OF THE MARGHÍ.

Friday, June 6th. We now commenced traveling more in earnest. Ibrahíma had been busy looking after his master's subjects, who had been carried away into slavery, all about the villages in the neighborhood, but with very little success. Our road passed close by Ujé Kásukulá, which to-day looked quite deserted, and then through a populous country with numerous villages and fine pasture-grounds, where I saw the plant called "wálde" by the Fúlbe.

I had taken great pains in Kúkawa, while gathering information about the country whither I was going, to ascertain from my informants whether snow ever lies there on the tops of the mountains or not; but I could never get at the truth, none of the natives whom I interrogated having ever visited North Africa, so as to be able to identify what he saw on the tops of the mountains in his country with the snow seen in the north. A'hmedu bel Mejúb, indeed, knew the Atlas, and had seen snow on some of the tops of that range; but he had paid little attention to the subject, and did not think himself justified in deciding the question. Now this morning, when we obtained once more a sight of Mount Dalántubá, marking out, as it were, the beginning of a mountainous region, we returned again to the subject; and all that my companions said led me to believe that I might really expect to see snow on the highest mountains of A'damáwa. But, after all, I was mistaken, for they were speaking of clouds. Unfortunately, Bíllama had taken another path, so that to-day I had no one to tell me the names of the villages which we passed. Some geographers think this a matter of no consequence; for them, it is enough if the position of the chief places be laid down by exact astronomical observation; but to me the general character of a country, the way in which the population is settled, and the nature and character of those settlements themselves, seem to form some of the chief and most useful objects of a journey through a new and unknown country.

Having marched for more than two hours through an uninterrupted scene of agriculture and dense population, we entered a wild tract covered principally with the beautiful large bush of the tsáda, the fruit of which, much like a red cherry, has a pleasant acid taste, and was eaten with great avidity, not only by my companions, but even by myself. But the scene of man's activity soon again succeeded to this narrow border of wilderness; and a little before we came to the village Túrbe, which was surrounded by open, cultivated country, we passed a luxuriant tamarind-tree, in the shade of which a blacksmith had established his simple workshop. The group consisted of three persons,

the master heating the iron in the fire, a boy blowing it with a small pair of bellows, or "búbutú," and a lad fixing a handle in a hatchet. On the ground near them lay a finished spear. Riding up to salute the smith, I asked him whence the iron was procured, and learned that it was brought from Madégelé, in Búbanjídda. This is considered as the best iron hereabouts; but a very good sort of iron is obtained also in Mándará.

We halted for the hot hours of the day near a village belonging to the district Shámo, which originally formed part of the Marghí country, but has been separated from it and annexed to Bórnu, its former inhabitants having either been led into slavery or converted to Islám—that is to say, taught to repeat a few Arabic phrases, without understanding a word of them. The inhabitants of the village brought us paste of Guinea-corn and milk, which, mixed together, make a palatable dish. From this place onward, ngáberi, or holcus, prevails almost exclusively, and argúm móro, or *Pennisetum typhoïdeum*, becomes rare.

Some native traders, armed with spears, and driving before them asses laden with salt, here attached themselves to our troop; for the road farther on is so much infested by robbers that only a large body of men can pass it with safety. The country which we now entered bore too evident proofs of the unfortunate condition to which it is reduced, forming a thick forest, through which, nevertheless, here and there, the traces of former cultivation and the mouldering remains of huts are to be seen. According to Bíllama, as late as a few years ago a large portion of this district was inhabited by Kanúri and Gámerghú, the latter, most probably, having taken possession of the lands abandoned by the Marghí; but 'Ali Déndal, who has ruled it for Abú Bakr, the son of 'Omar, a youth without intelligence, and only anxious to make the most of his province, has ruined it by his rapacity; he, however, was soon to be ruined himself. There was a small spot where the forest had been cleared away for cultivation—a proof that the natives, if they were only humanely treated by the government, would not be wanting in exertion.

The forest was partly filled up by a dense jungle of reed-grass, of such a height as to cover horse and rider. The soil is of a

black, boggy, argillaceous nature, and full of holes, which make the passage through this tract extremely difficult in the latter part of the rainy season. My companions also drew my attention to the bee-hives underground, from which a peculiar kind of honey is obtained, which I shall repeatedly have occasion to mention in the course of my narrative.

After three hours' march through this wild and unpleasant country, we reached a small village called Yerímarí, which, according to Billama, had formerly been of much greater size; at present it is inhabited by a few Marghí Mohammedan proselytes. There being only one hut in the yard assigned to us, I preferred pitching my tent, thinking that the storm which had threatened us in the afternoon had passed by, as the clouds had gone westward. However, I soon learned that, in tropical climes, there is no certainty of a storm having passed away, the clouds often returning from the opposite quarter.

We had already retired to rest when the tempest burst upon us with terrible fury, threatening to tear my weak little tent to pieces. Fortunately, the top-ropes were well fastened; and, planting myself against the quarter from whence the wind blew, I succeeded in keeping it upright. The rain came down in torrents, and, though the tent excluded it tolerably well from above, the water rushed in from below and wetted my luggage. But as soon as it fairly begins to rain, a traveler in a tolerable tent is safe, for then the heavy gale ceases. Sitting down upon my camp-stool, I quietly awaited the end of the storm, when I betook myself to the hut, where I found M'allem Katúri and Bú-S'ad comfortably stretched.

Saturday, June 7th. We set out at a tolerably early hour, being all very wet. The rain had been so heavy that the labors of the field could be deferred no longer; and close to the village we saw a couple sowing their little field, the man going on in advance, and making holes in the ground, at equal distances, with a hoe of about five feet long (the "kíski kúllobe"), while his wife, following him, threw a few grains of seed into each hole. These people certainly had nothing to lose; and in order not to risk their little stock of seed, they had waited till the

ground was thoroughly drenched, while some people commit their grain to the ground at the very setting in of the rainy season, and risk the loss of it if the rains should delay too long. After we had passed a small village called Kerikasáma, the forest became very thick; and for a whole hour we followed the immense footprints of an elephant, which had found it convenient to keep along the beaten path, to the great annoyance of the succeeding travelers, who had, in consequence, to stumble over the deep holes made by the impression of its feet.

About eleven o'clock we reached the outskirts of Molghoy, having passed, half an hour before, a number of round holes, about four feet wide and five feet deep, made intentionally, just at the spot where the path was hemmed in between a deep fiumara to the left and uneven ground to the right, in order to keep off a sudden hostile attack, particularly of cavalry. Molghoy is the name of a district rather than of a village; as the pagan countries in general seem to be inhabited, not in distinct villages and towns, where the dwellings stand closely together, but in single farms and hamlets, or clusters of huts, each of which contains an entire family, spreading over a wide expanse of country, each man's fields lying close around his dwelling. The fields, however, of Molghoy had a very sad and dismal aspect, although they were shaded and beautifully adorned by numerous karáge-trees. Though the rainy season had long set in, none of these fine fields were sown this year, but still presented the old furrows of former years; and all around was silent and inert, bearing evident signs, if not of desolation, at least of oppression.

I had already dismounted, being a little weak and fatigued after my last sleepless night's uncomfortable drenching, hoping that we should here pass the heat of the day; but there seemed to be nothing left for us to eat, and after some conversation with a solitary inhabitant, Billama informed me that we were to proceed to another village, which likewise belongs to Molghoy. We therefore continued our march, and soon after entered a dense forest, where we had more enjoyment of wild fruits, principally of one called "fóti," of the size of an apricot,

and with three large kernels, the pulp of which was very pleasant. Behind the little hamlet Dalá Dísowa I saw the first specimen of the sacred groves of the Marghí—a dense part of the forest surrounded with a ditch, where, in the most luxuriant and widest-spreading tree, their god "Tumbí" is worshiped.

It was one o'clock in the afternoon when we reached the village where we expected to find quarters. It also is called Molghoy, and is divided into two groups by a water-course or komádugu (as the Kanúri, dílle as the Marghí call it) about twenty-five yards wide, and inclosed by steep banks. My kashélla, deprived of his former irresistible authority, was now reduced to politeness and artifice; and having crossed the channel, which at present retained only a pool of stagnant water, and was richly overgrown with succulent grass, we lay down on its eastern bank in the cool shade of some luxuriant kúrna-trees, the largest trees of this species I have ever seen, where we spread all our luggage, which had been wetted the preceding night, out to dry, while the horses were grazing upon the fresh herbage. In this cool and pleasant spot, which afforded a view over a great part of the village, I breakfasted upon "chébchebe," a light and palatable Kanúri sweetmeat, and upon "núfu," or habb' el azíz, dug up in large quantities almost over the whole of Bórnu.

By-and-by, as another storm seemed impending, we looked about for quarters, and I, with my three servants and M'allem Katúri, took possession of a small court-yard, inclosed with a light fence four feet high, composed of mats and thorny bushes, which contained four huts, while a fifth, together with the granary, had fallen in. The huts, however, were rather narrow, incumbered as they were with a great deal of earthenware, besides the large "gébam" or urn, containing the necessary quantity of corn for about a week, and the "bázam" or the water-jar; and the doors—if doors they could be called—were so extremely small, while they were raised about a foot from the ground, that a person not accustomed to the task had the greatest difficulty to creep in. These narrow doors were direct proofs of the great power of the rains in these climes, against which the

natives have to protect themselves, as well as the raised and well-plastered floors of the huts, while reed is still the prevalent and almost exclusive material for the whole building. As for my own hut, it had the advantage of a contrivance to render the passage of the opening a little more easy, without diminishing the protection against the inclemency of the weather; for that part of the front of the hut which intervened between the doorway and the floor of the hut was movable, and made to fold up. Each family has its own separate court-yard, which forms a little cluster of huts by itself, and is often a considerable distance from the next yard. This kind of dwelling has certainly something very cheerful and pleasant in a simple and peaceable state of society, while it offers also the great advantage of protecting the villages against wholesale conflagrations, but it is liable to a very great disadvantage in a community which is threatened continually by sudden inroads from relentless enemies and slave-hunters.

The storm luckily passing by, I walked through the village, and visited several court-yards. The inhabitants, who, at least outwardly, have become Mohammedans, go entirely naked, with the exception of a narrow strip of leather, which they pass between the legs and fasten round their waist; but even this very simple and scanty covering they seem to think unnecessary at times. I was struck by the beauty and symmetry of their forms, which were thus entirely exposed to view, and by the regularity of their features, which are not disfigured by incisions, and in some had nothing of what is called the Negro type; but I was still more astonished at their complexion, which was very different in different individuals, being in some of a glossy black, and in others of a light copper, or rather rhubarb color, the intermediate shades being almost entirely wanting. Although the black shade seemed to prevail, I arrived at the conclusion that the copper color was the original complexion of the tribe, the black shade being due to intermixture with surrounding nations. But the same variety of shades has been observed in many other tribes, as well on this continent as in Asia.

Being allowed to stray about at my leisure, I observed in one house a really beautiful female in the prime of womanhood, who, with her son, a boy of about eight or nine years of age, formed a most charming group, well worthy of the hand of an accomplished artist. The boy's form did not yield in any respect to the beautiful symmetry of the most celebrated Grecian statues, as that of the praying boy, or that of the *diskophóros*. His legs and arms were adorned with strings of iron beads, such as I shall have occasion to describe more distinctly farther on, made in Wándalá, which are generally worn by young people; his legs were as straight as possible; his hair, indeed, was very short and curled, but not woolly. He, as well as his mother and the whole family, were of a pale or yellowish-red complexion, like rhubarb. His mother, who was probably twenty-two years of age, was a little disfigured by a thin, pointed metal

plate about an inch long, of the figure represented here, which was stuck through her under lip. This kind of barbarous ornament is called, in the language of these people, "seghéum," and is very differently shaped, and generally much smaller than that worn by this woman; indeed, it is often a mere thin tag. It is possible that its size varies according to the character of the females by whom it is worn. However small it may be, it can hardly be fastened in the lip without being very inconvenient, and even painful, at least at first; at any rate, it is less monstrous than the large bone which is worn by the Músgu women in the same way. These simple people were greatly amused when they saw me take so much interest in them; but, while they were pleased with my approval, and behaved very decently, they grew frightened when I set about sketching them. This is the misfortune of the traveler in these regions, where every thing is new, and where certainly one of the most interesting points attaches to the character of the natives—that that he will very rarely succeed in persuading one of them to stand while he makes an accurate drawing of him. The men are generally tall, and, while they are young, rather slender; some of the women also attain a great height, and in that state,

with their hanging breasts, form frightful objects in their total nakedness, especially if they be of red color.

In another court-yard I saw two unmarried young girls busy at housework. They were about twelve years of age, and were more decently clad, wearing an apron of striped cotton round their loins; but this was evidently a result of Mohammedanism. These also were of copper color, and their short, curled hair was dyed of the same hue by powdered camwood rubbed into it. They wore only thin tags in their under lips, and strings of red glass beads round their neck. Their features were pleasing, though less handsome than those of the woman above described. They were in ecstasies when I made them some little presents, and did not know how to thank me sufficiently.

I had scarcely returned from my most interesting walk, when the inhabitants of the neighboring yards, seeing that I was a good-natured sort of man who took great interest in them, and hearing from my people that, in some respects, I was like themselves, sent me a large pot of their intoxicating beverage or "komíl," made of Guinea-corn, which, however, I could not enjoy, as it was nothing better than bad muddy beer. Instead of confusing my brains with such a beverage, I sat down and wrote about two hundred words in their own language, which seemed to have no relation to any of the languages with which I had as yet become acquainted, but which, as I found afterward, is nearly related to, or rather only a dialect of the Batta language, which is spread over a large part of A'damáwa or Fúmbiná, and has many points of connection with the Músgu language, while in certain general principles it approaches the great South African family. Having received, besides my home-made supper of mohámsa, several bowls of "déffa" or paste of Guinea-corn from the natives, I had a long, pleasant chat in the evening with the two young girls whom I have mentioned above, and who brought two fowls for sale, but were so particular in their bartering that the bargain was not concluded for full two hours, when I at length succeeded in buying the precious objects with shells or kúngona, which have no more cur-

rency here than they had since we left Kúkawa, but which these young ladies wanted for adorning their persons. They spoke Kanúri with me, and their own language between themselves and with some other women who joined them after a while. In vain I tried to get a little milk; although the inhabitants in general did not seem to be so badly off, yet they had lost all their horses and cattle by the exactions of the Bórnu officers. Indeed, it is really lamentable to see the national well-being and humble happiness of these pagan communities trodden down so mercilessly by their Mohammedan neighbors. The tempest which had threatened us the whole afternoon discharged itself in the distance.

Sunday, June 8th. We set out at a tolerably early hour to pass a forest of considerable extent. In the beginning it was rather light, such as the Kanúri call "dírridé," and at times interrupted by open pasture-ground covered with the freshest herbage, and full of the footprints of elephants of every age and size. Pools of stagnant water were seen in all directions, and flowers filled the air with a delicious fragrance; but the path, being full of holes and of a miry consistence, became at times extremely difficult, especially for the camels. As for ourselves, we were well off, eating now and then some wild fruit, and either sucking out the pulp of the "tóso," or devouring the succulent root of the "katakírri."

The tóso is the fruit of the *Bassia Parkii*, called kadeña by the Háusa people, and consists almost entirely of a large kernel of the color and size of a chestnut, which is covered with a thin pulp inside the green peel: this pulp has a very agreeable taste, but is so thin that it is scarcely worth sucking out. The tree in question, which I had lost sight of entirely since I left Háusa, is very common hereabouts; and the people prepare a good deal of butter from the kernel, which is not only esteemed for seasoning their food, but also for the medicinal qualities ascribed to it, which I shall repeatedly have occasion to mention. As for the katakírri, it is a bulbous root, sometimes of the size of a large English potato, the pulp being not unlike that of the large radish, but softer, more succulent, and also very refreshing and nu-

tritious. The juice has a milky color. A man may easily travel for a whole day with nothing to eat but this root, which seems to be very common during the rainy season in the woody and moist districts of Central Africa—at least as far as I had occasion to observe. It is not less frequent near the Niger and in Kébbi than it is here; but I never observed it in Bórnu, nor in Bagírmi. It requires but little experience to find out where the bulbous root grows, its indication above ground being a single blade about ten inches high; but it sometimes requires a good deal of labor to dig up the roots, as they are often about a foot or a foot and a half under ground.

The soil gradually became worse; the trees were of a most uniform description, being all mimosas, and all alike of indifferent growth, while only here and there a large leafless *Adansonia* stretched forth its gigantic arms as if bewailing the desolation spread around, where human beings had formerly subsisted; for the kúka or baobab likes the dwelling of the Negro, and he, on the other hand, can scarcely live without it; for how could he season his simple food without the baobab's young fresh leaves, or sweeten and flavor his drink without the slightly acid pulp wherein the kernels are imbedded? The herbage was reduced to single tufts of coarse grass four or five feet high; and the path became abominable, not allowing a moment's inattention or thoughtful abstraction, for fear of being thrown off the next minute into a swampy hole.

Thus we went on cheerlessly, when about eleven o'clock the growth of the trees began to improve, and I observed a tree, which I did not remember to have seen before, of middle size, the foliage rather thin, and of light-green color; it is called "kamándu" in Kanúri, and "bóshi" in Háusa. The country, however, does not exhibit a single trace of habitation, either of the past or present time; and on our right no village was said to be nearer than Díshik at the distance of half a day's journey, and even that was reported to be now deserted by its inhabitants. At length the monotonous gloomy forests gave way to scattered clusters of large trees, such as generally indicate the neighborhood of man's industry; and we soon after emerged

upon beautiful green meadow-lands stretching out to the very foot of the Wándalá Mountains, the whole range of which, in its entire length from north to south, lay open to view. It was a charming sight, the beautiful green of the plain against the dark color of the mountains and the clear sunny sky; and I afterward regretted deeply that I had not made a slight sketch of the country from this spot, as near the village the same wide horizon was no longer visible.

It was one o'clock in the afternoon when we reached the first cluster of huts belonging to the village or district of I'sge or I'ssege, which spread to a considerable extent over the plain, while horses and sheep were feeding on the adjacent pastures, and women were cultivating the fields. A first glance at this landscape impressed me with the conviction that I had at length arrived at a seat of the indigenous inhabitants, which, although it had evidently felt the influence of its overbearing and merciless neighbors, had not yet been altogether despoiled by their hands. Vigorous and tall manly figures, girt round the loins with a short leathern apron, and wearing, besides their agricultural tools, the "danísko" (hand-bill), or a spear, were proudly walking about or comfortably squatting together in the shade of some fine tree, and seemed to intimate that this ground belonged to them, and that the foreigner, whoever he might be, ought to act discreetly. As for their dress, however, I almost suspected that, though very scanty, it was put on only for the occasion; for, on arriving at the first cluster of huts, we came abruptly upon a hollow with a pond of water, from which darted forth a very tall and stout bronze-colored woman, totally naked, with her pitcher upon her head, not only to my own amazement, but even to that of my horse, which, coming from the civilized country of Bórnu, which is likewise the seat of one of the blackest races in the interior, seemed to be startled by such a sight. However, I have observed that many of those simple tribes deem some sort of covering, however scanty it might be, more essential for the man than the woman.

We first directed our steps toward the western side of the village, where, in a denser cluster of huts, was the dwelling of

the nominal "billama," that is to say, of a man who, betraying his native country, had placed himself under the authority of the Bórnu people, in the hope that, with their assistance, he might gratify his ambition by becoming the tyrant of his compatriots. Here we met Ibrahíma, who, with his countrymen, had arrived before us. Having obtained from the important billama a man who was to assign us quarters, we returned over the wide grassy plain toward the eastern group, while beyond the quarter which we were leaving I observed the sacred grove, of considerable circumference, formed by magnificent trees, mostly of the ficus tribe, and surrounded with an earthen wall.

At length we reached the eastern quarter; but the owners of the court-yards which were selected for our quarters did not seem at all inclined to receive us. I had cheerfully entered with Bú-S'ad the court-yard assigned to me in order to take possession of it, and my servant had already dismounted, when its proprietor rushed furiously in, and, raising his spear in a most threatening attitude, ordered me to leave his house instantly. Acknowledging the justice of his claims to his own hearth, I did not hesitate a moment to obey his mandate; but I had some difficulty in persuading my servant to go away peaceably, as he was more inclined to shoot the man. This dwelling in particular was very neatly arranged; and I was well able to sympathize with the proprietor, who saw that his clean yard was to be made a stable, and littered with dirt. The yards contained from five to seven huts, each of different size and arrangement, besides a shed, and gave plain indications of an easy and comfortable domestic life.

Billama, that is to say, my guide, who seemed not to have been more fortunate than myself in his endeavor to find a lodging, being rather crestfallen and dejected, we thought it best to give up all idea of sheltered quarters, and, trusting to our good luck, to encamp outside. We therefore drew back altogether from the inhabited quarter into the open meadow, and dismounted beneath the wide-spreading shade of an immense kúka or "bokki," at least eighty feet high, the foliage of which, being interwoven with numbers of climbing plants, such as I very

rarely observed on this tree, formed a most magnificent canopy. While my tent was being pitched here a number of natives collected round us, and, squatting down in a semicircle, eyed all my things very attentively, drawing each other's attention to objects which excited their curiosity. They were all armed: and as there were from thirty to forty, and hundreds more might have come to their assistance in a moment, their company was not so agreeable as under other circumstances it might have been. The reason, however, why they behaved so inhospitably toward me evidently was that they took me for an officer of the King of Bórnu; but this impression gave way the longer they observed my manners and things; indeed, as soon as they saw the tent, they became aware that it was not a tent like those of their enemies, and they came to the same conclusion with regard to the greater part of my luggage. In many places in Negroland I observed that the bipartite tent-pole was a most wonderful object to the natives, and often served to characterize the Christian. This time, however, we did not come to friendly terms; but the reader will be gratified to see how differently these people treated me on my return from Fúmbiná.

While our party was rather quietly and sullenly sitting near the tent, a number of Fúlbe, who had been staying in this district for some time, came to pay their respects to me. They were a very diminutive set of people, and, excepting general traits of resemblance and language, were unlike those proud fellow-countrymen of theirs in the west; but I afterward found that the Fúlbe in the eastern part of A'damáwa are generally of this description, while those about the capital have a far more noble and dignified appearance. I think this may be not so much a mark of a difference of tribe as a consequence of the low circumstances of those settled at a great distance from the seat of government, who, being still engaged in struggling for their subsistence, have not raised themselves from their original condition of humble cattle-breeders, or "berróji," to the proud rank of conquerors and religious reformers. Their color certainly was not the characteristic rhubarb-color of the Fúta-Púllo, nor the deep black of the Toróde, but was a grayish sort of

black, approaching what the Frenchmen call the *chocolat au lait* color, while their small features wanted the expressiveness which those of the light Púllo generally have. They all wore shirts, which, however, were deficient in that cleanliness which in general is characteristic of this race. These simple visitors might perhaps have proved very interesting companions if we had been able to understand each other; but, as they spoke neither Arabic, nor Háusa, nor Kanúri, while I was but a beginner in their language, our conversation flowed but sluggishly.

I had observed in all the dwellings of the natives a very large species of fish laid to dry on the roofs of the huts; and being not a little astonished at the existence of fish of such a size in this district, where I was not aware that there existed any considerable waters, I took the earliest opportunity of inquiring whence they were brought, and having learned that a considerable lake was at no great distance, I intimated to Bíllama my wish to visit it. I therefore mounted on horseback with him in the afternoon, and then passing behind the eastern quarter of I'ssege, and crossing a tract covered with excellent herbage, but so full of holes and crevices that the horses had great difficulty in getting over it, we reached a fine sheet of water of considerable depth, stretching from east to west, and full of large fish. All along the way we were met by natives returning from fishing, with their nets and their spoil. The fish measure generally about twenty inches in length, and seem to be of the same kind as that caught in the Tsád. The banks of the water, except on the west side, where we stood, were so hemmed in with rushes that I could not form a satisfactory estimate of its magnitude or real character; but it seems to be a hollow which is filled by the rivulet or torrent which I surveyed in its upper course the following day, and which seems to pass at a short distance to the east of this lake. The latter, however, is said always to contain water, which, as far as I know, is not the case with the river; but certainly even the lake must become much shallower in the dry season.

A small torrent joins the lake near its southwestern corner, and on the bank of this torrent I observed a rounded mass of

granite rising to the height of about fifteen feet, this being the only eminence in the whole plain. Though it was not elevated enough to allow me a fair survey of the plain itself, it afforded a splendid and interesting panorama of the mountains.

The whole range of mountains which forms the western barrier of the little country of Wándalá lay open before me, at the distance of about twenty miles, while beyond it, toward the south, mountains of more varied shape and greater elevation became visible. It was here that I obtained the first view of Mount Méndefi, or Mindif, which, since it was seen by Major Denham on his adventurous expedition against some of the Felláta settlements to the south of Morá, has become so celebrated in Europe, giving rise to all sorts of conjectures and theories. It might, indeed, even from this point, be supposed to be the centre of a considerable mountain mass, surrounded as it is by several other summits of importance, particularly the Mechíka and Umshi, while it is in reality nothing more than a detached cone starting up from a level plain, like the Mount of Mbutúdi on a smaller scale, or that of Tákabéllo, with both of which Ibrahíma used to compare it, or the Alantíka on a larger scale. Its circumference at the base certainly does not exceed probably from ten to twelve miles, as it is partly encompassed by the straggling village of the same name, which seems to stretch out to a considerable length, or rather to be separated into two or three distinct clusters. The place has a market every Friday which is of some importance.

From my position the top of the mount presented the shape here delineated; and even through the telescope the Mindif, as

well as the singular mount of Kamalle, of which I shall soon have to speak, seemed to be of a whitish or grayish color, which led me to the conclusion that it consisted of a calcareous rock. It was not till a much later period that I learned from a native of the village of Mindif that the stone was originally quite black, not only on the surface, but all through, and extremely hard, and that the white color is merely due to immense numbers of birds which habitually frequent it, being nothing else than guáno. I think, therefore, that this mount will eventually prove to be a basaltic cone, an ancient volcano—a character which seems to be indicated by the double horn of its summit. Its height scarcely exceeds five thousand feet above the surface of the sea, or less than four thousand feet above the plain from which it rises.

But while my attention was engaged by this mountain, on account of its having been so much talked of in Europe, another height attracted my notice much more on account of its peculiar shape. This was Mount Kamálle, which just became visible behind the continuous mountain chain in the foreground, like a columnar pile rising from a steep cone. It likewise seemed of a grayish color. Between this remarkable peak and Mount Mindif several cones were descried from a greater distance, while west from the latter mountain the elevated region seemed to cease.

The highest elevation of the Wándalá range, which is called Magár, I estimated at about three thousand feet, while the chain in general did not rise more than two thousand five hundred feet above the level of the sea, or about one thousand five hundred feet above the plain. This part of the mountain chain forms the natural stronghold of a pagan king whom my Kanúri companion constantly called "Mai Sugúr,"* but whose proper name or title seems to be "Lá."

* From I'ssege to Sugúr there seem to be two roads, the shortest of which is a good day and a half's march, passing the night in a place called Shámbela or Chámbela, first going E., then more S.; the other road following a general direction S.E., and going in shorter stations, first to Gulúg, a pagan settlement, which I shall soon have to mention, situated on the offshoots of the mountain range, then keeping on the mountains to Magár, which seems to be the highest

Overjoyed at having at length reached the region of the famous Mindif, and full of plans for the future, I remounted my horse. While returning to our encampment, my companion, who was altogether a sociable and agreeable sort of person, gave me some more information with regard to the Marghí, whom he represented as a numerous tribe, stronger even at the present time than the Manga, and capable of sending thirty thousand armed men into the field. He told me that it was their peculiar custom to mourn for the death of a young man, and to make merry at the death of an old one—an account which I found afterward confirmed, while his statement that they buried the dead in an upright position, together with their weapons, furniture, and some paste of Indian corn, did not prove quite correct. In many respects they claim great superiority over their neighbors; and they practice, even to a great extent, inoculation for small-pox, which in Bórnu is rather the exception than the rule.

Fortunately for us in our out-of-doors encampment, the sky remained serene; and while, after a very frugal supper, we were reclining on our mats in the cool air of the evening, an interesting and animated dispute arose between Bíllama, M'allem Katúri, and Mohámmedu, the A′damáwa messenger whom I have represented above as a very communicative, sociable person, about the water of I′ssege, whence it came, and whither it flowed. Mohámmedu, who, notwithstanding his intelligence and

point of elevation, and from hence to Sugúr. Sugúr is said to be fortified by nature, there being only four entrances between the rocky ridges which surround it. The Prince of Sugúr overawes all the petty neighboring chiefs; and he is said to possess a great many idols, small round stones, to which the people sacrifice fowls of red, black, and white color, and sheep with a red line on the back. The road from Sugúr to Morá is very difficult to lay down from hearsay with any approach to truth. It is said first to cross a very difficult passage or defile called Lámaja, beyond a mountain of great elevation inhabited by naked pagans. From hence, in another moderate march, it leads to Madágelé, in the territory of Ardon Jídda, of whom I shall have to speak in the progress of my narrative. From here it leads to Dísa, joins there the road coming from Ujé, and the next day reaches Morá. This evidently seems to be a circuitous way, but may depend on the mountainous character or the unsafe state of the country. Karáwá, the capital of Wándalá, is said to lie about fifteen miles west from Morá, at the foot of a large mountain mass called Wélle, inhabited by pagans.

sprightliness, was not free from absurd prejudices, contended, with the utmost pertinacity, that the water in question issued from the River Bénuwé at Kobére and ran into the Sháry, a river with which he was acquainted only by hearsay. But my prudent and experienced old m'allem contested this point successfully, demonstrating that the river rose in the mountains far to the north of the Bénuwé. Thus we spent the evening quite cheerfully; and the night passed without any accident, all the people sleeping in a close circle round my tent.

Monday, June 9th. At an early hour we set out on our journey, being joined by several of the Fúlbe who had come the day before to salute me, while only one of our caravan remained behind, namely, the horseman of Malá Ibrám. This whole district had formerly belonged to the last-named person; but he had lately ceded it to Abú-Bakr, the son of Sheikh 'Omár; but we have seen what a precarious possession it was. The country through which we passed was varied and fertile, although the sky was overcast; and I was struck with the frequency of the poisonous euphorbia, called "karúgu" by the Kanúri. Further on the crop stood already a foot high, and formed a most pleasant object. We then entered a dense forest, where the danger became considerable, an evident proof of the lawless state of this country being seen in the village Yésa, which was in some degree subject ("imána," as the people call it, with an Arabic name) to the Sheikh 'Omár, but had been ransacked and burned about forty days previously by the tribe of the Gulúk. It was the first village on this road the huts of which were entirely of the construction called by the Kanúri "bóngo."

Having stopped here a few minutes to allow the people to recruit themselves, we pushed on with speed, and soon passed the site of another village, which had been destroyed at an earlier period, having close on our left a fertile plain in a wild state, over which the mountain chain was still visible, with a glance now and then at the Mindif and Kamálle. Suddenly there was visible on this side a river from thirty to forty yards broad, and inclosed by banks about twelve feet high, with a considerable body of water, flowing through the fine but desolate plain in a

northerly direction, but with a very winding course and a moderate current; and it henceforth continued on our side—sometimes approaching, at others receding, and affording an agreeable cool draught, instead of the unwholesome stagnant water from the pools, impregnated with vegetable matter, and very often full of worms, and forming certainly one of the chief causes of disease to the foreign traveler. In this part of the forest the karáge was the most common tree, while besides it there was a considerable variety—the tóso or kadeña, the koráwa, the kabúwí, the zíndi, and the acacia-like paipáya; the fruit of the tóso, or rather its thin pulp, and the beautiful cream-fruit of the gonda-bush (*Annona palustris?*) remaining our favorite dainties.

Suddenly the spirit of our little troop was roused; some naked pagans were discovered in the bushes near the stream, and so long as it was uncertain whether or not they were accompanied by a greater number, my companions were in a state of fright; but as soon as it was ascertained that the black strangers were but few, they wanted to rush upon and capture them as slaves; but Ibrahíma, with a dignified air, cried out "imána, imána," intimating that the tribe was paying tribute to his master, the Governor of Yóla; and, whether it was true or not, certainly he did well to keep these vagabonds from preying upon other people while their own safety was in danger.

At a quarter past eleven o'clock we reached the outskirts of Kófa, a village which had been ransacked and destroyed entirely by Kashélla 'Ali, the very act which had given rise to the complaints on the side of the Governor of A'damáwa, who claimed the supremacy over this place. Several huts had been already built up again very neatly of bongo; for this had now become the general mode of architecture, giving proof of our advancing into the heart of the tropical climes. And as the dwellings were again rising, so the inhabitants were likewise returning to their hearths.

A most interesting and cheerful incident in these unfortunate and distracted lands, where the traveler has every day to observe domestic happiness trodden under foot, children torn from

the breasts of their mothers, and wives from the embraces of their husbands, was here exhibited before us. Among the people recovered from slavery by Ibrahíma's exertions was a young girl, a native of this village, who, as soon as she recognized the place from which she had been torn, began to run as if bewildered, making the circuit of all the huts. But the people were not all so fortunate as to see again those whom they had lost; there were many sorrowful countenances among those who inquired in vain for their sons or daughters. However, I was pleased to find that Billama was saluted in a friendly way by the few inhabitants of the place, proving, as I thought, that, when governor of this southernmost district of Bórnu, he had not behaved so cruelly.

The country hereabouts showed a far more advanced state of vegetation than that from whence we had come, the young succulent grass reaching to the height of a foot and a half, while the corn (dáwa, or holcus) in one field measured already thirty inches in height. The fresh meadow grounds were interspersed with flowers; and a beautiful specimen of the "kangel," measuring eight inches in diameter, was brought to me by Billama, being the only specimen which I have ever observed of this peculiar flower. Mr. Vogel, however, told me afterward that he had occasionally observed it in Mándará (Wándalá).

Having dismounted under a tamarind-tree for the hot hours of the day, Billama, with the assistance of my old m'allem, gave me a list of some of the larger places in the Marghí country.* W.S.W. from the Marghí live the Bábur or Bábir, scattered in small hamlets over a mountainous basaltic district, with the ex-

* Kóbchi,[a] the principal place of the country, Molghoy, I'ssege, Kuyúm, situate upon the longer western road from U'ba to I'ssege, one day's march from the latter; Músa, about one day from Kuyúm, Dille, Womde, Laháula (the place I was soon to visit), Cherári, Shawa, Modé, Kirbet, Kibák, Nsúda, Kóradé, all toward the west and southwest; more eastward there are Móda, Gorám, Lúgu, Chámbelá (the village I mentioned above), Gulób, Jú.

[a] This place is already mentioned in the history of Edrís Alawóma, where it is written Kofchi, *f*, *b*, and *p* being frequently interchanged in these languages. The name seems to be the royal title, although the general name for chief or prince in the Marghí language is "ibthá."

ception of their principal seat Biyú,* which is called after the name, or probably rather the title, of their chief. This place is said to be as far from Kófa as Kúkawa is from the same place, and is reported to be of large size. The Bábur have, in certain respects, preserved their independence, while in others, like the Marghí, they have begun to yield to the overwhelming influence of their Mohammedan neighbors. But the Marghí claim superiority over their kinsmen in point of personal courage; for of their relationship there can be no doubt.

When the sun began to decline, we pursued our march in order to reach Laháula, where we were to pass the night. The unsafe state of the country through which we were passing was well indicated by the circumstance that even the circumspect Ibrahíma mounted the poor mare given to him by Sheikh 'Omár, which he spared till now. He, moreover, exchanged his bow for a spear. A thick tempest was gathering on the Wándalá mountains while our motley troop wound along the narrow path—at times through forests and underwood, at others through fine corn-fields; but the country afforded a wilder and more varied aspect after we had crossed a little water-course—rocks projecting on all sides, sandstone and granite being intermixed, while in front of us a little rocky ridge, thickly overgrown with trees and bushes, stretched out, and seemed to hem in our passage. Suddenly, however, a deep recess was seen opening in the ridge, and a village appeared, lying most picturesquely in the natural amphitheatre thus formed by the rocks and trees protruding every where from among the granite blocks, and giving a pleasant variety to the whole picture.

This was Laháula; but we had some difficulty in getting into it, the entrance to the amphitheatre being closed by a strong stockade, which left only a very narrow passage along the cliffs

* Mr. Overweg, in the unfinished journal of his excursion to Fíka, a place interesting in other respects as well as on account of its date-grove, mentions four principal places of the Bábir, viz., Kogo or Koger, Fadem, Multa, and Gim. He also mentions, as the three most powerful chiefs in the country, Mai Mári, residing in Fadem, Mai Doigí (who died some time ago) in Íira, and Mai Alí, who resides in Koger. After all, Mai Mári seems to be the chief man, and Fadem to be identical with Bíyú.

on the eastern side, not nearly large enough for camels; and while our troop, pushing forward in vain, fell into great confusion, the storm came on, and the rain poured down upon us in torrents. Fortunately, the shower, although heavy, did not last long, and we succeeded at length in getting in, and soon reached the first huts of the village; but our reception was not propitious. The first person who came to meet us was a mother, roused by the hope of seeing her son return as a free man from Kúkawa, where he had been carried into slavery, and filling the whole village with her lamentations and curses of the Kanúri when she heard that her beloved had not come back, and that she should never see him again. This, of course, made a bad impression upon the inhabitants; and while 'Ashi, their chief, a man who, after an unsuccessful struggle with my companion Billama, when governor of these districts, had submitted to the sheikh, received us with kindness and benevolence, his son, in whose recently and neatly built hut the old man wished to lodge me, raised a frightful alarm, and at length, snatching up his weapon, ran off with the wildest threats. I therefore thought it best not to make use of the hut unless forced by another storm, and, notwithstanding the humidity, I took up my quarters under a shed before the hut, spreading my carpet and jirbíye—woolen blanket from Jirbi—over a coarse mat of reed, as, unfortunately, at that time I had no sort of couch with me.

There was an object of very great interest in our court-yard. It was a large pole, about nine feet high above the ground, with a small cross-pole, which sustained an earthen pot of middling size. This was a "sáfi," a sort of fetish, a symbolic representation, as it seems, of their god "féte," the sun. It was a pity that we were not placed in a more comfortable position, so as to be enabled to make further inquiries with regard to this subject.

'Ashi was kind enough to send me a large bowl of honey-water, but I was the only one of the caravan who received the least proof of hospitality; and I made myself quite comfortable, though we thought it best to look well after our fire-arms. During the night we were alarmed by a great noise, proceeding from the frightful shrieks of a man; and, on inquiry, we found that

he had been disturbed in his sleep by a hyæna catching hold of one of his legs. Ibrahíma informed us the next morning that a very large party among the inhabitants had entertained the design of falling during the night upon our troop and plundering us, and that nothing but the earnest representations of 'Ashi had restrained them from carrying out their intention—the old man showing them how imprudent it would be, by one and the same act, to draw upon themselves the vengeance of their two overwhelming neighbors, the Sheikh of Bórnu in the north, and the Governor of Fúmbiná in the south. Altogether the night was not very tranquil; and a storm breaking out at some distance, I crept into the hut; but there was no rain, only thunder and lightning. All the huts here are provided with a serír, or diggel, made of branches, upon which a coarse mat of reeds is spread.

The village seems not to be very large, containing certainly not more than about five hundred single huts, but the situation is very advantageous, enabling the inhabitants in an instant to retire upon the natural fortress of blocks overhead. They possess scarcely a single cow, but seem to prepare a great deal of vegetable butter. At least, large heaps of the chestnut-like kernels of the *Bassia Parkii* were lying about in the courtyards. They have also a great deal of excellent honey.

Tuesday, June 10th. Leaving our quarters early, and emerging from the rocky recess by the same opening through which we had entered it the preceding evening, we halted a short time in order that the whole caravan might form closely together, for we had now the most dangerous day's march before us, where stragglers are generally slain or carried into slavery by lurking enemies. Our whole troop was not very numerous, consisting of five horsemen and about twenty-five armed men on foot, with three camels, six sumpter oxen, and three asses, our strength consisting entirely in my four muskets and four pairs of pistols.

It was a very fine morning, and after the last night's storm the whole country teemed with freshness and life. Moreover, it was of a varied nature, the ground consisting, at times, of bare

granite, with large blocks of quartz, at others covered with black vegetable soil, with ironstone here and there, and torn by numerous small periodical water-courses descending from the rocky chain on our right, and carrying the moisture of the whole region toward the river, which still flowed on the left of our track; while granite blocks and small ridges projected every where, the whole clothed with forest more or less dense, and with a great variety of foliage. Having kept on through this kind of country for about two miles and a half, we reached the deserted "ngáufate," or encampment of Bú-Bakr, a brother of Mohammed Lowel, the Governor of A'damáwa, who had last year made an expedition into these districts, and, stationing his army on this spot, had overrun the country in all directions. The encampment consisted of small round huts made of branches and grass, such as the guro caravan generally erects daily on its "zango" or halting-place. Here we began to quicken our pace, as we were now at the shortest distance from the seats of the Báza, a powerful and independent pagan tribe, with a language, or probably dialect, of their own, and peculiar customs, who live at the foot of the eastern mountain chain, while we left on our right Kibák and some other Marghí villages. In order to lessen a little the fatigue of the march, my attentive companion Billama brought me a handful of "gaude," a yellow fruit of the size of an apricot, with a very thick peel, and, instead of a rich pulp, five large kernels, filling almost the whole interior, but covered with a thin pulp of a very agreeable taste, something like the gonda.

At half past nine, when the forest was tolerably clear, we obtained a view of a saddle mount at some distance on our right, on the other side of which, as I was informed, the village Womde is situated: farther westward lies U'gu, and, at a still greater distance, Gáya. Meanwhile, we pushed on with such haste —the old m'allem and Bú-S'ad, on horseback, driving my two weak camels before them as fast as they could—that the line of our troop became entirely broken; the fatáki or tugúrchi, with their pack-oxen, and several of the dangarúnfu—namely, the little tradesmen who carry their small parcels of merchandise on

the head—remaining a great distance behind; but, although I wished several times to halt, I could not persuade my companions to do so; and all that I was able to do for the safety of the poor people who had trusted themselves to my protection was to send Bíllama to the rear with orders to bring up the stragglers. I shall never forget the euphonious words of the old m'allem, with which he, though usually so humane, parried my entreaties to give the people time to come up; mixing Háusa with Kanúri, he kept exclaiming, "Awennan karága babu dádi" ("This is by no means a pleasant forest"), while he continued beating my poor camels with his large shield of antelope's hide. At length, having entered a very dense thicket, where there was a pond of water, we halted for a quarter of an hour, when Bíllama came up with the rear, bringing me, at the same time, a splendid little gonda fruit, which he knew I was particularly fond of.

Continuing then our march with our wonted expedition, we reached, a little before one o'clock, cultivated fields, where the slaves—"field-hands," as an American would say—of the people of U'ba were just resting from their labor in the shade of the trees. As the slaves of Mohammedans, they all wore the leathern apron. Here we began to ascend, having a small rocky eminence on our right, and a more considerable one on our left, while in the distance, to the west, various mountain groups became visible. This line of elevation might seem to form the water partition between the basin of the Tsád and that of the Great River of Western Africa, but I am not sure of it, as I did not become distinctly aware of the relation of the rivulet of Múbi to that of Báza.

Be this as it may, this point of the route probably attains an elevation of about 2000 feet, supposing that we had ascended about 800 feet from Ujé, the elevation of which is 1200 feet above the level of the sea. Having then crossed, with some difficulty on the part of the camels, a rugged defile, inclosed by large granite blocks, we began to descend considerably, while Mohámmedu drew my attention to the tree called "bijáge" in Fulfúlde, which grows between the granite blocks, and from

which the people of Fúmbiná prepare the poison for their arrows. However, I was not near enough to give even the most general account of it; it seemed to be a bush of from ten to twelve feet in height, with tolerably large leaves of an olive color.

Emerging from this rocky passage, we began gradually to overlook the large valley stretching out to the foot of the opposite mountain chain, which seemed from this place to be uninterrupted. Its general elevation appeared to be about 800 feet above the bottom of the valley. We then again entered upon cultivated ground, and turning round the spur of the rocky chain on our right, on the top of which we observed the huts of the pagans, we reached the wall of U'ba at two o'clock in the afternoon.

The eastern quarter of this town, the northernmost Púllo settlement in A'damáwa on this side, consisting of a few huts scattered over a wide space, has quite the character of a new and cheerless colony in Algeria; the earthen wall is low, and strengthened with a double fence of thorn bushes. The western quarter, however, is more thickly and comfortably inhabited; and each cluster of huts, which all consist of bongo, or rather búkka bongo, "jwarubokáru," is surrounded with a little corn-field. It was pleasant to observe how the fences of mats, surrounding the yards, had been strengthened and enlivened by young, living trees of a graceful, slender appearance, instead of dull stalks, giving to the whole a much more cheerful character than is generally the case with the villages in other parts of Negroland, particularly in Bórnu Proper, and promising in a short time to afford some cool shade, which is rather wanting in the place.*

Passing the mosque, the "judírde," a spacious quadrangular building, consisting entirely of halls built of mats and stalks, which must be delightfully cool in the dry season, but extremely damp during the rains, and including a large open space, we reached the lamórde (the house of the governor, or lámido); it

* The nature of these trees may be seen from the fence of the yard in the view of Demsa.

lies on one side of a small square or "belbel." Billama and Bú-S'ad having here fired a couple of rounds, we were soon shown into our quarters. These were of rather an indifferent description, but, lying at the northern border of the inhabited quarter, and not far from the foot of the rocky ridge, they had the advantage of allowing us freedom of movement.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

ÁDAMÁWA. — MOHAMMEDAN SETTLEMENTS IN THE HEART OF CENTRAL AFRICA.

We had now reached the border of A'damáwa, the country after which I had been panting so long, and of which I had heard so many interesting accounts, a Mohammedan kingdom ingrafted upon a mixed stock of pagan tribes—the conquest of the valorous and fanatic Púllo chieftain A'dama over the great pagan kingdom of Fúmbiná.

I was musing over the fate of the native races of this country when the governor, with a numerous suite, came to pay me a visit. Neither he nor any of his companions were dressed with any degree of elegance or even cleanliness. I had endeavored in vain to obtain information from my companions as to the period when the Fúlbe had begun to emigrate into this country, but they were unable to give me any other answer than that they had been settled in the country from very ancient times, and that not only the fathers, but even the grandfathers of the present generation had inhabited the same region as cattle-breeders, "berróji." Neither the governor nor any of his people were able to give me any more precise information, so that I was obliged to set my hopes upon the capital, where I was more likely to find a man versed in the history of his tribe. I then communicated to my visitor my wish to ascend the ridge which overlooks the place, and on the top of which, according to Mohámmedu, a spring bubbled up between the rocks. The

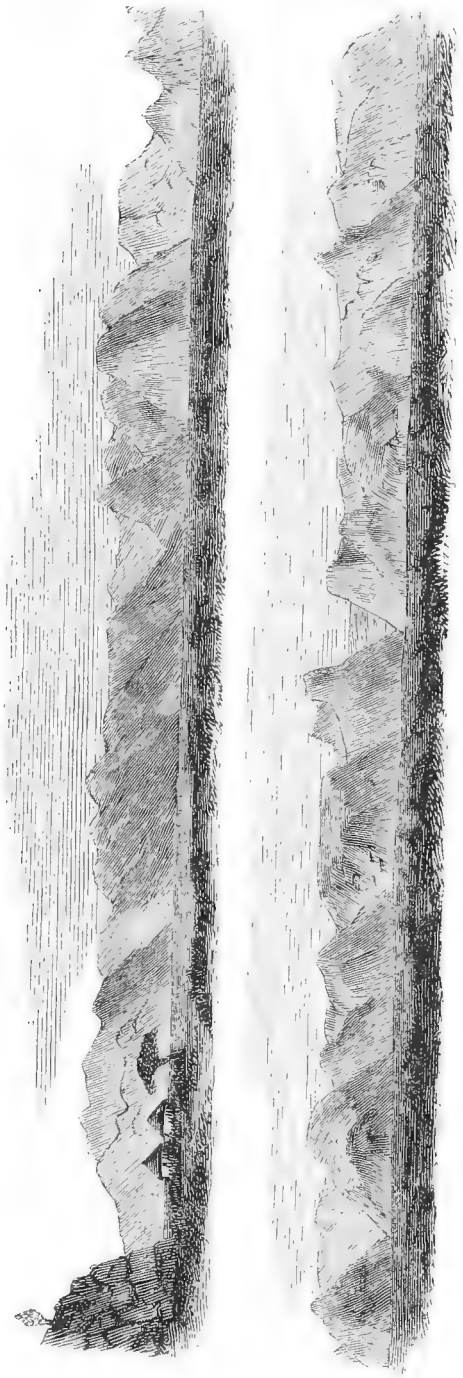
governor advised me to defer the excursion till the morrow; but, as the weather was fine at the time, and as at this season it was very doubtful whether it would be so the next morning, I expressed a wish to obtain at once a view at least over the opposite mountain chain. He then told me that I might do as I liked, and followed me with his whole suite. The ridge, on this side at least, consisted entirely of enormous blocks of granite heaped one upon the other in wild confusion, and making the ascent extremely difficult, nay, impossible without ropes, so that, with the utmost trouble, we reached the height of a little more than a hundred feet, which gave me, however, an advantageous position for obtaining a view over the broad valley and the mountain range beyond, of which, on my return journey, I made a sketch, which is represented in the wood-cut opposite.

Some of the governor's people, however, were very agile in climbing these blocks, and they need to be so if they wish to subject the native inhabitants, who, when pursued, retire to these natural strongholds, which are scattered over nearly the whole of this country.

We had scarcely returned to our quarters when a storm broke out, but it was not accompanied with a great quantity of rain. Our cheer was indifferent, and we passed our evening in rather a dull manner.

Wednesday, June 11th. Seeing that the weather was gloomy, and being afraid of the fatigue connected with the ascent of the ridge, even along a more easy path, as I was well aware how much my constitution had been weakened, I preferred going on, and gave orders for starting. On leaving the western gate of the town, which is formed of very large trunks of trees, we entered on a tract of corn-fields in a very promising condition, while, at the same time, a number of young jet-black slave-girls, well fed, and all neatly dressed in long aprons of white clean gábagá, and having their necks adorned with strings of glass beads, were marched out to their daily labor in the field.

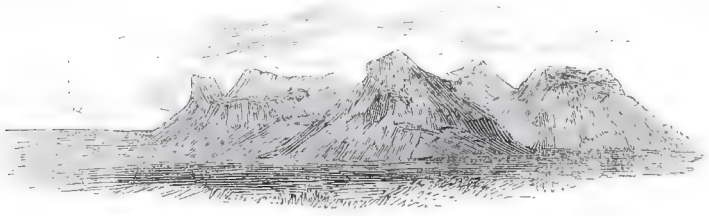
The town formerly extended much farther in this direction, till it was ransacked and plundered by Ramadhán, a slave and officer of the sheikh Mohammed el Kánemi. Before the Fúlbe



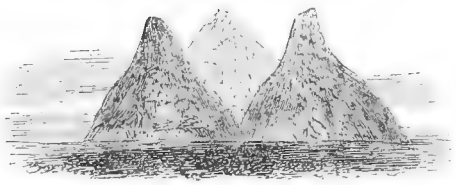
occupied these regions, the slave-hunting expeditions of the people of Bórnu often extended into the very heart of A'damáwa. The Fúlbe certainly are always making steps toward subjugating the country, but they have still a great deal to do before they can regard themselves as the undisturbed possessors of the soil. Even here, at no great distance beyond the little range which we had on our right, an independent tribe called Gílle still maintains itself, and on my journey I shall have to relate an unsuccessful expedition of the Governor of U'ba against the Kilba-Gáya.

Our camels, "gelóba," began now to be objects of the greatest curiosity and wonder to the natives; for it happens but rarely that this animal is brought into the country, as it will not bear the climate for any length of time. This is certainly a circumstance not to be lost sight of by those who contemplate trade and intercourse with the equatorial regions; but, of course, the European, with his energy and enterprise, might easily succeed in acclimatizing the camel by preparing himself for great losses in the beginning.

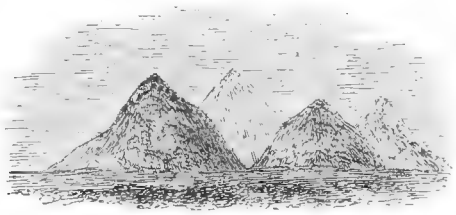
When the range on our right terminated, our view extended over a great expanse of country, from which several mountain groups started up, entirely detached one from the other, and without any connecting chain, and I sketched three of them, which are here represented. Of the names of the first two my



companions were not quite sure; but they all agreed in calling the last Kilba-Gáya. In front of us a considerable mountain mass called Fingting developed itself, and behind it another with the summits Bá and Yaurogúdde. Keeping along the plain, sometimes over fine pasture-grounds, at other times over cultivated fields, and crossing several little streams, we at length came to a brook or rivulet of a somewhat larger size, which is



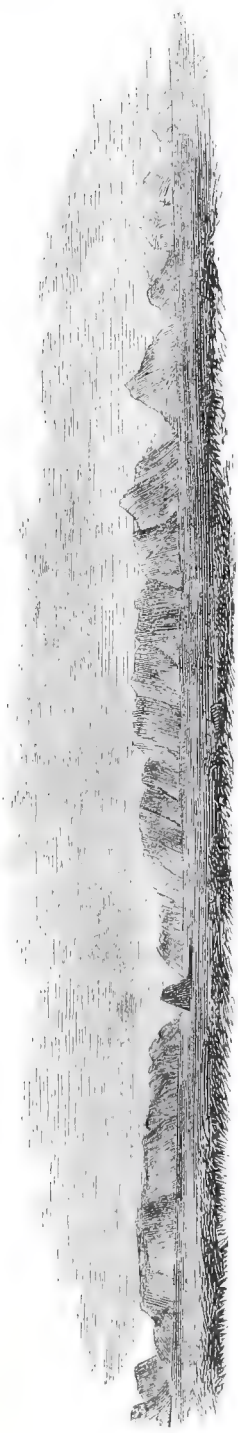
said to issue from Mount Guri, toward the southeast, and, re-



ceiving another brook coming from Mount Dáwa, runs westward.*

Having here considered whether we should go on or take up our quarters in Múbi, which was close by, we decided upon the latter, and entered the place. But we had to wait a long while in front of the governor's house, and were at length conducted into quarters so insufficient that we preferred encamping outside the town, and pitched our tent near a tree, which promised to afford us a shady place during the hot hours of the day. But we had scarcely made ourselves comfortable when the governor's servants came and requested me most urgently to come into the town, promising us good lodgings; I therefore gave way, and told them that I would go to my promised quarters toward night. As long as the weather was dry the open air was much more agreeable, and I turned our open encampment to account by taking accurate angles of all the summits around; but a storm in my small and weak tent was a very uncomfortable thing, and I gladly accepted the offer of good quarters for the night.

* I think it probable that this stream joins the Góngola Góngola, or rather, as it seems, "the river of the Góngola," Góngola being most probably the name of a tribe, that small branch of the Bénuwé which has quite recently been discovered by Mr. Vogel, and has been crossed by him at four different points; but I am not certain whether he has also ascertained the point of junction by actual observation.



In the course of the afternoon almost the whole population of the town came out to see me and my camels, and the governor himself came on horseback, inviting me into his own house, when I showed him my chronometer, compass, and telescope, which created immense excitement, but still greater was the astonishment of those particularly who knew how to read, at the very small print in my prayer-book. The amiable side of the character of the Fúlbe is their intelligence and vivacity, but they have a great natural disposition to malice, and are not by any means so good-natured as the real Blacks; for they really are—certainly more in their character than in their color—a distinct race between the Arab and Berber on the one side and the Negro stock on the other, although I would not suppose that the ancients had taken their prototype of Leucæthiopes from them. However striking may be the linguistic indications of a connection of this tribe with the Kaffers of South Africa, there can be no doubt that historically they have proceeded from the west toward the east. But of this more on another occasion.

I staid out till the sun went down, and before leaving my open dwelling sketched the long range of mountains to the east, together with the Fingting.

Between Mount Meshíla and Mount Kírya a road leads to the seats of the Komá.

The whole plain affords excellent pasture, and the town itself is a straggling place of great extent. That part of the governor's house which he assigned to me consisted of a court-yard with a very spacious and cool

hut, having two doors or openings, and the ground-floor was strewn with pebbles instead of sand, which seems to be the custom here throughout the rainy season. My host spent a great part of the evening in our company. I made him a present of ten sheets of paper, which, as a learned man in a retired spot who had never before seen so much writing material together, caused him a great deal of delight, though he seemed to be of a sullen temper. He informed me that the Fúlbe settled here belonged to the tribe of the Híllega.

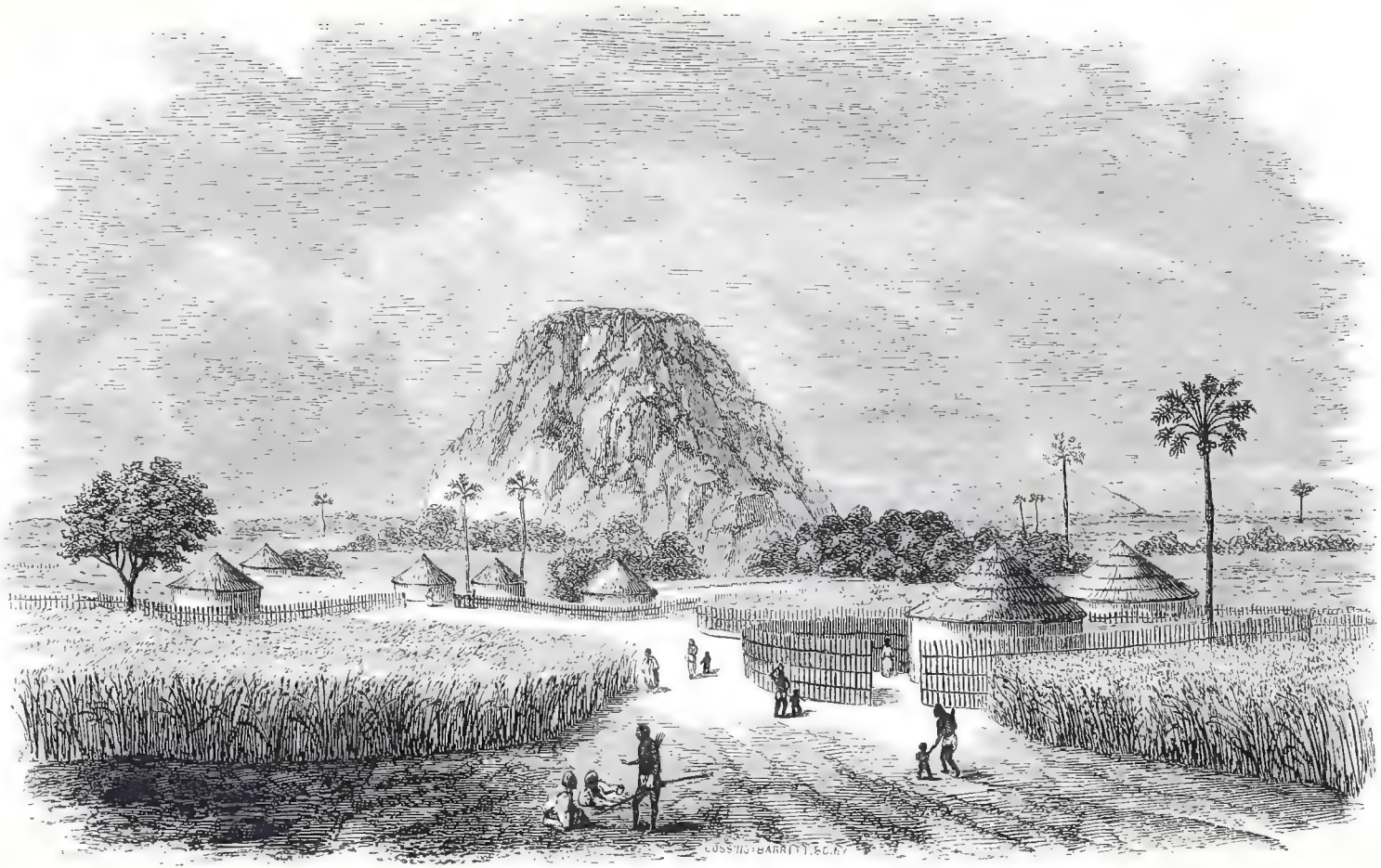
Thursday, June 12th. Although the weather was very gloomy, we set out in the morning through the rich grassy plain, which only round the settlements was laid out in cultivated fields; we crossed and recrossed the river of the day before, which keeps meandering through the plain. When we reached the village Bagma, which was cheerfully enlivened by a numerous herd of cattle, I was struck with the size and shape of the huts, which testified to the difference of the climate which we had entered not less than to the mode of living of the inhabitants. Some of these huts were from forty to sixty feet long, about fifteen broad, and from ten to twelve high, narrowing above to a ridge, and thatched all over, no distinction being made between roof and wall; others had a very peculiar shape, consisting of three semicircles.

The reason for making the huts so spacious is the necessity of sheltering the cattle, particularly young cattle, against the inclemency of the weather. Some of them were nothing better than stables, while others combined this distinction with that of a dwelling-house for the owner. The village is separated into two quarters by the river, and is inhabited entirely by Mohammedans. The news of a marvelous novelty soon stirred up the whole village, and young and old, male and female, all gathered round our motley troop, and thronged about us in innocent mirth, and as we proceeded the people came running from the distant fields to see the wonder; but the wonder was not myself, but the camel, an animal which many of them had never seen, fifteen years having elapsed since one of them had passed along this road. The chorus of shrill voices, "gelóba, gelóba,"

was led by two young wanton Púllo girls, slender as antelopes, and wearing nothing but a light apron of striped cotton round their loins, who, jumping about and laughing at the stupidity of these enormous animals, accompanied us for about two miles along the fertile plain. We passed a herd of about three hundred cattle. Gradually the country became covered with forest, with the exception of patches of cultivated ground, and we entered between those mountains which had been during the whole morning in front of us; here also granite prevailed, and all the mountains were covered with underwood.

About nine o'clock the path divided, and my companions for a long time were at a loss to decide which of the two they should follow, Bíllama having some objection to pass the night in Mbutúdi, which he thought was only inhabited by pagans, and preferring Múglebú, where he had acquaintances; but at length the people of A'damáwa carried their point, and we chose the westernmost road, which passes by Mbutúdi. The wilderness now gave way to open pastures, and we passed some cornfields, when we came to the farm of a wealthy Púllo named Alkáso, who in the midst of a numerous family was leading here the life of a patriarch. Hearing that a stranger from a far-distant country was passing by, the venerable old man came out of his village to salute me, accompanied by his sons, and two of the latter, who had evidently no idea of the heresy of the Christian religion, ran a long distance by the side of my horse, and did not turn back till I had given them my blessing. Pleasant as was their innocent behavior, showing a spirit full of confidence, I was rather glad when they were gone, as I wished to take some angles of the mountains which appeared scattered through the gloomy plain on our right.

After a while the low chain of hills on our left was succeeded by a range of higher mountains attached to the broad cone of the Fáka. A little before we had obtained a view of the rocky mount of Mbutúdi, and we now observed the first gigiña ("dugbi" in Fulfúlde) or deléb-palm, the kind of *Hyphæna* which I have already occasionally mentioned as occurring in other localities, but which distinguishes this place in a most characteristic



MPUTUDI.

way. The ground was covered with rich herbage, from which numerous violets peeped forth.

We had now reached Mbutúdi, a village situated round a granite mount of about six hundred yards' circumference, and rising to the height of about three hundred feet. It had been a considerable place before the rise of the Fúlbe, encompassing on all sides the mount, which had served as a natural citadel; but it has been greatly reduced, scarcely more than one hundred huts altogether now remaining; and were it not for the picturesque landscape—the steep rocky mount overgrown with trees, and the slender deléb-palms shooting up here and there, and forming denser groups on the southeast side—it would be a most miserable place.

My companions were greatly astonished to find that since they went to Kúkawa some Fúlbe families had settled here, for formerly none but native pagans lived in the village. It was therefore necessary that we should address ourselves to this ruling class; and after we had waited some time in the shade of some caoutchouc-trees, a tall, extremely slender Púllo, of a very noble expression of countenance, and dressed in a snow-white shirt, made his appearance, and after the usual exchange of compliments, and due inquiry on the part of my companions after horse, cattle, mother, slaves, and family,* conducted us to a dwelling not far from the eastern foot of the rock, consisting of several small huts, with a tall gigiña in the mid-

* The Fúlbe of A'damáwa are especially rich in compliments, which, however, have not yet lost their real and true meaning. Thus the general questions, "num báldum" (are you well?), "jám wáli" (have you slept?), are followed by the special questions, "no yímbe úro" (how is the family?), "no inna úro" (how is the landlady?), "to púchu máda," or "kórri púchu májám" (how is your horse?), "to erájo máda" (how is your grandfather?), "to máchudo máda" (how is your slave?), "to bíbe máda" (and your children?), "to sukábe máda" (how are your lads?), "bíbe hábe májám" (how are the children of your subjects?), "korri nay májám" (how are your cattle?); all of which, in general, are answered with "se jám." Between this strain occasionally a question about the news of the world, "tó hábbarú dúnia," and with travelers, at least, a question as to the fatigue, "tó chómmeri," is inserted. There is still a greater variety of compliments, the form of many, as used in A'damáwa, varying greatly from that usual in other countries occupied by the Fúlbe, and, of course, all depends on the time of the day when friends meet.

dle of its court-yard, which was never deserted by some large birds of the stork family, most probably some European wanderers. However, it had the disadvantage of being extremely wet, so that I preferred staying outside; and, going some distance from the huts, I laid myself down in the shade of a tree, where the ground was comparatively dry. The weather had been very cool and cheerless in the morning, and I was glad when the sun at length came forth, increasing the interest of the landscape, of which the accompanying view may give a slight idea.*

I here tried, for the first time, the fruit of the deléb-palm, which was just ripe; but I did not find it worth the trouble, as it really requires a good deal of effort to suck out the pulp, which is nothing but a very close and coarse fibrous tissue, not separating from the large stone, and having a mawkish taste, which soon grows disagreeable. It can not be at all compared with the banana, and still less with the fruit of the gonda-tree. It is, when full grown, from six to eight inches long and four inches across, and of a yellowish brown color; the kernel is about two inches and a half long and one inch thick. However, it is of importance to the natives, and, like the fruit of the dúm-palm, it yields a good seasoning for some of their simple dishes. They make use of the stone also, breaking and planting it in the ground, when in a few days a blade shoots forth with a very tender root, which is eaten just like the kelingoes; this is called "múrrechi" by the Háusa people, "béchul" by the Fúlbe, both of whom use it very extensively. But it is to be remarked that the gigiña or deléb-palm is extremely partial in its local distribution, and seems not at all common in A'damáwa, being, as my companions observed, here confined to a few localities, such as Láro and Song, while in the Músgu country it is, according to my own observation, the predominant tree; and, from information, I conclude this to be the case also in the southern provinces of Bagírmi, particularly in Sómray and Day. However, the immense extension of this palm, which

* Unfortunately, I had not energy enough to finish it in detail, so that many interesting little features have not been expressed.

probably is nearly related to the *Borassus flabelliformis*,* through the whole breadth of Central Africa, from Kordofán to the Atlantic, is of the highest importance.

While resting here I received a deputation of the heads of families of the Fúlbe, who behaved very decently, and were not a little excited by the performances of my watch and compass. I then determined to ascend the rock, which commands and characterizes the village, although, being fully aware of the debilitated state of my health, I was somewhat afraid of any great bodily exertion. It was certainly not an easy task, as the crags were extremely steep, but it was well worth the trouble, although the view over an immense space of country was greatly interrupted by the many small trees and bushes which are shooting out between the granite blocks.

After I had finished taking angles I sat down on this magnificent rocky throne, and several of the natives having followed me, I wrote from their dictation a short vocabulary of their language, which they called "Záni," and which I soon found was intimately related to that of the Marghí. These poor creatures, seeing, probably for the first time, that a stranger took real interest in them, were extremely delighted in hearing their words pronounced by one whom they thought almost as much above them as their god "féte," and frequently corrected each other when there was a doubt about the meaning of the word. The rock became continually more and more animated, and it was not long before two young Fúlbe girls also, who from the first had cast a kindly eye upon me, came jumping up to me, accompanied by an elder married sister. One of these girls was about fifteen, the other about eight or nine years of age. They were decently dressed as Mohammedans, in shirts covering the bosom, while the pagans, although they had dressed for the occasion, wore nothing but a narrow strip of leather passed between the legs and fastened round the loins, with a large leaf attached to it from behind; the women were, besides, ornamented with the "kadáma," which is the same as the seghéum of the Marghí,

* See a paper read by Dr. Berthold Seeman in the Linnæan Society, November 18th, 1856.

and worn in the same way, stuck through the under lip, but a little larger. Their prevailing complexion was a yellowish red, like that of the Marghí, with whom, a few centuries ago, they evidently formed one nation. Their worship, also, is nearly the same.

At length I left my elevated situation, and with a good deal of trouble succeeded in getting down again; but the tranquillity which I had before enjoyed was now gone, and not a moment was I left alone. All these poor creatures wanted to have my blessing; and there was particularly an old blacksmith, who, although he had become a proselyte to Islám, pestered me extremely with his entreaties to benefit him by word and prayer. They went so far as to do me the honor, which I of course declined, of identifying me with their god "féte," who, they thought, might have come to spend a day with them, to make them forget their oppression and misfortunes. The pagans, however, at length left me when night came on, but the Fúlbe girls would not go, or, if they left me for a moment, immediately returned, and so staid till midnight. The eldest of the unmarried girls made me a direct proposal of marriage, and I consoled her by stating that I should have been happy to accept her offer if it were my intention to reside in the country. The manners of people who live in these retired spots, shut out from the rest of the world, are necessarily very simple and unaffected, and this poor girl had certainly reason to look out for a husband, as at fifteen she was as far beyond her first bloom as a lady of twenty-five in Europe.

Friday, June 13th. Taking leave of these good people, the girl looked rather sorrowful as I mounted my horse. We resumed our march the following morning, first through cornfields—the grain here cultivated being exclusively géro, or pennisetum—then over rich and thinly-wooded pastures, having the mountain chain of the "Fálibé" constantly at some distance. The atmosphere was extremely humid, and rain-clouds hung upon the mountains. Further on the ground consisted entirely of red loam, and was so torn up by the rain that we had great difficulty and delay in leading the camels round the gaps and

ravines. Dense underwood now at times prevailed, and a bush called "baubaw," producing an edible fruit, here first fell under my observation; there was also another bulbous plant which I had not observed before. The karáge here, again, was very common. Gradually the whole country became one continuous wilderness, with the surface greatly undulating, and almost hilly; and here we passed a slave-village, or "rúmde," in ruins, the clay walls being all that remained.

The country wore a more cheerful appearance after nine o'clock, when we entered on a wide extent of cultivated ground, the crops standing beautifully in the fields, and the village or villages of Segéro appearing higher up on the slope of the heights, in a commanding situation. Segéro consists of two villages separated by a ravine, or hollow with a water-course, the northernmost of them, to which we came first, being inhabited jointly by the conquering tribe of the Fúlbe and the conquered one of the Holma, while the southern village is exclusively occupied by the ruling race. To this group we directed our steps, passing close by the former, where I made a hasty sketch of the outlines of Mount Holma.

The lámido, or mayor, being absent at the time, we dismounted under the public shade in front of his house till a comfortable spacious shed in the inner court-yard of his dwelling was placed at my disposal; and here I began immediately to employ my leisure hours in the study of the Fulfúlde, as I became fully aware that the knowledge of this language was essential to my plans, if I wished to draw all possible advantage from my proceedings; for these simple people, who do not travel, but reside all their life long in their secluded homes, with the exception of a few predatory expeditions against the pagans, know no

other language than their own; several of them, however, understand the written Arabic tolerably well, but are unable to speak it. Meanwhile, a large basket full of ground-nuts, in the double shell, just as they came from the ground, was placed before us; and after a while, three immense calabashes of a thick soup, or porridge, made of the same material, were brought in for the refreshment of our whole troop.

Ground-nuts form here a very large proportion of the food of the people, just in the same proportion as potatoes do in Europe, and the crops of corn having failed the last year, the people had very little besides. Ground-nuts, that is to say, the species of them which is called "kolche" in Kanúri, and "biríji" in Fulfúlde, which was the one grown here, as it seems, exclusively, I like very much, especially if roasted, for nibbling after supper, or even as a substitute for breakfast on the road, but I should not like to subsist upon them. In fact, I was scarcely able to swallow a few spoonfuls of this sort of porridge, which was not seasoned with honey; but I must confess that the spoons which the people here use for such purposes are rather large, being something like a scoop, and made likewise of a kind of gourd; the half of the *Cucurbita lagenaria* split in two, so that the handle at the same time forms a small channel, and may be used as a spout. Nature in these countries has provided every thing; dishes, bottles, and drinking-vessels are growing on the trees, rice in the forest, and the soil without any labor produces grain. The porridge can certainly be made more palatable by seasoning; and, if boiled with milk, is by no means disagreeable. The other kind of ground-nut, the "gángala," or "yerkúrga," which is far more oily, and which I did not see at all in Adamáwa, I do not like, though the people used to say that it is much more wholesome than the other kind. For making oil it is evidently the more valuable of the two. I will only add, that on this occasion I learned that the Fúlbe in this part of the country make also a similar porridge of sesamum, which they call "marasíri," and even of the habb el 'azíz, or the gojíya of the Háusa—the nebú of the Bórnu people. Sesamum I have frequently eaten in Negroland as a paste or hasty pudding, but never in the form of a porridge.

The reason why the corn had failed was that most of the men had gone to the war last year, the turbulent state of the country thus operating as a great drawback upon the cultivation of the ground. I must also observe how peculiarly the different qualities of the soil in neighboring districts are adapted for different species of grain; while in Mbutúdi, as I said, millet, géro, or *Pennisetum typhoïdeum*, was cultivated almost exclusively, here it was the dáwa, "báiri" in Fulfúlde, or sorghum, and principally the red sort, or "báiri bodéri."

Having restored our vital strength with this famous pap of ground-nuts, and having filled our pockets, and the nose-bags of the horses too, with the remains of the great basket, we set out again on our journey in the afternoon, for it appeared to me evident that none of my companions was fond of a strict ground-nut diet, and hence would rather risk a storm than a supper of this same dish. It had become our general rule to finish our day's journey in the forenoon, as the tempest generally set in in the afternoon.

The fields were well cultivated, but the corn on the more elevated spots stood not more than a foot high. The ground-nuts are cultivated between the corn, the regular spaces which are left between each stalk being sufficient for growing a cluster of nuts under ground, just in the same way as beans are cultivated in many parts of Negroland. The fields were beautifully shaded and adorned by the butter-tree, "tóso," or, as the Fúlbe call it, "kárehi," in the plural form "karéji," which was here the exclusively predominant tree, and, of course, is greatly valued by the natives. Every where the people were busy in the fields; and altogether the country, inclosed by several beautifully-shaped mountain ranges and by detached mountains, presented a most cheerful sight, all the patches of grass being diversified and embellished with a kind of violet-colored lily.

We now gradually approached the foot of Mount Holma, behind which another mountain began to rise into view, while on our left we passed a small "rúmde" or slave-village, and then entered a sort of defile. We were greatly afraid lest we should be punished for the gastronomic transgression of our traveling

rule, as a storm threatened us from behind; but we had time to reach Badaníjo in safety. Punished, however, we were, like the man who despised his peas; for, instead of finding here full bowls of pudding, we could not even procure the poor ground-nuts; and happy was he who had not neglected to fill his pockets from the full basket in Segéro.

We had the utmost difficulty in buying a very small quantity of grain for the horses, so that they came in for a share in the remains of the ground-nuts of Segéro; and my host especially was such a shabby, inhospitable fellow, that it was painful to speak a word to him. However, it seemed that he had reason to complain, having been treated very harshly by oppressive officers, and having lost all his cattle by disease. Not a drop of milk was to be got in the village, all the cattle having died. The cattle, at least those of the large breed, which apparently has been introduced into the country by the Fúlbe, seem not yet quite acclimatized, and are occasionally decimated by disease.

Badaníjo is very picturesquely situated in a beautiful, irregularly-shaped valley, surrounded on all sides by mountains, which are seen from the interior of the village. The scarcity of provisions was entirely due to the great expedition of last year, which had taken away all hands from the labors of the field; for the land around here is extremely fertile, and at present, besides sorghum or holcus, produced dánkali, or sweet potatoes, góza, or yams, manioc, and a great quantity of gunna, a large variety of calabash (*Fucillea trilobata*, *Cucurbita maxima ?*). Badaníjo is also interesting and important to the ethnologist as being the northernmost seat of the extensive tribe of the Falí or Farí, which, according to the specimens of its language which I was able to collect, is entirely distinct from the tribe of the Bátta, and their kinsmen the Záni and Marghí, and seems to have only a remote affinity with the Wándalá and Gámerghú languages. At present the village is principally, but not exclusively, inhabited by the ruling race, and I estimated the population at about three thousand.

Saturday, *June* 14*th*. After we had left the rich vegetation

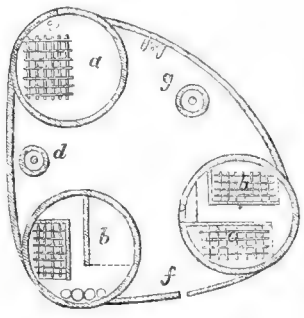
which surrounds the village, we soon entered a wild and hilly district, and, while passing over the spur of a rocky eminence on our left, observed, close to the brink of the cliffs overhanging our heads, the huts of the pagan village Búggela, and heard the voices of the natives, while at some distance on our right detached hills, all of which seemed to consist of granite, rose from the rugged and thickly-wooded plain. The rugged nature of this country increases the importance of Badanijo in a strategetical point of view. The country became continually more rocky and rugged, and there was scarcely a narrow path leading through the thick underwood, so that my friend, the pilgrim from Mélle, who rode his tall camel, had the greatest possible trouble to make his way through; however, I had reason to admire his dexterity. All through Negroland, where so many extensive tracts are covered with forest, traveling on camel's back is very troublesome. It was certainly very lucky for us that, for the last five days, scarcely any rain had fallen, otherwise the path would have been extremely difficult.

However, when we reached the village Kurúlu, the country improved, spreading out into wide pastures and cultivated fields, although it remained hilly and rather rugged; even close to the village a lower range appeared, and granite masses projected every where. A short distance farther on I sketched Mount Kurúlu and the heights near it.

Several of our party had gone into the village, and obtained some çold paste, made of a peculiar species of sorghum, of entirely red color. This red grain, "ja-n-dáwa," or "báiri bodéri," which I have already had occasion to mention, is very common in the southern part of Negroland below the tenth degree of latitude, and in some districts, as in the Músgu country,

seems to prevail almost exclusively; but it was at the time new to me, and I found it extremely nauseous. The paste of white durra, "fári n dáwa," or "báiri dhannéri," is generally so well cooked in A'damáwa, being formed into large rolls of four inches in length, and from two to three inches thick in the middle, that even when cold it is quite eatable, and in this state generally formed my breakfast on the road; for my palatable chébchebé from Kúkawa, like all nice things in the world, were soon gone.

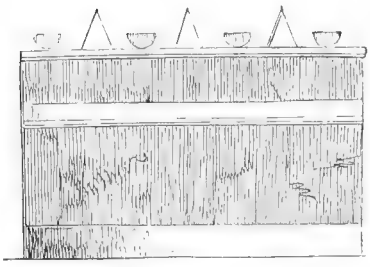
Gradually we entered another rugged wilderness, from which we did not emerge till a quarter before ten o'clock, when a máriná, or dyeing place, indicated the neighborhood of a centre of civilization unusual in this country. A few minutes more, and we reached the northern village of Saráwu, which is inhabited almost exclusively by Bórnu people, and is therefore called Saráwu Beréberé. On the side from which we arrived the village is open, and does not seem to be thickly inhabited, but farther to the south the population is denser. Having halted some time on a small open space in the middle of the village, in the shade of a small terebinth, we were conducted into very excellent quarters, which seem to deserve a short description.



It was a group of three huts, situated in the midst of a very spacious outer yard, which was surrounded by a light fence of corn-stalks. The huts consisted of clay walls, with a thatched roof of very finished workmanship, and were joined together by clay walls. The most spacious of these huts (*a*), of about twelve feet in diameter, formed the entrance-hall and the parlor, being furnished with two doors or openings, one on the side of the outer, and the other on the side of the inner court-yard, from which the two other huts (*b* and *c*), destined for the women, had their only access. The outer opening or door of the chief hut (*a*), although rather small according to our ideas, was very large considering the general custom of the country, measuring three feet and a half in height, and sixteen inches in the widest part, its form being that of an egg.

In this hut there was only one very large couch, measuring seven feet and a half in length by five in width, and raised three feet above the floor, made of clay over a frame of wood, on the right side of the door, where the landlord used to receive his guests, the remaining part of the hut being empty, and capable of receiving a good many people. Between the couch and the door there was a fire-place, or fúgodí, or fúgo kánnurám in Kanúri, "hobbunírde" in Fulfúlde, formed by three stones of the same size. Of this airy room I myself took possession, spreading my carpet upon the raised platform, while the m'allem, my servants, and whosoever paid me a visit, found a place on the floor. The wall, which was rather thicker than usual, was all colored with a reddish-brown tint, and upon this ground several objects had been so unartistically delineated that, with the exception of wooden tablets, "alló," such as the boys here use in learning to write, it was impossible to tell what they were intended for.

The hut opposite the parlor (*b*), which was smaller than (*a*), but larger than (*c*), seemed intended for the ordinary dwelling of the landlady, being ornamented in the background with the "gángar," as it is called in Kanúri, "nanne" in Fulfúlde, a raised platform or sideboard for the cooking utensils; here four large-sized new jars were placed, as in battle array, surmounted by smaller ones. With regard to the other arrangements the two huts were of similar construction, having on each side a couch, one for the man and the other for his wife. In both the woman's couch was the better one, being formed of clay on a wooden frame, and well protected from prying eyes by a thin clay wall about five feet high, and handsomely ornamented in the following way: running not only along the side of the door, but inclosing also half of the other side, it excluded all impertinent curiosity, while the man's couch, which was less regular and comfortable, reached to the very border of the door, and on this side had the protection only of a thin clay wall without ornaments. With the privacy thus attained, the size of the doors was in entire harmony, being of an oval shape, and very small, particularly in (*c*), measuring only about two feet in height and



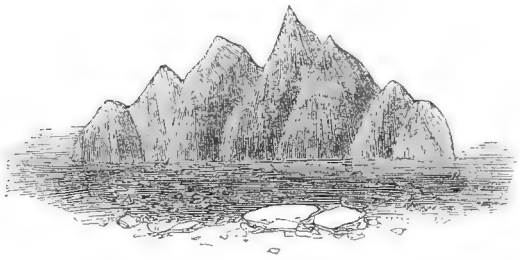
ten inches in width, a size which I am afraid would refuse a passage to many a European lady; indeed, it might seem rather intended to keep a married lady within doors after she had first contrived to get in.

Notwithstanding the scanty light falling into the interior of the hut through the narrow doorway, it was also painted, (*c*) in this respect surpassing its sister hut in the harmony of its colors, which formed broad alternate bands of white and brown, and gave the whole a very stately and finished character. The whole arrangement of these two huts bore distinct testimony to a greatly developed sense of domestic comfort.

In the wall of the court-yard, between (*b*) and (*c*), there was a small back door, raised above the ground, and of diminutive size (*f*), apparently intended for admitting female visitors without obliging them to pass through the parlor, and at the same time showing much confidence in the discretion of the female department. In the court-yard were two large-sized jars, (*g*) the larger one being the bázam or corn-jar, and the smaller (*d*) the gébam or water-jar. In the corner, formed between the hut (*a*) and the wall of the court-yard, was the "fúgodí," or kitchen, on a small scale.

The house belonged to a private man, who was absent at the time. From the outer court-yard, which, as I have observed, was spacious, and fenced only with corn-stalks, there was an interesting panorama over a great extent to the south, and I was enabled to take a great many angles. From this place, also, I made the following sketch of a cone which seemed to me very picturesque, but the exact name of which I could not learn.

Saráwu is the most elevated place on the latter part of this



route, although the highest point of the water-partition, between the basin of the Tsád and that of the so-called Niger, as I stated before, seems to be at the pass north of U'ba. The difference between the state of the corn here and in Múbi and thereabout was very remarkable. The crop stood here scarcely a few inches above the ground.* The soil, also, around the place is not rich, the mould being thin upon the surface of the granite, which in many places lies bare. The situation of Saráwu is very important on account of its being the point where the road from Logón and all the northeastern part of A'damáwa, which includes some very considerable centres of industry and commerce —particularly Fátawel, the *entrepôt* of all the ivory trade in these quarters—joins the direct road from Kúkawa to the capital. Cotton is cultivated here to some extent. A'damáwa is a promising country of colonies.

Saráwu, too, was suffering from dearth from the same reason which I have explained above; the second crop, which is destined to provide for the last and most pressing period, while the new crop is ripening, not having been sown at all last year on account of the expedition, so that we had great difficulty in obtaining the necessary corn for our five horses. It would, however, have been very easy for me to obtain a sufficient supply if I had demanded a small fee for my medical assistance, as I had a good many patients who came to me for remedies; but this I refrained from doing. I had here some very singular cases, which rather exceeded my skill; and, among others, there was a woman who had gone with child full two years, without any effort on the part of her imaginary offspring to come forth,

* I made some observations with the boiling-water instrument on this road, but, unfortunately, my thermometers for this purpose were entirely out of order.

and who came to me with full confidence that the far-famed stranger would be able to help her to motherhood. Among the people who visited me there was also a Tébu, or rather Téda, who in his mercantile rambles had penetrated to this spot; indeed, these people are very enterprising, but in general their journeys lie more in the direction of Wándalá, where they dispose of a great quantity of glass beads. This man had resided here some time, but was not able to give me much information.* He, however, excited my curiosity with regard to two white women, whom I was to see in Yóla, brought there from the southern regions of A'damáwa, and who, he assured me, were at least as white as myself. But, after all, this was not saying much, for my arms and face at that time were certainly some shades darker than the darkest Spaniard or Italian. I had heard already several people speak of these women, and the natives had almost made them the subject of a romance, spreading the rumor that my object in going to Yóla was to get a white female companion. I shall have occasion to speak about a tribe of lighter color than usual in the interior, not far from the coast of the Cameroons, and there can be no doubt about the fact. My short and uncomfortable stay in the capital of A'damáwa deprived me of the opportunity of deciding with regard to the exact shade of these people's complexion, but I think it is a yellowish brown.

Sunday, June 15th. Having been busy in the morning writing Fulfúlde, I mounted my horse about ten o'clock, accompanied by Bíllama and Bú-S'ad, in order to visit the market, which is held every Thursday and Sunday on a little eminence at some distance from the Bórnu village, and close to the S.E. side of Saráwu Fulfúlde, separated from the latter by a ravine. The market was furnished with thirty-five stalls made of bushes and mats, and was rather poorly attended. However, it must be taken into consideration that, during the season of field-la-

* The only thing which I learned from him was that there is a village called Zum, inhabited by Fúlbe, near Holma, and about half a day's journey from Saráwu, situated on a level tract of country; and a little to the west from it another place, called Debá, also inhabited by Fúlbe.

bors, all markets in Negroland are much less considerable than at other seasons of the year. There were a good many head of cattle for sale, while two oxen were slaughtered for provision, to be cut up and sold in small parcels. The chief articles besides were ground-nuts, butter, a small quantity of rice, salt, and soap. Soap, indeed, is a very important article in any country inhabited by Fúlbe, and it is prepared in every household; while very often, even in large places inhabited by other tribes, it is quite impossible to obtain this article so essential for cleanliness. No native grain of any kind was in the market—a proof of the great dearth which prevailed throughout the country. A few túrkedí were to be seen; and I myself introduced a specimen of this article, in order to obtain the currency of the country for buying small matters of necessity.

The standard of the market is the native cotton, woven, as it is all over Negroland, in narrow strips called "léppi," of about two inches and a quarter in width, though this varies greatly. Shells ("kurdí" or "chéde") have no currency. The smallest measure of cotton is the "nánandé," measuring ten "dr'a" or "fóndudé" (*sing.* "fóndukí"), equal to four fathoms, "káme" or "nándudé" (*sing.* "nándukí"*). Seven nánandé make one "dóra"—meaning a small shirt of extremely coarse workmanship, and scarcely to be used for dress; and from two to five dóra make one thób or "gaffaléul"† of variable size and quality. The túrkedí which I introduced into the market, and which I had bought in Kanó for 1800 kurdí, was sold for a price equivalent to 2500 shells, which certainly is not a great profit, considering the danger of the road. However, it must be borne in mind that what I bought for 1800 a native certainly would have got for 1600, and would perhaps have sold for 2800 or more.

Having caused some disturbance to the usual quiet course of business in the market, I left Bú-S'ad behind me to buy some

* This is the origin of the word nánandé, which is a corruption from "nai nándudí"—four fathoms.

† "Gaffaléul" is a provincialism only used by the Fúlbe of Fúmbiná, and not understood either in Kébbi or in Másena, where "toggóre" is the common expression.

articles which we wanted, and proceeded with my kashélla toward the ravine, and, ascending the opposite bank, entered the straggling quarter of the Fúlbe, which, in a very remarkable manner, is adorned with a single specimen of the charming gonda-tree, or "dukuje" (the *Carica papaya*), and a single specimen of the gigiña or dugbi, the *Hyphæna* which I have frequently mentioned; at all events, not more than these two specimens are seen rearing their tapering forms above the huts and fences. Then we directed our steps toward the dwelling of the governor, which impressed me by its magnificence, when compared with the meanness of the cottages around. A very spacious oblong yard, surrounded with a high clay wall, encircled several apartments, the entrance being formed by a round cool hut of about twenty-five feet diameter, the clay walls of which, from the ground to the border of the thatched roof, measured about ten feet in height, and had two square doors of about eight feet in height, one toward the street, and the other on the inside—altogether a splendid place in the hot season. Here, too, the floor was at present thickly strewn with pebbles.

But the master of this noble mansion was an unhappy blind man, who, leaning upon the shoulders of his servants, was led into the room by a m'allem or módibo, one of the finest men I have seen in the country, and more like a European than a native of Negroland, tall and broad-shouldered, and remarkably amiable and benevolent. The governor himself, also, was remarkably tall and robust for a Púllo. The módibo, who spoke Arabic tolerably well, and officiated as interpreter, had heard a good deal about me, and was most anxious to see those curious instruments which had been described to him; and, as I wore the chronometer and compass constantly attached to my waist, I was able to satisfy his curiosity, which, in so learned a man, was less vain and more interesting than usual. But the poor blind governor felt rather uneasy because he could not see these wonders with his own eyes, and endeavored to indemnify himself by listening to the ticking of the watch, and by touching the compass. But he was more disappointed still when I declared that I was unable to restore his sight, which, after all the

stories he had heard about me, he had thought me capable of doing; and I could only console him by begging him to trust in "Jaumiráwo" (the Lord on High). As, on setting out, I did not know that we were going to pay our respects to this man, I had no present to offer him except a pair of English scissors, and these, of course, in his blindness, he was unable to value, though his companion found out immediately how excellent they were for cutting paper. The governor is far superior in power to his neighbors, and, besides Saráwu, Kurúndel or Korúlu and Bíngel are subject to his government.

While recrossing the ravine on my return to Saráwu Beréberé, I observed with great delight a spring of water bubbling up from the soil, and forming a small pond—quite a new spectacle for me. After I had returned to my quarters I was so fortunate as to make a great bargain in cloves, which I now found out were the only article in request here. The Bórnu women seemed amazingly fond of them, and sold the nánande of léppi for thirty cloves, when, seeing that they were very eager to buy, I raised the price of my merchandise, offering only twenty-five. I had also the luck to buy several fowls and sufficient corn for three horses with a pair of scissors; and as my m'allem Katúri had several old female friends in the village who sent him presents, we all had plenty to eat that day. But, nevertheless, my old friend the m'allem was not content, but, in the consciousness of his own merits, picked a quarrel with me because I refused to write charms for the people, while they all came to me as to the wisest of our party; and, had I done so, we might all have lived in the greatest luxury and abundance.

In the evening, while a storm was raging outside, Bíllama gave me a list of the most important persons in the capital of the country which we were now fast approaching. Mohammed Lowel, the son of M'allem A'dama, has several full-grown brothers, who all figure occasionally as leaders of great expeditions, and also others of more tender age. The eldest of these is Bú-Bakr (generally called M'allem Bágeri), who last year conducted the great expedition toward the north; next follows Aíjo; then M'allem Mansúr, a man whom Bíllama represented to me as of

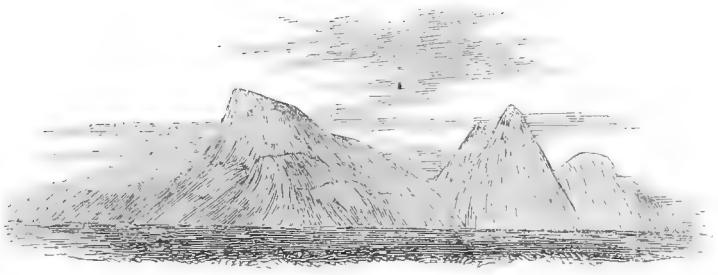
special importance for me, on account of his being the favorite of the people, and amicably disposed toward Bórnu; 'Omáro; Zubéru; Hámidu. Of the other people, he represented to me as the most influential—Móde Hassan, the kádhi; Móde 'Abd-Alláhi, the secretary of state; and the Ardo Ghámmawa, as commander of the troops. As the most respectable Háusa people settled in Yóla, he named Káiga Hámma, Serkí-n-Góber, Mai Konáma, Mágaji-n-Hadder, Mai Hadder, and Búwári (Bokhári).

I introduce this notice, as it may prove useful in case of another expedition up the River Bénuwé.

Monday, June 16th. Starting at an early hour, we passed the market-place, which to-day was deserted, and then left the Púllo town on one side. The country being elevated, and the path winding, we had every moment a new view of the mountains around us; and before we began to descend I made the accompanying sketch of the country behind us, stretching from N. 30° E. to E. 20° N.

The country continued rugged and rocky, though it was occasionally interrupted by cultivated ground, and a mountain group of interesting form, called Kónkel, stood out on our right.

Having entered at eight o'clock upon cultivated ground of great extent, we reached, a quarter of an hour afterward, Bélem, the residence of M'allem Dalíli, a man whom I had heard much praised in Saráwu. Bíllama wished to spend the day here, but I was very anxious to proceed, as we had already



lost the preceding day; but, at the same time, I desired to make the acquaintance of and to pay my respects to a person whom every one praised for his excellent qualities. I therefore sent forward the camels with the men on foot, while I myself entered the village with the horsemen. Crossing a densely-inhabited quarter, we found the m'allem sitting under a tree in his court-yard, a venerable and benevolent-looking old man, in a threadbare blue shirt and a green "báki-n-záki." We had scarcely paid our respects to him, and he had asked a few general questions in Arabic, when an Arab adventurer from Jedda, with the title of sherif, who had roved a good deal about the world, made his appearance, and was very inquisitive to know the motives which had carried me into this remote country; and Bú-S'ad thought it prudent to pique his curiosity by telling him that we had come to search for the gold and silver in the mountains. Old M'allem Dalíli soon after began to express himself to the effect that he should feel offended if I would not stay with him till the afternoon; and I was at length obliged to send for the camels, which had already gone on a good way.

A rather indifferent lodging being assigned to me, I took possession of the shade of a rími or béntehi—the bentang-tree of Mungo Park (*Eriodendron Guinense*), of rather small size, and there tried to resign myself quietly to the loss of another day, while in truth I burned with impatience to see the river, which was the first and most important object of my journey. However, my quarters soon became more interesting to me, as I observed here several peculiarities of arrangement, which, while they were quite new to me, were most characteristic of the equatorial regions which I was approaching; for while in Bórnu

and Háusa it is the general custom to expose the horses, even very fine ones, to all changes of the weather—which, on the whole, are not very great—in these regions, where the wet season is of far longer duration and the rains much heavier, it is not prudent to leave the animals unsheltered, and stables are built for them on purpose, round spacious huts with unusually high clay walls; these are called "debbíru" by the Fúlbe of A'damáwa, from the Háusa word "débbi." Even for the cattle there was here a stable, but more airy, consisting only of a thatched roof supported by thick poles, and inclosed with a fence of thorny bushes.

The vegetation in the place was very rich, and an experienced botanist might have found many new species of plants, while to me the most remarkable circumstance was the quantity of *Palma Christi* scattered about the place, a single specimen of the gonda-tree, and the first specimen of a remarkable plant which I had not observed before on my travels—a smooth, soft stem, about ten inches thick at the bottom, and shooting up to a height of about twenty-five feet, but drawn downward and inclined by the weight and size of its leaves, which measured six feet in length and about twenty inches in breadth. The Háusa people gave it the name "alléluba," a name generally given to quite a different tree, which I have mentioned in speaking of Kanó. The plant bears some resemblance to the *Musa*, or banana; fruits or flowers it had none at present.

I had been roving about for some time when the sheríf, whom I mentioned above, came to pay me a visit, when I learned that he had come to this place by way of Wáday and Logón, and that he had been staying here already twenty days, being engaged in building a warm bath for the m'allem, as he had also done for the Sultan of Wáday.

The reader sees that these wandering Arabs are introducing civilization into the very heart of this continent, and it would not be amiss if they could all boast of such accomplishments; but this rarely happens. Even this very man was a remarkable example of those saintly adventurers so frequently met with in Negroland, but who begin to tire out the patience of the more

enlightened princes of the country. He brought me a lump of native home-made soap, with which, as he said, I might "wash my clothes, as I came from the dirty, *soapless* country of Bórnu." This present was not ill-selected, although I hope that the reader will not thence conclude that I was particularly dirty, at least not more so than an African traveler might be fairly expected to be. I had laid in a good store of cloves, which, as I have had already occasion to mention, are highly esteemed here, so I made him very happy by giving him about half a pound weight of them.

More interesting, however, to me than the visit of this wandering son of the East was the visit of two young native noblemen, sons of the Ardo Jídda, to whom belongs the country between Segúr and Wándalá or Mándará, and the younger of whom was a remarkably handsome man, of slender form, light complexion, and a most agreeable expression of countenance. This, however, is a remark which I have often made on my travels, that the males among the Fúlbe are very handsome till they reach the age of about twenty years, when they gradually assume an apish expression of countenance, which entirely spoils the really Circassian features which they have in early life. As for the females, they preserve their beauty much longer. While these young men were giving unrestrained vent to their admiration of my things, the old m'allem came with a numerous suite of attendants, whereupon they drew shyly back and sat silently at a distance. In this part of the world there is a great respect for age.

The m'allem and his companions were not only astonished at my instruments, but manifested much curiosity about the map of Africa which I unfolded before their eyes, being greatly struck by the extent of the continent toward the south, of which they had previously no idea. I shall show in another part of this work how far the Fúlbe have become acquainted with the regions about the equator, and how a faint rumor of the strong pagan kingdom of Muropúwe has spread over the kingdoms of North Central Africa. Their esteem for me increased when I showed them my little prayer-book, which I wore in a red case

slung round my shoulders, just as they wear their Kurán; indeed, a Christian can never be more sure of acquiring the esteem of a Moslim—at least of a learned one—than when he shows himself impressed with the sentiments of his religion; but he must not be a zealous Roman Catholic, nor broach doctrines which seem to deny the unity of God. He took great delight in hearing a psalm of the well-known "nebí Dáúd" (David) read in English. He, as well as almost all his companions, spoke Arabic; for, as Saráwu Beréberé is a colony of Bórnu people, Bélem is a pure Arabic colony, that is to say, a colony of the Sálamát, a tribe widely scattered over Bórnu and Wadáy. M'allem O'ro, or, as he is popularly called, on account of his humility and devoutness, M'allem Dalíli, was born in Wadáy, but settled in Bórnu, from whence, at the time of the conquest of the country by the Fúlbe or Felláta (in the year 1808), he fled, to avoid famine and oppression, like so many other unfortunate inhabitants of that kingdom, and founded a village in this promising region. This is the country for colonies, and I do not see why a colony of liberated slaves of Sierra Leone might not be advantageously established here. All these people wear indigo-colored shirts, and in this manner, even by their dress, are distinguished from the Fúlbe. They are tolerated and protected, although a Púllo head man has his residence here, besides the m'allem.

We were to start in the afternoon, but my stupid Fezzáni servant, Mohammed ben Habíb, had almost killed himself with eating immoderately of ground-nuts, and was so seriously ill that I was reduced to the alternative either of leaving him behind or waiting for him. Choosing the latter, I made a day of feasting for the whole of my little company, the m'allem sending me a goat for my people, a couple of fowls fôr myself, and corn for my horses, besides which I was so fortunate as to buy a supply of rice. In consideration of his hospitable treatment, I sent the old m'allem a bit of camphor and a parcel of cloves. Camphor is a most precious thing in these regions, and highly esteemed by the nobler classes, and I can not too strongly recommend a traveler to provide himself with a supply of it. It

is obvious that a small quantity, if well kept, will last him a long time. He may find an opportunity of laying a man of first-rate importance under lasting obligations by a present of a small piece of camphor.

Tuesday, June 17th. We at length set out to continue our journey. The morning was beautifully fresh and cool after the last night's storm, the sky was clear, and the country open and pleasant. A fine grassy plain, with many patches of cultivated ground, extended on our right to the very foot of Mount Kónkel, which, as I now saw, is connected by a lower ridge with Mount Holma. We passed the ruins of the village Bíngel, the inhabitants of which had transferred their settlement nearer to the foot of the mountains. Then followed forest, interrupted now and then by corn-fields. My friends, the young sons of Ardo Jídda, accompanied me for full two hours on horseback, when they bade me a friendly farewell, receiving each of them, to his great delight, a stone-set ring, which I begged them to present to their ladies as a memorial of the Christian traveler. I now learned that the young men were already mixing in politics; the younger brother, who was much the handsomer, and seemed to be also the more intelligent of the two, had, till recently, administered the government of his blind father's province, but had been deposed on account of his friendly disposition toward Wándalá, having married a princess of that country, and the management of affairs had been transferred to his elder brother.

Forest and cultivated ground alternately succeeded each other; a little after nine o'clock we passed, on our left, a small "rúmde," or slave-village, with ground-nuts and holcus in the fields, and most luxuriant pasture all around. The country evidently sloped southward, and at a little distance beyond the village I observed the first water-course, running decidedly in that direction; on its banks the corn stood already four feet high. The country now became quite open to the east and south, and every thing indicated that we were approaching the great artery of the country which I was so anxious to behold. In the distance to the west a range of low hills was still observable, but was gradually receding. About ten o'clock we

passed the site of a straggling but deserted village, called Melágo, the inhabitants of which had likewise exchanged their dwelling-place in this low, level country for a more healthy one at the foot of the mountains, where there is another village called Kófa, homonymous with that in the Marghí country; for this district belongs to the country of the Bátta, a numerous tribe nearly related, as I have stated above, to the Marghí. All the ruins of the dwellings in Melágo were of clay, and the rumbú or rumbúje—the stacks of corn—were of a peculiar description; fine corn-fields spread around and between the huts.

Having rested about noon for a little more than two hours on a rather damp and gloomy spot near a dirty pond, we continued our march, the country now assuming a very pleasant park-like appearance, clothed in the most beautiful green, at times broken by corn-fields, where the corn—*Pennisetum* or géro—stood already five feet high. We soon had to deliberate on the very important question which way to take, as the road divided into two branches, the northern or western one leading by way of Búmánda, while the southern or eastern one went by way of Sulléri. Most of my companions were for the former road, which they represented as much nearer, and, as I afterward saw, with the very best reason; but, fortunately, the more gastronomic part of the caravan, headed by Bíllama, who was rather fond of good living, rejected Búmánda, as being inhabited by poor, inhospitable pagans, and decided for the promising large dishes of Mohammedan Sulléri. This turned out to be a most fortunate circumstance for me, although the expectations of my friends were most sadly disappointed. For if we had followed the route by Búmánda, we should have crossed the Bénuwé lower down, and I should not have seen the "Tépe," that most interesting and important locality, where the Bénuwé is joined by the Fáro, and swelled to that majestic river which is at least equal in magnitude to the Kwára. Of this circumstance I was then not aware, else I should have decided from the beginning for the route by Sulléri. Unfortunately, owing to my very short stay in the country, I can not say exactly where Búmánda lies; but I should suppose that it is situated about ten miles lower down,

at a short distance from the river, like the place of the same name near Hamárruwa,* and I think it must lie opposite to Yóla, so that a person who crosses the river at that place goes over directly to the capital, without touching either at Ribáwo or at any of the neighboring places.

Having, therefore, chosen the eastern road, we soon reached the broad, but at present dry sandy channel of the máyo Tíyel, which runs in a southwesterly direction to join the Bénuwé; water was to be found close underneath the surface of the sand, and several women, heavily laden with sets of calabashes, and belonging to a troop of travelers encamped on the eastern border of the water-course, were busy in scooping a supply of most excellent water from a shallow hollow or "kénkenu." The banks of the river, or rather torrent, were lined with luxuriant trees, among which I observed the dorówa or meráya (*Parkia*) in considerable numbers.

Forest and cultivated ground now succeeded alternately, till we reached a beautiful little lake called "géré† Páriyá" by the Bátta, and "barre-n-dáke" by the Fúlbe, at present about fourteen hundred yards long, and surrounded by tall grass, every where impressed with tracks of the hippopotami or "ngábba," which emerge during the night from their watery abode to indulge here quietly in a rich pasturage. This is the usual camping-ground of expeditions which come this way. A little beyond this lake a path branched off from our road to the right, leading to Ródi, a place of the Bátta, whose villages, according to Mohámmedu's statement, are all fortified with stockades, and situated in strong positions naturally protected by rocky mounts and ridges.

There had been a storm in the afternoon at some distance; but when the sun was setting, and just as we began to wind along a narrow path through a thick forest, a black tempest gathered over our heads. At length we reached the fields of

* Búmánda probably means a ford, or rather place of embarkation. It can scarcely have any connection with the Kanúri word "mánda," meaning salt, although salt is obtained in the western place of this name.

† This word "gére" is identical with "éré" or "arre," the name the Músgu give to the river of Logón.

Sulléri, and, having stumbled along them in the deepest darkness, illumined only at intervals by flashes of lightning, we entered the place and pushed our way through the narrow streets, looking round in vain for Ibrahíma, who had gone on to procure quarters.

To our great disappointment, we found the house of the governor shut up; and, notwithstanding our constant firing and knocking at the door, nobody came to open it, while the heavy clouds began to discharge their watery load over our heads. At length, driven to despair, we turned round, and by force entered his son's house, which was situated opposite to his own. Here I took possession of one side of the spacious, clean, and cool entrance-hall, which was separated from the thoroughfare by a little balustrade raised above the floor. Spreading my mat and carpet upon the pebbles with which, as is the general custom here, it was strewn, I indulged in comfort and repose after the fatiguing day's march, while outside the tempest, and inside the landlord, were raging, the latter being extremely angry with Bíllama on account of our forced entry. Not the slightest sign of hospitality was shown to us; and instead of regaling themselves with the expected luxurious dishes of Sulléri, my companions had to go supperless to bed, while the poor horses remained without any thing to eat, and were drenched with the rain.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE MEETING OF THE WATERS.—THE BÉNUWÉ AND FÁRO.

Wednesday, June 18th. At an early hour we left the inhospitable place of Sulléri. It was a beautiful fresh morning, all nature being revived and enlivened by the last night's storm. My companions, sullen and irritated, quarreled among themselves on account of the selfish behavior of Ibrahíma. As for me, I was cheerful in the extreme, and borne away by an enthusiastic and triumphant feeling, for to-day I was to see the river.

The neighborhood of the water was first indicated by numbers of high ant-hills, which, as I shall have occasion to observe more fully in the course of my narrative, abound chiefly in the neighborhood of rivers: they were here ranged in almost parallel lines, and afforded a very curious spectacle. We had just passed a small village or rúmde, where not a living soul was to be seen, the people having all gone forth to the labors of the field, when the lively Mohámmedu came running up to me, and exclaimed "Gashí, gashí, dútsi-n-Alantíka ké nan" ("Look! look! that is Mount Alantíka"). I strained my eyes, and saw, at a great distance to the S.W., a large but insulated mountain mass, rising abruptly on the east side, and forming a more gradual slope toward the west, while it exhibited a rather smooth and broad top, which certainly must be spacious, as it contains the estates of seven independent pagan chiefs. Judging from the distance, which was pretty well known to me, I estimated the height of the mountain at about eight thousand feet of absolute elevation; but it may be somewhat less.

Here there was still cultivated ground, exhibiting at present the finest crop of masr, called "bútalí" by the Fúlbe of A'damáwa; but a little farther on we entered upon a swampy plain (the savannas of A'damáwa), overgrown with tall rank grass, and broken by many large hollows full of water, so that we were obliged to proceed with great caution. This whole plain is annually (two months later) entirely under water. However, in the middle of it, on a little rising ground, which looks as if it were an artificial mound, lies a small village, the abode of the ferryman of the Bénuwé, from whence the boys came running after us—slender, well-built lads, accustomed to fatigue, and strengthened by daily bathing; the younger ones quite naked, the elder having a leathern apron girt round their loins. A quarter of an hour afterward we stood on the bank of the Bénuwé.*

* I heard the name pronounced in this way, but lower down it may be pronounced Bí-nuwé. However, I have to remark that Mr. Petermann changed the é into an í from mere mistake; and I do not know whether the members of the Chádda expedition had sufficient authority for writing the name in this way. The word belongs to the Batta language, where water is called "beé" or "bé;"

It happens but rarely that a traveler does not feel disappointed when he first actually beholds the principal features of a new country, of which his imagination has composed a picture, from the description of the natives; but, although I must admit that the shape and size of the Alantíka, as it rose in rounded lines from the flat level, did not exactly correspond with the idea which I had formed of it, the appearance of the river far exceeded my most lively expectations. None of my informants had promised me that I should just come upon it at that most interesting locality—the Tépe*—where the mightier river is joined by another of very considerable size, and that in this place I was to cross it. My arrival at this point, as I have stated before, was a most fortunate circumstance. As I looked from the bank over the scene before me, I was quite enchanted, although the whole country bore the character of a desolate wilderness; but there could scarcely be any great traces of human industry near the river, as during its floods it inundates the whole country on both sides. This is the general character of all the great rivers in these regions, except where they are encompassed by very steep banks.

The principal river, the Bénuwé, flowed here from east to west, in a broad and majestic course, through an entirely open country, from which only here and there detached mountains started forth. The banks on our side rose to twenty-five, and in some places to thirty feet, while just opposite to my station, behind a pointed headland of sand, the Fáro rushed forth, appearing from this point not much inferior to the principal river, and coming in a fine sweep from the southeast, where it disappeared in the plain, but was traced by me, in thought, upward to the steep eastern foot of the Alantíka. The river, below the junction, keeping the direction of the principal branch, but making a slight bend to the north, ran along the northern foot of

but in kindred dialects it is called "bí." "Nuwé" means the mother; and the whole name means "mother of water." The name, therefore, properly, is of the feminine gender.

* "Tépe" is a Púllo, or rather Fulfúlde word, meaning "junction," "confluence," which, by the Western Fúlbe, would be called "fottérde máje. In Hausa the name is "magángamí."

TEPE, THE CONFLUENCE OF THE BENUWE AND FARO.

Mount Bágelé, and was there lost to the eye, but was followed in thought through the mountainous region of the Báchama and Zína to Hamárruwa, and thence along the industrious country Korórofa, till it joined the great western river, the Kwára or Niger, and, conjointly with it, ran toward the great ocean.

On the northern side of the river another detached mountain, Mount Taife, rose, and behind it the Bengo, with which Mount Fúro seemed connected, stretching out in a long line toward the northwest. The bank upon which we stood was entirely bare of trees, with the exception of a solitary and poor acacia, about one hundred paces farther up the river, while on the opposite shore, along the Fáro and below the junction, some fine clusters of trees were faintly seen.

I looked long and silently upon the stream; it was one of the happiest moments in my life. Born on the bank of a large navigable river, in a commercial place of great energy and life, I had from my childhood a great predilection for river scenery; and although plunged for many years in the too exclusive study of antiquity, I never lost this native instinct. As soon as I left home, and became the independent master of my actions, I began to combine travel with study, and to study while traveling, it being my greatest delight to trace running waters from their sources, and to see them grow into brooks, to follow the brooks and see them become rivers, till they at last disappeared in the all-devouring ocean. I had wandered all around the Mediterranean, with its many gulfs, its beautiful peninsulas, its fertile islands—not hurried along by steam, but slowly wandering from place to place, following the traces of the settlements of the Greeks and Romans around this beautiful basin, once their *terra incognita*. And thus, when entering upon the adventurous career in which I subsequently engaged, it had been the object of my most lively desire to throw light upon the natural arteries and hydrographical network of the unknown regions of Central Africa. The great eastern branch of the Niger was the foremost to occupy my attention; and, although for some time uncertain as to the identity of the river of A'damáwa with that laid down in its lower course by Messrs. W. Allen, Laird, and

Oldfield, I had long made up my mind on this point, thanks to the clear information received from my friend Ahmed bel Mejúb. I had now, with my own eyes, clearly established the direction and nature of this mighty river, and to an unprejudiced mind there could no longer be any doubt that this river joins the majestic water-course explored by the gentlemen just mentioned.* Hence I cherish the well-founded conviction that along this natural high road European influence and commerce will penetrate into the very heart of the continent, and abolish slavery, or, rather, those infamous slave-hunts and religious wars, destroying the natural germs of human happiness which are spontaneously developed in the simple life of the pagans, and spreading devastation and desolation all around.

We descended toward the place of embarkation, which, at this season of the year, changes every week, or even more frequently. At present it was at the mouth of a small, deeply-worn channel or dry water-course, descending from the swampy meadow-grounds toward the river, and filled with tall reed-grass and bushes. Here was the poor little naval arsenal of the Tépe, consisting of three canoes, two in good repair, and a third one in a state of decay and unfit for service.

It was now that for the first time I saw these rude little shells, hollowed out of a single trunk—for the boats of the Búdduma are more artificial, being made of a number of boards joined together; and I soon began to eye these frail canoes with rather an anxious feeling, as I was about to trust myself and all my property to what seemed to offer very inadequate means of crossing with safety a large and deep river. They measured from twenty-five to thirty feet in length, and only from a foot to a foot and a half in height, and sixteen inches in width, and one of them was so crooked that I could scarcely imagine how it could stem the strong current of the river.

* That this river is any where called Chádda, or even Tsádda, I doubt very much; and I am surprised that the members of the late expedition in the "Pleiad" do not say a word on this point. I think the name Chádda was a mere mistake of Lander's, confirmed by Allen, owing to their fancying it an outlet of Lake Tsád.

On the river itself two canoes were plying, but, notwithstanding our repeated hallooing and firing, the canoemen would not come to our side of the river; perhaps they were afraid. Roving about along the bushy water-course, I found an old canoe, which, being made of two very large trunks joined together, had been incomparably more comfortable and spacious than the canoes now in use, although the joints, being made with cordage, just like the stitching of a shirt, and without pitching the holes, which were only stuffed with grass, necessarily allowed the water to penetrate continually into the boat. It, however, had the great advantage of not breaking if it ran upon a rock, being in a certain degree pliable. It was about thirty-five feet long, and twenty-six inches wide in the middle; but it was now out of repair, and was lying upside down. It was from this point, standing upon the bottom of the boat, that I made the sketch of this most interesting locality.

The canoemen still delaying to come, I could not resist the temptation of taking a river-bath, a luxury which I had not enjoyed since bathing in the Eurymedon. The river is full of crocodiles, but there could be little danger from these animals after all our firing and the constant noise of so many people. I had not yet arrived at the conviction that river-bathing is not good for a European in a tropical climate; but this was the first and last time that I bathed voluntarily, with a single exception; for, when navigating the river of Logón on a fine day in March, 1852, I could not help jumping overboard, and on my return from Bagírmi, in August, 1853, I was obliged to do it.

The bed of the river, after the first foot and a half, sloped down very gradually, so that at the distance of thirty yards from the shore I had not more than three feet and a half of water, but then it suddenly became deep. The current was so strong that I was unable to stem it; but my original strength, I must allow, was at the time already greatly reduced. The only advantage which I derived from this feat was that of learning that the river carries gold with it; for the people, as often as I dipped under water, cried out that I was searching for this metal, and when I came out of the water, were persuaded that I

had obtained plenty of it. However, the river was already too full for investigating this matter further.

At length a canoe arrived, the largest of the two that were actually employed, and a long bargaining commenced with the eldest of the canoemen, a rather short and well-set lad. Of course, as the chief of the caravan, I had to pay for all; and there being three camels and five horses to be carried over, it was certainly a difficult business. It can not, therefore, be regarded as a proof of exorbitant demands that I had to pay five "dóras," a sum which in Kúkawa would buy two oxen loads of Indian corn. I allowed all the people to go before me, in order to prevent the canoemen from exacting something more from them.

There was considerable difficulty with my large camel-bags, which were far too large for the canoes, and which several times were in danger of being upset; for they were so unsteady that the people were obliged to kneel down on the bottom, and keep their equilibrium by holding with both hands on the sides of the boat. Fortunately, I had laid my tent-poles at the bottom of the canoe, so that the water did not reach the luggage; but, owing to the carelessness of the Hajji's companions, all his books were wetted, to his utmost distress; but I saw him afterward shedding tears while he was drying his deteriorated treasures on the sandy beach of the headland. The horses, as they crossed, swimming by the sides of the canoe, had to undergo great fatigue; but desperate was the struggle of the camels, which were too obstinate to be guided by the frail vessels, and had to be pushed through alone, and could only be moved by the most severe beating; the camel of the Hajji was for a while given up in despair by the whole party. At length they were induced to cross the channel, the current carrying them down to a great distance, and our whole party arrived safe on the sandy beach of the headland, where there was not a bit of shade. This whole headland for two or three months every year is covered with water, although its chief part, which was overgrown with tall reed-grass, was at present about fifteen feet above the surface.

The river, where we crossed it, was, at the very least, eight hundred yards broad, and in its channel generally eleven feet deep, and was liable to rise, under *ordinary* circumstances, at least thirty, or even at times fifty feet higher. Its upper course at that time was known to me, as far as the town of Géwe on the road to Logón; but farther on I had only heard from the natives that it came from the south, or rather from the S.S.E.

It was a quarter before one o'clock when we left the beach in order to cross the second river, the Fáro,* which is stated to come from Mount Lábul, about seven days' march to the south. It was at present about six hundred yards broad, but generally not exceeding two feet in depth, although almost all my informants had stated to me that the Fáro was the principal river. The reason of this mistake was, I think, that they had never seen the two rivers at this place, but observed the Fáro near Gúrin, where, a little later in the season, it seems to be of an immense breadth, particularly if they crossed from Bundang; or they were swayed by the great length of the latter river, which they were acquainted with in its whole course, while none of them had followed the upper course of the Bénuwé.

Be this as it may, the current of the Fáro was extremely violent, far more so than that of the Bénuwé, approaching, in my estimation, a rate of about five miles, while I would rate the former at about three and a half miles an hour, the current of the Fáro plainly indicating that the mountainous region whence it issued was at no great distance. In order to avoid the strongest part of the current, which swept along the southern shore, we kept close to a small island, which, however, at present could still be reached from this side with dry feet. We then entered upon low meadow-land, overgrown with tall reed-grass, which a month later is entirely inundated to such a depth that only the crowns of the tallest trees are seen rising above the water, of which they bore unmistakable traces, the highest line thus marked being about fifty feet above the present level of

* I did not even once hear this name pronounced Páro, but lower down it may be so; for, as I have had several times occasion to state, *p* and *f*, or rather *ph*, are frequently confounded in Negroland, just as *r* and *l*, *dh* and *l* or *r*.

the river; for of course the inundation does not always reach the same height, but varies according to the greater or less abundance of the rains. The information of my companions, as well as the evident marks on the ground, left not the least doubt about the immense rise of these rivers.*

For a mile and a half from the present margin of the river, near a large and beautiful tamarind-tree, we ascended its outer bank, rising to the height of about thirty feet, the brink of which is not only generally reached by the immense inundation, but even sometimes overflowed, so that the people who cross it during the height of the inundation, leaving the canoes here, have still to make their way through deep water, covering this highest level.

My companions from A'damáwa were almost unanimous in spontaneously representing the waters as preserving their highest level for forty days, which, according to their accounts, would extend from about the 20th of August till the end of September. This statement of mine, made, not from my own experience, but from the information of the natives, has been slightly, but indeed very slightly, modified by the experience of those eminent men who, upon the reports which I forwarded of my discovery, were sent out by her majesty's government in the "Pleiad," and who succeeded in reaching the point down to which I had been able to delineate the course of the river with some degree of certainty. That the fall of the river at this point of the junction begins at the very end of September has been exactly confirmed by these gentlemen, while with regard to the forty days they have not made any distinct observation, although there is evidence enough that they experienced something confirmatory of it.†

* This immense rise of the river agrees perfectly with the experience of Messrs. Laird and Oldfield, who, from absolute measurement, found the difference in the level of the water at Idda in the course of the year nearly 60 feet. See their Journal, vol. ii., p. 276, and p. 420 note, "57 to 60 feet."

† There was a very serious discrepancy among those gentlemen with regard to the fall of the river. Dr. Baikie states, in his journal which recently appeared, p. 230, that "the water first showed *decided* signs of falling about the 3d of October, and by the 5th the decrease was very perceptible." If, therefore, the

On leaving the outer bank of the river our way led through a fine park-like plain, dotted with a few mimosas of middling size, and clear of underwood. The sides of the path were strewn with skeletons of horses, marking the line followed by the late expedition of the Governor of Yóla, on its return from Lére, or the Mbána country. Having then entered upon cultivated ground, we reached the first cluster of huts of the large, straggling village Chabajáure or Chabajáule, situated in a most fertile and slightly undulating tract, and, having kept along it for little less than a mile and a half, we took up our quarters in a solitary and secluded cluster of huts, including a very spacious court-yard.

It was a sign of warm hospitality that, although the whole caravan had fallen to the charge of a single household, sufficient quantities, not only of "nyíro," the common dish of Indian corn, but even of meat, were brought to us in the evening. While passing the village I had observed that all the corn on the fields was "gerórí," or *Pennisetum* (millet—dukhn), a kind of grain originally, it would seem, so strange to the Fúlbe that they have not even a word of their own for it, having only modified a little the Háusa word "geró;" not a single blade of "baíri," or sorghum, was to be seen. The scarcity was less

river began to fall at Zhîbu on the 3d of October, the fall would commence at the Tépe, more than 200 miles higher up along the windings of the river, at least three days before, if we take the current at three miles an hour. My statement, therefore, that the river begins *decidedly* to fall at the confluence at the very end of September has been singularly confirmed. But that there is also some truth with regard to the long continuance of the highest level is evident from the *conflicting* observations of the party. (See Baikie's Journal, p. 217.) Indeed, the sailing-master insisted that the river had fallen long before, and all the people were puzzled about it. From all this I must conclude that *my statement* with regard to the river, instead of having been considerably modified by the expedition, *has been confirmed by their experience in all its principal points.* We shall see the same difficulty recur with regard to a maximum level preserved for forty days by the western river, although the time when it begins to fall is entirely different; and as to the latter river, not only I, but the natives also, were mistaken with respect to its presumed time of falling. The same is the case with the (river) Shari, and is natural enough, considering the extensive inundations with which the rise of these African rivers is attended. This state of the rivers in the tropical climes is so irregular that Leo Africanus has made quite the same observation. L. i., c. 28, Descrizione dell' Africa.

felt here than in the northern districts of the country, and we bought some grain for our horses as a supply for the next day.

Thursday, June 19th. We started early in the morning, continuing along the straggling hamlets and rich corn-fields of Chabajáule for a mile and a half, when we passed two slave-villages or "rúmde" belonging to a rich Púllo of the name of Hanúri. All the meadows were beautifully adorned with white violet-striped lilies. We then entered a wooded tract, ascending at the same time considerably on the hilly ground which juts out from the foot of Mount Bágelé, and which allowed us a clearer view of the geological character of the mountain. Having again emerged from the forest upon an open, cultivated, and populous district, we passed the large village of Dulí, and, having descended and reascended again, we obtained a most beautiful view near the village Gúroré, which lies on rising ground, surrounded by a good many large monkey-bread-trees, or bodóje (*sing.* bokki); for from this elevated spot we enjoyed a prospect over the beautiful meadow-lands sloping gently down toward the river, which from this spot is not much more than five miles distant, taking its course between Mounts Bengo and Bágelé, and washing the foot of the latter, but not visible to us. The country continued beautiful and pleasant, and was here enlivened by numerous herds of cattle, while in the villages which we had passed I had seen none, as the Fúlbe drive their cattle frequently to very distant grazing grounds.

While marching along at a good pace, Mohámmedu walked up to me, and, with a certain feeling of pride, showed me his fields, "gashí gonakína." Though a poor man, he was master of three slaves, a very small fortune in a conquered and newly-colonized country like A'damáwa, based entirely upon slavery, where many individuals have each more than a thousand slaves. I was greatly surprised to see here a remarkable specimen of a bokki or monkey-bread-tree, branching off from the ground into three separate trunks; at least, I never remember to have seen any thing like it, although the tree is the most common representative of the vegetable kingdom through the whole breadth

of Central Africa. All the ground to the right of the path is inundated during the height of the flood.

We had now closely approached the Bágelé, the summit of which, though not very high, is generally enveloped in clouds, a fact which, when conveyed to me in the obscure language of the natives, had led me to the misconception while writing, in Kúkawa, my report of the provisional information I had obtained of the country whither I was about to proceed, that this mountain was of volcanic character. It seems to consist chiefly of granite, and has a very rugged surface, strewn with great irregular blocks, from between which trees shoot up. Nevertheless, stretching out to a length of several miles from S.S.E. to N.N.W., it contains a good many spots of arable land, which support eighteen little hamlets of independent pagans. These, protected by the inaccessible character of their strongholds, and their formidable double spears, have not only been able hitherto to repulse all the attacks which the proud Mohammedans, the centre of whose government is only a few miles distant, have made against them, but, descending from their haunts, commit almost daily depredations upon the cattle of their enemies.* One of their little hamlets, perched on the top of steep cliffs, we could plainly distinguish by the recently-thatched roofs of the huts, the snow-white color of which very conspicuously shone forth from the dark masses of the rock. The country was always gaining in interest as we advanced, the meadow-lands being covered with living creatures of every description, such as cattle, horses, asses, goats, and sheep, and we reached the easternmost cluster of huts of the large straggling village or

* I leave this passage as it stood in my journal, although it describes a state of things which now, in 1857, belongs to the past. This stronghold, also, has at length been taken by the intruders, and the seat of happiness and independence converted into a region of desolation. In 1853, two years after my journey to A'damáwa, Mohammed Lowel left his residence with a great host, having sworn not to return before he had reduced Bágelé. After a siege of almost two months, with the assistance of a few muskets, he succeeded in conquering the mountaineers, and reducing them to slavery. The chief of the pagans of the Bágelé, who belong to the Bátta tribe, in the height of his power exercised paramount authority over the neighboring tribes, and is said to have even had the "*jus primæ noctis*."

district of Ribáwo or Ribágo,* stretching out on our left on a little rising ground. This district is not only rich in corn and pasturage, but also in fish, which are most plentiful in a large inlet or backwater, "illágul," as it is called by the Fúlbe, branching off from the river along the northeast foot of the Bágelé, and closely approaching the village. In this shallow water the fish are easily caught.

Numbers of inquisitive people of every age and sex gathered round us from the neighboring hamlets; but, while hovering round me and the camels with great delight, they behaved very decently and quietly. They followed us till we took up our quarters, a little before ten o'clock, with a friend of Bíllama's, in a large group of huts lying close to the path, and shaded by most luxuriant trees. Although there were several clean huts, I preferred the cool and ventilated entrance-hall of the same description as I have mentioned above, and remained here even during the night, although a most terrible storm, which broke out at six o'clock in the evening, and lasted full four hours, flooded the whole ground, and rendered my resting-place rather too cool. I would advise other travelers not to follow my example during the rainy season, but rather to make themselves comfortable in the warm interior of a well-protected hut.

In our last march through these rich low grounds, which are every year flooded by the river, I had not observed the least traces of the cultivation of rice, for which they seem so marvelously adapted, the cultivation round Ribágo being almost exclusively limited to maiwa or maiwári, a peculiar species of sorghum called "matëa" in Kanúri. On inquiring why these people did not grow rice, I learned that the Fúlbe hereabouts had all migrated from Bórnu after the downfall of their jemmára and dominion in that country, when not only were the new political intruders repulsed, but even the old settlers, who had been established in that country from very ancient times, were obliged to emigrate. In Bórnu, however, as I have had occasion to mention before, no rice is cultivated, so that these people, al-

* Ribágo, sometimes contracted to the form Ribáwo, means "a governor's country-seat."

though at present established in regions where rice would probably succeed much better than millet and Indian corn, abstain entirely from its cultivation. On the other hand, in the western part of A'damáwa and in Hamárruwa, whither the Fúlbe have migrated from Háusa, rice is cultivated to a considerable extent. On a former occasion I have already touched on the question whether rice be indigenous in Negroland or not. It has evidently been cultivated from time immemorial in the countries along the middle course of the I'sa, or Kwára, from Kébbi up to Gágho or Gógó; but this might seem to be in consequence of a very ancient intercourse between those regions and Egypt, which I hope to be able to establish in the course of my narrative. It grows, however, wild in many parts, from the southern provinces of Bórnu, Bagírmi, and Wádáy, as far north as El Haúdh and Bághena, on the border of the western desert.

Another important point of which I here became aware was, that the Bátta language, which, among the numerous languages of A'damáwa, or rather Fúmbiná, is the most extensively spoken, has two very different dialects; for, being anxious to finish my small vocabulary of this language, which I had commenced in Kúkawa with the assistance of Mohámmedu, I soon found that the dialect spoken here differed considerably from that of which I had previously written specimens. The Bátta language, as I have stated abovè, is intimately related to the Marghí and Zaní idiom, and bears several points of resemblance to the Músgu language, which is itself related to the various dialects of Kótoko. All these languages have some general points of affinity to the South African languages.

At present, however, the indigenous population is almost totally extinct in this district, which is exclusively inhabited by the conquerors, who have here found an abode remarkably suited to their mode of living. The whole place has not less than six thousand inhabitants.

Friday, June 20th. We started early in order to reach the capital, if possible, before noon, and passed through several hamlets, all belonging to the extensive village or district of Ribágo, and interrupted here and there by projecting masses of schistose

rock, while the concavity between this rising ground and Mount Bágelé was fast filling with the flood from the river, and presented already a considerable sheet of water. The country, after we had passed this populous district, became thickly wooded, which I had not expected to find so near the capital; and, on account of some ravines which intersect it, and of the neighborhood of the inlet of the river, it certainly can not afford a very easy passage toward the end of the rainy season. Here, also, the rock projects above the plain in many places.

About eight o'clock, when we had traveled round the southwestern foot of Mount Bágelé, we passed through a number of small hamlets, which, however, did not exhibit any traces of cultivation, and then again entered upon a wild tract, while we obtained a glance at a picturesquely-seated place before us, which I unhesitatingly took for Yóla, but which proved to be a small village situated at a considerable distance from the capital. Before we reached it we had to cross a sheet of water nearly five feet deep, and called by my companions "Máyo Bínti," which caused us a great deal of trouble and delay, and wetted almost all my luggage. The water, which at present had no current, skirts the foot of the rocky slope on which the village is situated, the name of which is Yebbórewó. Here our camels created an extraordinary interest, and a great many women, although we did not attend to their wish to stop, managed to pass under the bellies of these tall creatures, in the hope of obtaining their blessing, as they thought them sacred animals.

Having kept along the rising ground, and passed several little hamlets adorned with monkey-bread-trees, we had to cross very difficult swampy ground, which, a little later in the season, must be avoided by a long circuit. Two months later Mount Bágelé must look almost like an island, so surrounded is it on all sides by deep inlets and swamps. The detached cone of Mount Takabéllo, rising to a height of about a thousand feet above the plain, for some time formed a conspicuous object in front of us on our winding path, till at length, a little before noon, we reached the outskirts of the capital in a state of mind not exempt from anxious feeling.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

MY RECEPTION IN YÓLA.—SHORT STAY.—DISMISSAL.

At length I had reached the capital of A'damáwa, having had altogether a very lucky and successful journey; but now all depended upon the manner in which I should be received in this place: for, although it was quite enough to have successfully penetrated so far, after having discovered and crossed the upper course of that large river, about the identity of which with the Chadda there could be little doubt, I entertained the hope that I might be allowed to penetrate further south, and investigate at least part of the basin of the river. I had heard so much about the fertile character of those regions, that I was intensely desirous to see something of them.

It was an unfavorable circumstance that we arrived on a Friday, and just during the heat of the day. The streets were almost deserted, and no person met us in order to impart to us, by a friendly welcome, a feeling of cheerfulness and confidence.

Yóla is a large open place, consisting, with a few exceptions, of conical huts surrounded by spacious court-yards, and even by corn-fields, the houses of the governor and those of his brothers being alone built of clay. Keeping along the principal street, we continued our march for a mile and a quarter before we reached the house of the governor, which lies on the west side of a small open area, opposite the mosque, a flat oblong building, or rather hall, inclosed with clay walls, and covered with a flat thatched roof a little inclined on one side. Having reached this place, my companions fired a salute, which, considering the nature of Bíllama's mission, and the peculiar character of the governor, which this officer ought to have known, and perhaps also since it happened to be Friday, was not very judicious.

Be this as it may, the courtiers or attendants of the governor,

attracted by the firing, came out one after another, and informed us that their master must go to the mosque and say his midday prayers* before he could attend to us or assign us quarters. We therefore dismounted and sat down in the scanty shade of a jéja or caoutchouc-tree, which adorns the place between the palace and the mosque, while a great number of people, amounting to several hundreds, gradually collected, all eager to salute me and shake hands with me. Fortunately, it was not long before Lowel came out from his palace and went into the mosque; and then I obtained a few moments' respite, the people all following him, with the exception of the young ones, who very luckily found the camels a worthier object of their curiosity than me. It had been my intention to salute the governor when he was crossing the place, but I was advised not to do so, as it might interfere with his devotional feelings.

The prayer was short; and when it was over I was surrounded by much larger numbers than before, and, being fatigued and hungry, I felt greatly annoyed by the endless saluting and shaking of hands. At length we were ordered to take up our quarters in the house of Ardo Ghámmawa, a brother of our fellow-traveler Ibrahíma; but this being close to the east end of the town, we were not much pleased with the arrangement, as it not only obliged us for the moment to return the whole way we had come, but also, for the future, deprived us of an unreserved and friendly intercourse with the governor. This was not calculated to inspire us with confidence as to the success of our proceedings.

It was past two o'clock in the afternoon when, at length, I reached my quarters and took possession of a large, well-ventilated, and neat "záure" or hall, the walls of which were all painted. In the inner court-yard there was also a very neat and snug little hut, but that was all, and we had great trouble

* With regard to the Fúlbe, the prayers of dhohor ("zúhura" or "sallifánna") may rightly be called midday prayers, as they are accustomed to pray as soon as the zawál has been observed. But, in general, it would be wrong to call dhohor noon, as is very often done; for none of the other Mohammedans in this part of the world will say his dhohor prayer before two o'clock P.M. at the very earliest, and generally not before three o'clock.

in obtaining quarters for Bú-S'ad and the m'allem in some of the neighboring court-yards. I felt rather fatigued and not quite at my ease, and therefore could not much enjoy a dish of an extremely good pudding of bairi or sorghum, with excellent clear butter, and a large bowl of milk; but, nevertheless, although a storm, accompanied with much rain, broke out in the evening and rendered the air rather humid, I remained the whole night where I was, instead of retiring into the well-protected though rather sultry hut.

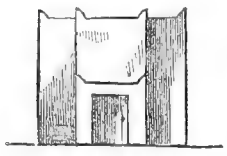
Saturday, June 21*st.* In the morning I selected my presents for the governor, the principal part of which consisted of a very handsome red cloth bernús, which we had found among the things left by the late Mr. Richardson; but when we were ready to go we received the information that Lowel was in his fields, and that we could not see him. Meanwhile, I received a visit from an Arab from the far distant west, with whom I had made acquaintance in Kúkawa, and who had given me some very valuable information. It was El Mukhtár, of the tribe of the Idésan in Bághena, who had previously paid a visit to A'damáwa, and was well acquainted with the country. It is always very pleasant for a traveler to meet another roving spirit somewhere again, particularly in a country like Central Africa. Having acknowledged his visit by the gift of a knife and a little frankincense, I presented our host, the Ardo Ghámmawa, with a fine "ríga gíwa" (an "elephant-shirt")—that is to say, one of those enormous wide black shirts made only in Núpe, and which was one of the few articles which I had been able to provide in Kanó for the furtherance of my plans. The family of the Ardo had formerly been settled in Ghámmawa, in the south-western province of Bórnu, but, when the Fúlbe were driven back from that country, emigrated and settled here. But this man still bears the title "Ardo Ghámmawa"—the mayor of (the Fúlbe community of) Ghámmawa."

Having been told that the governor had returned to his palace, we mounted on horseback about ten o'clock, and, preceded by the Ardo Ghámmawa, returned the long way to the lamórde or palace; but, after waiting on the damp ground, exposed to

the sun, for more than an hour, we were told that we could not see him, and were obliged to return with our present. I was greatly vexed, and felt, in consequence, my fever increasing, especially as another very heavy storm broke out in the afternoon, when the air became quite chilly. However, I was somewhat cheered by making acquaintance in the afternoon with an Arab from Mokha, of the name of Mohammed ben A'hmed, who styled himself sherif, most probably rather pleonastically; but, apart from such pretension, he was an amiable and most interesting man, who had traveled for many years over the whole eastern coast of the continent between Mombása and Sofála. He was the first to satisfy my curiosity with a description of the celebrated Lake Nyassa as an eye-witness. He had even visited Bombay and Madras.

Sunday, June 22d. In consequence of the information received from Ardo Ghámmawa that to-day we were certainly to see the governor, we got ready at an early hour, taking with us also a present for his brother Mansúr, who had made himself expressly a candidate for a present by sending me, the day before, a small pot of honey. While we were passing his house, he was coming out to pay his respects to his brother. We made a short halt, and exchanged compliments with him; and when, on reaching the area before the governor's house, we had dismounted, and were sitting down in the shade of the tree, he walked most benignly and frankly up, and sat down in front of me. We then entered the palace; and having waited a short time in the segífa or záure, which here was formed by a spacious flat-roofed room, supported by massive square pillars, we were called into the presence of the governor.

Mohammed Lowel,* son of M'allem A'dama, was sitting in a separate hall, built of clay, and forming, for this country, quite a noble mansion. From without, especially, it has a stately, castle-like appearance, while inside the hall was rather



* Lowel is most probably a name belonging to the Fulfúlde language, although in writing with Arabic letters it is spelled الاول, as if it were of Arabic origin, and meant "the first."

encroached upon by quadrangular pillars, two feet in diameter, which supported the roof, about sixteen feet high, and consisting of a rather heavy entablature of poles, in order to withstand the violence of the rains. The governor was very simply dressed, and had nothing remarkable in his appearance, while his face, which was half covered by a somewhat dirty shawl, had an indifferent expression. Besides him there were none present but Mansúr and a m'allem.

Having, as the first European that had ever visited his country with the distinct purpose to enter into friendly relations with him, paid him my respects on behalf of my countrymen, I delivered my letter of introduction from Sheikh 'Omár, who in a few but well-chosen lines introduced me to him as a learned and pious Christian, who wandered about to admire the works of the Almighty Creator, and on this account cherished an ardent desire to visit also A'damáwa, of the wonders of which I had heard so much. Lowel read it, and evidently not quite displeased with its contents, although he took umbrage at some of the expressions, handed it silently over to the m'allem and Mansúr. Hereupon Billama delivered his letters, of which not only the contents, but even the very existence had been totally unknown to me. They were three in number, one from the sheikh himself, one from Malá Ibrám, the former possessor of the southern province of Bórnu, and one from Kashélla 'Ali Déndal, or Ladán, the officer who by his late predatory incursion had given grounds for complaint.

As soon as these various letters were read, all of which laid claim, on the side of Bórnu, to the territory of Kófa and Kóbchi, a storm arose, and in a fit of wrath Lowel reproached my companion with daring to come forward with such pretensions—he, who was himself well acquainted with the country and with the point in dispute. If Sheikh 'Omár wished for discord, well; he was ready, and they would harass each other's frontier provinces by reciprocal incursions. Having given vent to his feelings toward Billama, his anger turned upon me; and he told me to my face that I had quite different reasons for coming into his country from those stated in Sheikh 'Omar's letter; refer-

ring to some ambiguous words in Malá Ibrám's writing, in which that officer stated "that, with regard to me, the objects of my journey to A'damáwa were a perfect secret to him." Now I must confess, after all my acquaintance with the politics of these people, and notwithstanding all Háj Beshír's kindness and benevolence toward me, that I think the Bórnu diplomatists quite capable of a little double dealing; that is to say, I suspect that they were willing to make use of me to frighten the Governor of A'damáwa. Perhaps, also, they were afraid lest, if I should succeed in A'damáwa, I might not return to their country. I shall have to mention similar circumstances on my journey to Bagírmi. Viewing matters in this light, I wrote from Kúkawa, requesting her majesty's government to inform the Sheikh of Bórnu that it was their distinct desire that we should penetrate onward, and that he would confer an obligation upon them by facilitating the execution of our plans.

Be this as it may, after a long dispute with regard to the boundaries, in which my friend from Mokha, and a learned native of Wadáy, Móde 'Abd Alláhi, who was employed by Lowel as a sort of secretary of state for foreign affairs, took part, I, with my party, was ordered to withdraw for a time. After sitting for full two hours on the damp ground outside, we received an intimation that we might return home. Thus I had to return with my presents a second time to my quarters, and, of course, I was greatly vexed. However, several people who saw my emotion endeavored to console me; and Mansúr, who, before we left, came out of his brother's audience-hall, entered into conversation with me, and assured me that this unkind treatment in no way related to me, but that it was only intended for Bíllama, the officer of Bórnu. There was present also the very amiable m'allem whom I had met in Saráwu Fulfúlde, and who had come after us, and I felt sorry that I was not disposed to answer his well-meant discourse in the manner it deserved.

When we reached Mansúr's house he invited us to dismount, and, entering the interior of his wide and neat dwelling, we had a long and animated conversation, when I explained to him in a deliberate manner that such treatment did not offend

me on my own account, but on account of the government—the very first and most powerful in the world—which had sent me; that, instead of coming with hostile intentions, as was imputed to me, I had come with the friendly design of paying my respects to the governor on behalf of the British sovereign, and to present him with a few specimens of our products and manufactures; that I had, no doubt, at the same time an intense desire to see their country, as it was the avowed purpose of Europeans in general, and of the English in particular, to become acquainted and to open intercourse with all parts of God's creation.

Mansúr explained to me, in return, that they well knew that I had not come to make war upon them, although Lowel, in the first fit of his anger, scarcely seemed to suspect any thing less than that, "but that they were vexed because I had come to them under the protection of the Bórnu people, their enemies." A letter from the Sultan of Stambúl, or even from my own sovereign, would have recommended me much more advantageously. The sheikh had expressly designated me as one recommended and protected by the Porte, and Bú-S'ad had mentioned, with a slight disregard of the real facts, that through inadvertence only I had left both letters, as well that from the Sultan of Stambúl as from the English sovereign, in Kúkawa. Now I certainly had with me a treaty written in Arabic, such as it was desirable that the Governor of A'damáwa should subscribe; but to produce this under existing circumstances would have been absurd, especially as it did not emanate directly from the government, and was not authenticated either by seal or in any other way, and I thought it better not to mention it. It was no bad policy on the part of Bú-S'ad to represent me as sent on a special mission by the British government to the Fúlbe princes, and as obliged only by the death of my companion to deviate from my intended course in order to supply his place in Kúkawa.

Meanwhile it was past midday; and after a stormy night the sun shone forth with overpowering force, while we sat all the while in an open court-yard without the least protection. On

reaching my quarters, I was so exhausted and ill that I thought I could do nothing better than take, without delay, a powerful emetic, after which I felt much better, but rather weak. Having somewhat restored my spirits by a conversation with Mohammed ben A'hmed, I retired into the close hut and had a sound sleep.

Monday having passed quietly, with the exception of a great many people calling for "laya" or charms, and for medicines, Tuesday, the 24th, arrived, when it was my destiny to leave this country, which I had but just entered, and to retrace my steps over the long and infested road which I had lately traveled.

I felt tolerably well in the morning, but afterward became very ill, and, unfortunately, took too weak a dose of medicine. In this state I had a visit from two very handsome and amiable young Fúlbe, and, in my rather morose mood, refused their urgent request, made in the most simple and confidential way, to say the "fat-ha," or the opening prayer of the Kurán, with them. I have always regretted my refusal, as it estranged from me a great many people; and, although many Christians will object to repeat the prayer of another creed, yet the use of a prayer of so general import as the introductory chapter to the Kurán ought to be permitted to every solitary traveler in these regions, in order to form a sort of conciliatory link between him and the natives.

After some other visitors had come and gone, I received, about ten o'clock, a formal visit from Móde 'Abd-Alláhi, the foreign secretary, and my friend from Mokha, in the name of the governor. Having moistened their organs with a cup of coffee, they acquitted themselves of their message in the following terms: "The sultan"—all these provincial governors bear the title of sultan—"had ordered them," they said, "to beg me to accept his most respectful regards, and to inform me that he was nothing but a slave of the Sultan of Sókoto, and that I was a far greater man than himself. As such a man had never before come to his country, he was afraid of his liege lord, and begged me to retrace my steps whither I had come; but if, in

course of time, I should return with a letter from Sókoto, he would receive me with open arms, would converse with me about all our science and about our instruments without reserve, and would show me the whole country."

To this message, which was certainly couched in very modest and insinuating terms, I answered that Mohammed Lowel, so far from being a slave of the Sultan of Sókoto, was renowned far and wide as the almost independent governor of a large province; that the fame of his father A'dama, as a nobly-born, learned Púllo, extended far and wide throughout Tekrúr or Negroland, and had even reached our own country; that it was absurd to argue that I was greater than himself, and that on this account he could not receive me on his own responsibility, but was obliged to refer my suit to his liege lord in Sókoto.* I brought forward the examples of Kátsena and Kanó, especially the latter place, in which, though it was the seat of a governor dependent on the Emír el Múmenín, in the same way as the Governor of A'damáwa, I had long resided, without any representations being made to the sovereign lord. "Oh! but the relations of Kátsena and Kanó," said the messengers of the governor, "are entirely different from those of this province. These are large and busy thoroughfares for all the world, while A'damáwa is a distant territory in the remotest corner of the earth, and still a fresh, unconsolidated conquest." There was certainly some truth in this last remark; and, whatever I might say to the contrary, the question was decided, and all reasoning was in vain.

The two messengers, having gone through their business in this way, informed me that they were only the forerunners of the real messenger, Mansúr, the brother of the governor. This was very pleasant news to me; and although, after this shock of disappointment, I felt extremely ill and weak, I rose from my couch, and went to receive Mansúr when he arrived at the door of the hut. He then officially, and in a very feeling manner, confirmed all that Móde 'Abd-Alláhi and the sherif Mohammed

* Although 'Alíyu, the present Emír el Múmenín, resides in Wúrno, nevertheless Sókoto is still regarded as the official capital of the empire.

had said, and expressed his deep regret that I was not allowed to stay. When he was going I handed to his servants the little presents destined for him, which consisted of twenty-five dr'a of striped Manchester, a pair of English razors, scissors, a looking-glass, a parcel of cloves, a little jáwi or benzoin, and a small piece of camphor.

Mansúr had been gone a little while when I received information that the governor had sent me a horse and two slaves as a present, with an intimation that I might likewise let him have the present which I had brought with me for him. But this I refused to do, declaring that I could not, under the present circumstances, either accept from him or give him any thing, not having come as a merchant to barter with him, but as the messenger of another powerful sovereign to treat with him on friendly terms. My servant, Bú-S'ad, who, in the covetousness of his heart, already fancied himself in the possession of the two slaves, whom he knew well I myself could not accept, but whom he thought I would give up to him, went so far as to declare that, as the present had come from my sovereign, I had no alternative but to bestow it. But, seeing that I was firm, the messengers went away, and soon after a horseman arrived with the order for me to leave the town instantly.

Meanwhile, during all this negotiation and dispute, I had become extremely weak, and the excitement had brought on a very severe fit of fever. Indeed, I scarcely thought that I should be able to sit on horseback and to bear the sun, it being then just noon, and the sun shining forth with great power. Nevertheless, I got my things ready; but having left my quarters a little too soon, and being obliged to wait some time for the other people, I became so weak that I could no longer keep on my feet, but lay down on the ground till my companions arrived. Sitting then firmly in my large Arab stirrups, and holding on to the pommel, I proceeded; and though I fainted twice, I soon regained some strength, a slight breeze having arisen, which greatly mitigated the burning heat.

Numbers of people accompanied me, expressing their grief and sorrow at my abrupt departure. By my refusing to write

laiya, or to say the fat-ha, I had estranged many a friendly-disposed native, and by my obstinacy I had incurred the displeasure of their master, yet many of the people openly disapproved of his conduct toward me.

An immense quantity of rain having fallen during my stay here, the country appeared to me much more beautiful now than when we came, and full of fine cattle; and I felt so refreshed that I considered myself able to go as far as Ribágo, a ride of six hours at a slow rate.

Billama behaved exceedingly well; for when my treacherous servant Bú-S'ad, who was afraid lest Mohammed Lowel should wreak his anger upon me on the road, intimated to him that "if any thing of that sort should happen, they, of course, were Moslemín" — thus indicating that they could not defend me against those of their own creed, but should leave me to my fate—he indignantly left his company and rode up to me. Thus, without any accident, except that all my luggage was once more wetted through while passing the deep water of the máyo Bínti, we reached the friendly village, where, without ceremony, I took up my quarters in the well-known court-yard of our former host. But, before proceeding farther on my journey back, I must try to make the reader better acquainted with the country, though the abrupt way in which I was obliged to leave it allows me only, in most cases, to speak from the information of the natives.

Yóla is the capital of an extensive province, called by foreigners generally, and by the conquering Fúlbe in diplomatic language, A'damáwa, but the real name of which is Fúmbiná. Indeed, A'damáwa is quite a new name given to the country (exactly as I stated in my report sent to Europe some years ago) in honor of M'allem A'dama, the father of the present governor, who succeeded in founding here a new Mohammedan empire on the ruins of several smaller pagan kingdoms, the most considerable of which was that of Kókomi. Whether what the people used to say be true, that the name of the wife of this officer was A'dama too, I am not able positively to decide.*

* A'damáwa is certainly not quite identical with Fúmbiná, as it denotes only

Yóla is quite a new settlement, called by this name after the princely quarter of the town of Kanó, the former capital, of which Denham's expedition heard some faint report, being Gúrin. Yóla is situated in a swampy plain, and is bordered on the north side by an inlet of the river, the inundation of which reaches close to that quarter where I was living. The town is certainly not less than three miles long from east to west. It seems probable that there are different names for the different quarters, but my stay was too short to allow me to learn them. The court-yards are large and spacious, but often contain only a single hut, the whole area being sown with grain during the rainy season. All the huts are built with clay walls on account of the violence of the rains, and are tolerably high. Only the governor and his elder brothers possess large establishments with dwellings built entirely of clay. Notwithstanding its size, the place can hardly contain more than twelve thousand inhabitants.

It has no industry, and the market, at least during the time of my stay there, was most insignificant and miserably supplied; but certainly during the season of field labor, as I have already had occasion to observe, all the markets in Negroland are less important than at other times of the year. The most common objects in the market, which find ready sale, are túrkedí, beads, and salt,* while other articles, such as striped Manchester, calico, cloth bernúses, are generally sold privately to the wealthier people. The only articles of export at present are slaves and ivory. Four good túrkedí, bought in Kanó for 1800 or 2000 kurdí each, will generally purchase a slave, and a túrkedi will often buy an elephant's tusk of tolerable size.

Slavery exists on an immense scale in this country, and there

those regions of the latter which have been conquered by the Fúlbe, while many parts are as yet unsubdued.

* With regard to salt, I will observe that the greater part of it is brought from Búmánda on the Bénuwé, near Hamárruwa, where it seems to be obtained from the soil in the same way as I shall describe the salt-boiling in Fóga in the third volume, although in Bumanda there is no valley formation, and Mr. Vogel, who lately visited this place, may be right in stating that the salt is merely obtained from ashes by burning the grass which grows in that locality.

are many private individuals who have more than a thousand slaves. In this respect the governor of the whole province is not the most powerful man, being outstripped by the governors of Chámba and Kóncha—for this reason, that Mohammed Lowel has all his slaves settled in rúmde or slave-villages, where they cultivate grain for his use or profit, while the above-mentioned officers, who obtain all their provision in corn from subjected pagan tribes, have their whole host of slaves constantly at their disposal; and I have been assured that some of the head slaves of these men have as many as a thousand slaves each under their command, with whom they undertake occasional expeditions for their masters. I have been assured, also, that Mohammed Lowel receives every year in tribute, besides horses and cattle, about five thousand slaves, though this seems a large number.

The country of Fúmbiná is about two hundred miles long in its greatest extent, running from southwest to northeast, while its shortest diameter seems to reach from northwest to southeast, and scarcely ever exceeds seventy or eighty miles; but this territory is as yet far from being entirely subjected to the Mohammedan conquerors, who, in general, are only in possession of detached settlements, while the intermediate country, particularly the more mountainous tracts, is still in the hands of the pagans. The people in this part of the country are engaged in constant warfare. While the country north from the Bénuwé, between Yóla and Hamárruwa, is entirely independent, and inhabited by warlike pagan tribes, the best-subjected tract seems to be that between the Wándalá and the Músgu country, where the settlements of the conquering tribe are very compact. I must observe, however, that I am not quite clear as to the exact manner in which those distant settlements are dependent on the Governor of A'damáwa. That part of the country seems to deserve a great deal of interest, and to be destined to become a province by itself. It is sometimes designated by the special name of "Jemmára," a name certainly of general import, and meaning nothing but "the congregation"—a corruption, in short, of Jemmá'a.

The country is certainly one of the finest in Central Africa, irrigated as it is by numerous rivers, among which the Bénuwé and the Fáro are the most important, and being diversified with hill and dale. In general, however, it is flat, rising gradually toward the south from an elevation* of about eight hundred feet, along the middle course of the Bénuwé, to fifteen hundred feet or more, and broken by separate hills or more extensive groups of mountains; but, as far as I know, there is not here a single example of large mountain masses. Mount Alantíka, of which I had a fine view from several points, though at a considerable distance, is considered as the most massive and elevated mountain in the whole country; and this is an entirely detached mountain, at the utmost fifty miles in circumference, and elevated certainly not more than eight thousand five hundred or nine thousand feet above the plain from which it rises. No doubt the Bénuwé may be presumed to have its sources in a mountainous tract of country; but of the uppermost course of this river I was not able to obtain the least information, while I have been able to lay down its course with great approximate certainty.† Yet, although the elevation of the country is in general the same, the nature of the different districts varies greatly; thus in Chámba, apparently on account of the neighborhood of Mount Alantíka, which attracts the clouds, the rainy season is said to set in as early as January, so that by the end of April or beginning of May the first crop is ripe, while in Yóla, and in the country in general, the rains rarely begin before March.

The grain most commonly grown in the country is *Holcus sorghum;* but in this respect, also, there is a great difference between the districts. Thus the country of the Mbúm round Ngáundere scarcely produces any thing but rógo or yams, which

* It is a great pity that the members of the Bénuwé expedition were not able to measure the elevation of the river at the farthest point reached. My thermometer for measuring the boiling-point of water was so deranged that my observation at Tépe is without any value. Till further observations have been made, I think it may be assumed to be from 800 to 850 feet.

† It would be rather more appropriate to give the name of Lower Bénuwé to that part of the river below, and that of Upper Bénuwé to that part above the confluence, than to call Upper Bénuwé the part of the river visited by Dr. Baikie.

form the daily, and almost sole food of the inhabitants. Meat is so dear that a goat will often fetch the price of a female slave. Ground-nuts (*Arachis hypogœa*) are plentiful both in the eastern and the western districts. A tolerable quantity of cotton, called "póttolo" in A'damáwa, is cultivated; but indigo or "chachári" is very rare, and is hardly cultivated any where but in Saráwu and Máruwa; and this is very natural, as the Fúlbe do not value colored shirts.

With regard to exuberance of vegetation, Tibáti seems to be one of the richest places; there both kinds of the banana or ayabáje, the gonda or papaya, "dukúje," several species of the gúro-tree, the *Pandanus*, the *Kajilia*, the monkey-bread-tree or *Adansonia*, the "rímí" or *Bombax*, and numerous other kinds, are found. Of the palm tribe, the deléb-palm or gigiña, and the *Elaïs Guinensis*, are frequent, but strictly limited to certain localities, while the date-tree (called by the Fúlbe of A'damáwa by the beautiful name "tannedaráje"*) is very rare, and, except a few specimens in Yóla and Búndang, scarcely to be met with. Among the bushes, the *Palma Christi* or *Ricinus* is extremely common. Altogether, the predominant tree in the southern provinces of A'damáwa seems to be the banana. There are hot springs in the country of the Bakr Yemyem, about three days south from Kóncha, which are said to issue from the west foot of a mountain stretching from east to west, and to have a very high temperature; the water is reported to be palatable.

Of animals, the elephant is exceedingly frequent; not only the black or gray, but also a yellow species. The rhinoceros is often met with, but only in the eastern part of the country. East of the Bénuwe the wild bull is very common. The most singular animal seems to be the ayú, which lives in the river, and in some respects resembles the seal;† it comes out of the river in the night, and feeds on the fresh grass growing on its banks.

* This name is evidently connected with that of the *Balanites*, which they call "tanní;" and several Negro nations compare the date with the fruit of that tree.

† Mr. Vogel, who has succeeded in obtaining a sight of this animal, found that it is a mammal like the Manatus Senegalensis. The South African rivers, also, have these mammals, and the ayú is not less frequent in the I'sa, near Timbúktu, than it is in the Bénuwé.

With regard to domestic animals, cattle were evidently introduced by the Fúlbe some two or three hundred years ago. There is an indigenous variety of ox, but quite a different species, not three feet high, and of dark-gray color: this is called máturú. The native horse is small and feeble; the best horses are brought from the northern districts, chiefly from U'ba.

I now proceed to mention the names of the most powerful Fúlbe governors of the country, to which I shall subjoin a list of the native tribes, over which the conquerors are gradually extending their sway, and which they may even partially succeed in exterminating. Of those who are bound to the Governor of A'damáwa in due allegiance—that is to say, who send him a certain present and assist him in his warlike expeditions, the governors of Chámba and Kóncha take the first rank. The present governor of Chámba, A'mba (properly Mohammed) Sámbo, who is now a very old man, has made himself extremely famous by his daring and distant expeditions, and more especially that to the I'bo country and to Mbáfu, which he undertook three years ago, and through which he has succeeded in extending not only the influence, but even the dominion of the conquerors, in a certain degree, as far as the Bight of Benín. I have some reason to suspect that it was partly owing to this expedition, which brought the Fúlbe into contact with tribes on the coast, who, on account of their dress, furniture, and many of their customs, were regarded by them as Christians, that Mohammed Lowel looked upon my presence with distrust, for there were still some hundreds of slaves of those so-called Christian tribes scattered over A'damáwa. Mohammed dan Jóbdi also, the governor of Kóncha, has made some very interesting expeditions, the itineraries of some of which I shall give in the Appendix.

More powerful certainly than these two, and in a state of quasi-dependence on the Governor of Yóla only, though at present in open hostility with him, is Búba, the Governor of Búbanjídda. The name of this province also is entirely new, and is formed in a very remarkable way, being compounded of the name of the conqueror himself (Búba) and of that of his mother (Jíd-

da). Búbanjídda is an extensive province, including the districts on the upper course of the Bénuwé, and its capital is called Ray-Búba. The governor is so powerful that, having in vain solicited the Emír el Múmenín, his sovereign lord, to make him a chief vassal, like the Governor of Hamárruwa, so as to be independent of the Governor of A'damáwa, he has placed himself in open opposition to both. It is also very remarkable that Ray-Búba (that is to say, the town which at present bears this name) was, with the exception of Tibáti, the only walled town which the Fúlbe found in the country; and it took them three months of continual fighting to get possession of it. I have already mentioned, in another place, that this country produces the best sort of iron; and it is not improbable that the more warlike spirit of its inhabitants, the Dáma, is in some degree connected with this circumstance.

Less powerful than the three governors just mentioned, but nevertheless mighty vassals, and most of them valiant champions of the faith, are the following chiefs: Bákari (properly Búbakr), governor of Ribágo, north from Búbanjídda; Ardo Badéshi, governor of the territories of the Falí; M'allem Sudé, governor of Holma; M'allem Hámma, governor of Song; the governor of Súmmo;* Mahmúd, governor of Kílba; M'allem Dáuraka, governor of the large settlement of Máruwa or Marba; M'allem Yúsufa, the pious old governor of Bínder; M'allem A'dama, the dashing governor of Agúrma in the territory of the Dáma; Ardo 'Omaro, seignior of Sabóngi, near Búbanjídda; M'allem Mústafa, the pious old lord of Míndif; Ardo Gári, the energetic and learned master of Bógo, whose people joined the Bórnu army on the expedition to Músgu which I shall describe farther on; the lord of Kafta-Báudi; Húrsu or Khúrsu, master of Pédde or Fétte.

The dominion of the Fúlbe is generally centred in single settlements, which are of various descriptions, comprising not only large towns, where a numerous host of these intruders, and a powerful chief, reside, but also more private settlements, such as country seats of governors, "ribádo" or "ribágo;" seats of

* Súmmo, situated between Holma and Song.

mere petty chiefs, or "jóro;" farm-villages, or "úro;" slave-villages, or "rúmde." But the Fúlbe are continually advancing, as they have not to do with one strong enemy, but with a number of small tribes without any bond of union. It remains to be seen whether it be their destiny to colonize this fine country for themselves, or in the course of time to be disturbed by the intrusion of Europeans. It is difficult to decide how a Christian government is to deal with these countries, where none but Mohammedans maintain any sort of government. It can not be denied that they alone here succeed in giving to distant regions a certain bond of unity, and in making the land more accessible to trade and intercourse.

The most numerous among the native tribes, as I have already stated above, are the Bátta, whose prince, Kókomi, was, previous to the conquest of the Fúlbe, the most powerful chief in the country. They are divided into several great families, speaking also various dialects, which in some cases differ from each other very widely, and are closely related to the Marghí.* Many of the names of their districts serve to designate the territories as well as the tribes settled in them, of which several are still entirely independent of the Fúlbe.

The Bátta inhabit not only all the country on the middle course of the Bénuwé and along the Fáro for some distance beyond Mount Alantíka, but also the whole region north from these rivers as far as the southern boundaries of Bórnu. It is in their language that the river has received the name Bé-noë or Bé-nuwé, meaning "the Mother of Waters."

The tribe which ranks next in numbers and importance is the Falí, settled between the upper course of the Bénuwé and the

* They are settled in the following places: Song; Démsa, comprising Démsa-Póha and Démsa-Mésu, which most picturesque places I shall soon describe on my journey back to Kúkawa; Sulléri, Bundáng, Gáruwa, Villáchi, Surkólchi,[a] Kanáda, A'fong, Táwi, Sedíri, Boróngo, Fáwe, Holchi, Gírbu, Kárin, Béfate, Géllefo, Fúro, Béngo, Búlkuto, Kóngchi, Yógo, Ganta, Bágelé, Birgené, Yébbolewó or Yébborewó, Dásin, Réddo, Geré, Kéddemé, Ndóng, Lawáru, Bang, Báchama, Bulla, Záni, Boy, Kirréngabó, Bólki, Murbáya, Ferma, Bólimbé, Alantíka, Komro, Malábu, Mubákko, Kúrachi, Wóko.

[a] These terminations in chi certainly do not seem to be indigenous.

southern provinces of Bagírmi, of whose families and territories (the same name generally indicating both) I learned the following names: Safaláwa, Yamyam (probably not an original name), Gidér, Débba; Múndam, with the chief place Lére, the residence of the powerful pagan prince (kówa) Gónshomé; Mámbay, Dáma, Láme, Láka, Durú, Nánigí, not far east from Chámba, and Bóka. Their idiom seems to be quite distinct from that of the Bátta, but it shows some affinity with other neighboring tongues.* Among the few people belonging to this tribe with whom I came into contact, I observed some of very light color. Then follow the Mbúm, living to the south from the Bátta and southwest from the Falí, and partly subjected, the Fúlbe conquerors being principally established in the place called Ngáundere. There is another large place called Bére. As separate divisions of the Mbúm, I learned the names of the Máiwa, Wúna, and Buté. Southeast from the Mbúm live the Yángeré, and still farther on in that direction the Báya. In what relation the Chámba, after whom the large place at the southern foot of Mount Alantíka is called, stand to the above-named tribes, I can not say. The Chámba are said to have driven from these seats the Kóttofo, who dwell at present farther south. Then there are several other tribes, ranked by my informants as separate nations, the independence or relation of which to the rest I am not able to determine, as I have not obtained specimens of their languages. These are the Holma, the Zummáwa, the Gudá, the Kílba, Honá, Buzá, the Bá, Múchelár, Hína, Búla, Múkubá,† all of whom live in the mountainous region to the southwest from Mount Míndif, and no doubt are partially cognate with other tribes; but, in order to group them, it is necessary to collect specimens of their languages.

Around A'damáwa, partly within, partly beyond its boundaries, but in a certain degree of subjection, are the following

* The numbers "three" (tan) and "four" (nan) seem to point to the Fulfúlde as well as to the Kaffir languages.

† It is probable that this tribe is indicated by the مكبا of Makrízi (Hamaker, *Spec. Catal.*, p. 206), although there are several other localities of the same name.

tribes: the Tikár (by this name, at least, they are called by the Fúlbe, though they have probably another name for themselves, as by this they do not seem to be known near the coast*), the Yétem, the Dókaka, the Batí, a tribe of rather light color, the Dáka, the Wére, the Díngding (partly armed with muskets, and regarded by the Fúlbe as Christians), the Mbáfu. Then the Wága, the Yángur, and the Róba. With most of these tribes the reader will be brought into nearer contact by the itineraries subjoined in the Appendix, where I shall have occasion to add a few remarks with regard to information obtained by Europeans near the coast. Here, however, it will not be without interest to compare with this list of tribes the following list of languages spoken in A'damáwa, which Mohámmedu gave me: Battanchi;† Damanchi, the idiom spoken in the province of Búbanjídda; Falanchi; Bumanchi, or, perhaps more correctly, Mbumanchi, the language of the Mbúm and of the people of Báya; Butanchi; Tekarchi; Mundanchi; Marghanchi;‡ Kilbanchi; Yangurchi; Gudanchi; Chambanchi; Kotofanchi; Weranchi; Duranchi; Wokanchi; Toganchi; Lekamchi; Parparchi; Kankamchi; Nyangeyárechi; Musganchi;‡ Mandaranchi,‡ or rather "A'ra Wándalá;" Gizaganchi; Rumanchi; Giderchi; Dabanchi; Hinanchi; Muturwanchi; Zinanchi; Zaninchi; Momoyëenchi; Faninchi, the idiom of Fani, the dominion of Hajji Ghálebu; Nyaganchi; Dewanchi; Lallanchi; Doganchi; Longodanchi.§

* Probably their real name is Tik'a. See Appendix.

† The termination nchí is nothing but the Sónghay word ki, which in several dialects is pronounced as chí, and means "language." On account of this termination being added to the original name, I have purposely not marked the accents in this list.

‡ The languages thus marked are spoken only partly in A'damáwa, the tribes to whom they are peculiar being for the greatest part independent.

§ In the Appendix will be found a collection of itineraries, which, written down with accuracy from the mouths of the natives, will give a sufficient idea of the various districts of the country.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

MY JOURNEY HOME FROM ÁDAMÁWA.

HAVING made these few remarks with regard to the interesting work of conquest and colonization which is going on in A'damáwa, I now return to my quarters in Ribágo, in order to carry the reader with me on my journey back from that country to Kúkawa.

Wednesday, June 25th. Our luggage had been so wetted on the preceding afternoon, while crossing the máyo Bínti, that we were obliged to stay in Ribágo the whole morning in order to dry it. The horseman who had escorted me out of the town had returned, and in his stead Ibrahíma, with a companion on foot, had made his appearance with orders from the governor to escort me to the very frontiers of the country. In order to render him a more sociable companion, I thought it well to make him a present of a túrkedí. My m'allem had not come along with us; and I could not be angry with him for not desiring to return to Kúkawa, where he had been detained against his will. The horse on which I had mounted him he had well deserved for his trouble. Ibrahíma told me that Katúri had come after me as far as Yébborewó, thinking that I would pass the night there, but that the governor would not let him go farther.

Before starting in the afternoon, I made our landlady, the wife of the Ardo of Ribágo, very happy by a few presents, as an acknowledgment of her hospitality in having twice entertained us in her house. After a short march of a few miles, we took up our quarters for the night in Duló, where the landlord, who, a few days ago, had been deprived of his office of mayor, received us at first rather unkindly, but afterward assigned me a splendid hut, where the ganga or large drum, the ensign of his former authority, was still hanging from the wall. I was great-

yl in want of rest, and was obliged to keep my head always wet, and to abstain entirely from food.

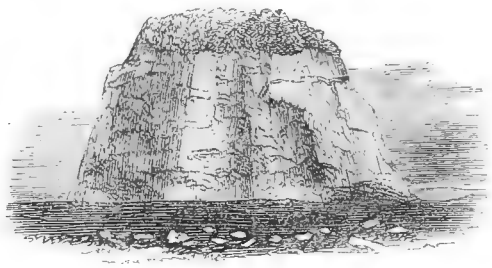
Thursday, June 26th. I thought we should certainly cross the Bénuwé to-day; but, as if in defiance of the governor of the country, Billama desired to move on as slowly as possible, and took us to our well-known quarters in Chabajáure. But this slow progress was certainly better for me, as I had this day arrived at a crisis, and was dreadfully weak. Taking small doses of quinine the whole of the afternoon, I strengthened myself for the next day's work, when, after five miles' march, we reached the Tépe.

Friday, June 27th. The Fáro had only risen a little more than twenty inches since the 18th—that is to say, two inches and a half per day; nevertheless, we had great difficulty in fording it. The Bénuwé had risen more rapidly; and, of course, in July both rivers rise at a very different rate. When the rainy season is at its height, the sandy beach of the headland at the junction is almost completely under water; and this was the case with our old place of embarkation on the northern bank of the Bénuwé, so that I was obliged to creep up the steep bank.

In order to withstand the fatigue, I continued taking quinine the whole day long, and was glad when in the evening we reached Sulléri, where, to my astonishment, we were this time exceedingly well received. The mayor of the place would not allow me to start the following day, although my camels were already laden, and a beautiful fine morning invited us to travel. After a good deal of resistance, I at length gave way to his entreaties, under the condition that he would construct for me a cool shed wherein to spend the heat of the day; and in twenty minutes a lofty hall had risen from the earth. Thus I spent the day very comfortably; and, although I was unable to alleviate the pain suffered by my host from an arrow-wound in one of his eyes, or to give him a charm to prevent the death of his cattle, I was so fortunate as to effect a splendid cure on one of his sons, which procured me great fame.

Saturday, June 29th. On leaving Sulléri in the morning, we took a different route from that previously traversed, and which

proved infinitely more interesting, although in the morning, after we had passed a small farm-village, where all the field-laborers were at work, we had to cross a very extensive forest, and I became greatly exhausted. Having passed, about noon, several villages, which proved to be all slave-villages, with the exception of one, which contained a lord's mansion of neat appearance, suddenly the character of the country changed entirely, and we came to a wide depression or hollow, from one hundred to one hundred and twenty feet deep, which, winding round on our left, formed a fine green vale, bordered on the other side by a picturesque cone,* rising abruptly, and forming on the east



side a wooded terrace, while on the west it displayed a steep, bare rocky flank of horizontal strata, and on this side, after a small interruption, a low ridge attached to it encircling the hollow on all sides.

Having reached the southeastern foot of the cone by a gradual ascent, we obtained a view over the varied and rich scenery before us, a luxuriant mass of vegetation broken at intervals by comfortable-looking little hamlets, and bounded in the distance by a cone stretching out to a great length. Having crossed a small water-course, and wound along between erratic blocks of granite, scattered about in wild disorder, and interrupted, wherever the ground offered a small level, by rich crops of grain, we reached the first hamlet of this most picturesque locality. It is one of the chief seats of the Démsa, or rather comprises two distinct villages, namely, Démsa-Póha and Démsa-Mésu.

* In this sketch, made just at the moment, I aimed only at giving the outlines of the mount, without any pretension to represent the country around. The foreground, therefore, is left quite level.

It was, indeed, a most charming sight when we made our way along a broad, well-trodden path, surrounded on both sides by neatly-fenced clusters of large huts, encompassed by waving corn and picturesque clusters of trees. Thus we reached the "lamórde," the residence of the governor, which is situated at a short distance from the southern foot of the large granitic cone; but he was absent, having gone on an expedition against the Fúri, an independent pagan tribe in the neighborhood, and we had to wait some time before his servants undertook to assign us quarters, when we had to retrace our steps to the southern part of the village. It was half past four in the afternoon when, feverish and extremely weak as I was, I at length found rest; but, while reclining at full length in a cool shade, I listened with delight to Ibrahíma's chat, who, in order to cheer my spirits, gave me an account of that famous expedition to the far south which the Fúlbe of A'damáwa undertook a few years ago, and to which I have already alluded.

This memorable campaign having proceeded from Búbanjída, none of the people of A'damáwa, whose acquaintance I was able to make during my short stay in the country, had participated in it, so that all the accounts which I received of it were extremely vague. The expedition, after a march of almost two months, is said to have reached an unbounded expanse of unbroken plain, and, having kept along it for a day or two, to have arrived at an immense tree, in the shade of which the whole host found sufficient room. Here they found two natives of the southern regions, who informed them that they were the subjects of a powerful queen that resided in a vast town of two days' march in circumference. These people, they say, were of short stature, and wore long beards. Frightened by these reports, and by the waterless tract before them, the expedition retraced their steps. Similar reports with regard to a very powerful female sovereign toward the south are also current in Bagírmi and all the adjacent country; but I am not able to determine whether they originate in faint rumors, spread so far north, of the powerful kingdom of Muata-ya-Nvo, or—of Queen Victoria.

TEMSA-POHA.

To my great satisfaction, we were obliged to stay here the next day, in order to await the arrival of the lámido, when, feeling greatly recruited by a good night's and half a day's rest, I crept out of my well-polished round little clay hut in the afternoon, and, crossing the neatly-fenced promenade of the straggling village, ascended a neighboring eminence formed by an irregular mass of granite blocks, to the north of our quarters. Here I spent two delicious hours in the tranquil contemplation of the picturesque scenery, which I thought the most interesting I had yet seen in this quarter of the world. The accompanying view presents but a very faint idea of its peculiar features, but I hope it will give the reader some conception of the nature of this country in general, which enables the pagan natives between this district and Hamárruwa to defend their liberty and independence against the Mohammedan intruders. These tribes are, after the Démsa, who seem to form a tolerably numerous body, first, the Mbulá, probably the same who have given their name to the place situated at some distance from Mount Míndif, and mentioned above; then, farther west, or northwest, the Báchama, and still farther west, the Tángalé, with both of whom Mr. Vogel, on his recent journey from Yákuba to Hamárruwa, has come in contact.

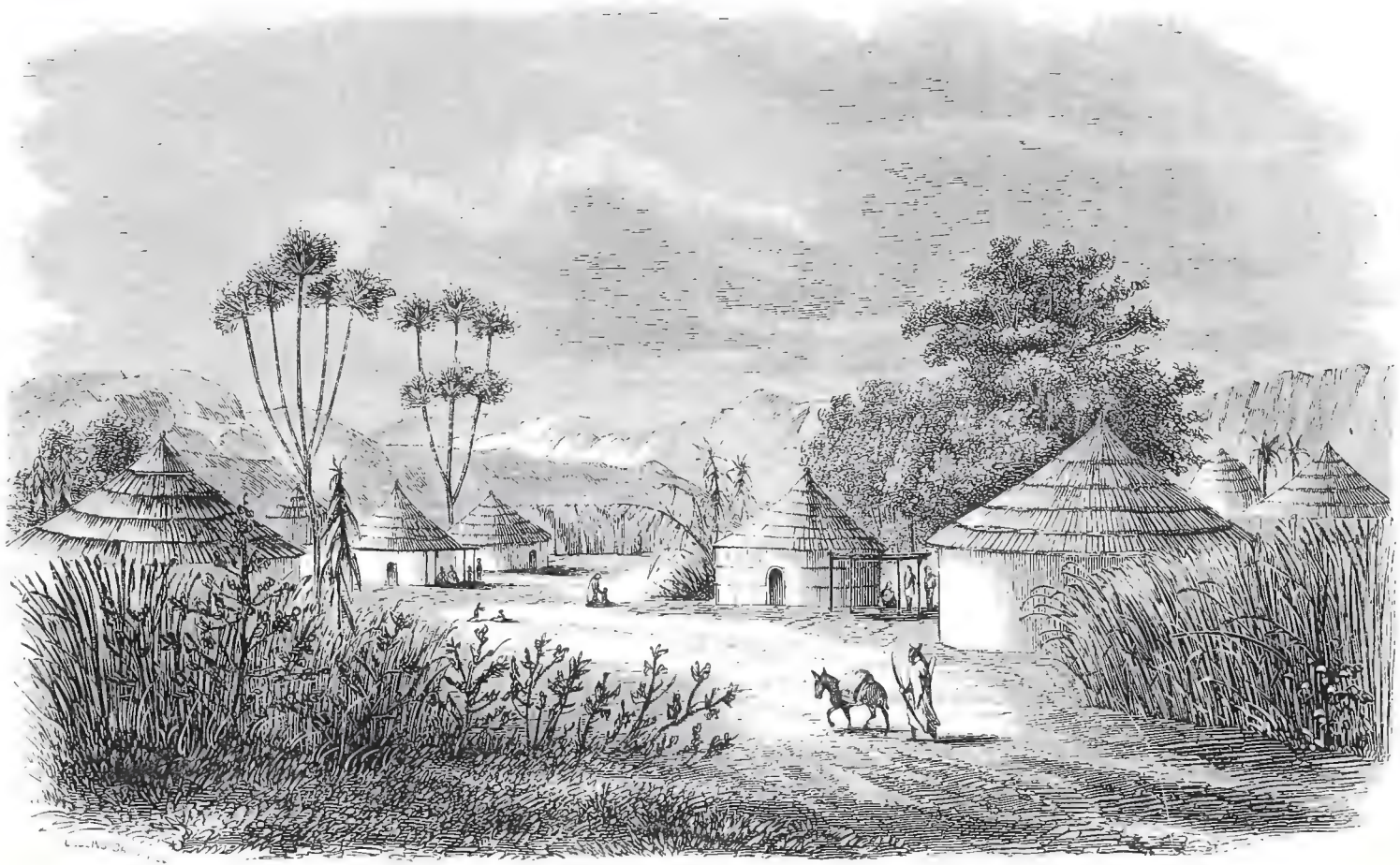
Tuesday, July 1st. We made a short but highly interesting march to the place of our old friend the m'allem Delíl. The scenery was rich and beautiful, the crops of Guinea-corn standing from four to five feet high, alternating with fields where góza, a kind of yams, were grown, and adorned with fine spreading trees, among which the tarmu and the kúka or monkey-bread-tree predominated; even the rocky eminences were all overgrown with fresh vegetation. We then passed a sort of shallow river, or sél, which is called by the Kanúri "ngáljam," and forms a characteristic feature of Démsa, while on our right it expanded to a conspicuous sheet of water, bordered by blocks and masses of rocks full of vegetation. It was overgrown with rank reed at the spot where we crossed it.

Only a few minutes beyond this almost stagnant water on green meadow-land, we crossed the broad and clear torrent of

the máyo Tíyel, rushing ahead over a gravelly bottom, and at times rolling along a considerable quantity of water. According to my guides, it is formed by three branches, one issuing from Báses toward the N.E., the other coming from the neighborhood of Bélem, and the third from the N.W., from Bíngel. Only a few hundred yards farther on we passed on our left another broad sheet of water, apparently of great depth, which is said to preserve the same level at all times of the year. It is full of crocodiles, and bordered by the richest vegetation, and, being apparently quite isolated, has a very curious appearance. Perhaps it is fed by subterranean sources. It is surrounded by beautiful pasture-grounds.

We then traversed a fine open country, passing some villages, while the road was enlivened by a troop of travelers (colonists from Bórnu), among whom there were some remarkably handsome women mounted on bullocks, who bore sufficient testimony to the fact that the more elevated districts of A'damáwa are salubrious and favorable for man. We reached Bélem at about two o'clock; but, before we arrived there, a circumstance happened which I must not omit to mention, as it is rather characteristic; for suddenly two of Mohammed Lowel's servants appeared with the horse which Billama had sold to the governor for the price of twenty slaves, returning it under some pretext, but in reality for no other reason than because he was afraid lest it might operate by way of charm, and injure him. Billama was to have received the slaves in the towns still before us.

We staid in Bélem this day and the following, and I was pestered a little by the family of old M'allem Delíl, but particularly by his daughter, rather a handsome person, who had been divorced from her former husband (I think Mansúr, the younger brother of Mohammed Lowel), and wanted me by all means to write her a charm to get her another husband after her heart's desire. She was a very passionate sort of woman, and when smelling, against my wish, from my vial of hartshorn, was seized with such violent convulsions that she was carried senseless out of my tent, and remained in this state for nearly an hour. The stay here was the more disagreeable to me, as it



MUGLEBU.

was caused partly by the trading propensities of my servant Bú-S'ad; and not only did he buy ivory, which he had the insolence to add to the loads of my weak camels, but even three slaves, so that I was obliged to dismiss him instantly from my service, although I had nothing wherewith to pay him off. It is extremely difficult for a single European to proceed in these countries with hired servants, as he loses all control over them. This man, who had been the late Mr. Richardson's servant as well as mine, turned out, like Mukni, Mr. Richardson's interpreter, a great slave-dealer, and in 1855, when I was leaving Central Africa, collected a numerous gang of slaves in this very country, which he had before visited as my servant.

Thursday, July 3d. We at length resumed our journey, but only to reach Saráwu Beréberé, where we took up our quarters in the comfortable court-yard which I have described on our outward journey. I will only record the pleasing fact that, as soon as the news spread in the town of my having returned, a man whom I had cured of disease during my former stay brought me a handsome gazelle-skin as an acknowledgment.

The next day we followed our ancient road by Badaníjo, and reached Segéro; but on Saturday, after having passed Mbutúdi without any other delay than that of buying with beads a little milk from our Fúlbe friends, we took a more easterly path, which brought us to Múglebú, a village which exhibited to us an interesting picture of the exuberance that reigns in these regions at this time of the year. The huts were scarcely visible, on account of the rich crops of grain which surrounded them on all sides, while *Palma Christi* formed thick clusters of bushes, and a few specimens of a remarkable tree which I had never observed before, besides isolated bananas, rose above the rich mass of vegetation, and gave to the whole the charm of novelty; but the weather was so wet that I could make but a very slight sketch, and was wholly prevented from rambling about, the rain continuing the whole afternoon. Besides, all my energy was required to assist my three servants, who were all severely ill; and while I administered to two of them emetics, I had to soothe 'Abd-Allah with a dose of laudanum. It was very

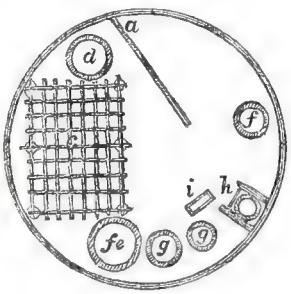
fortunate indeed that I myself felt a little better. In short, our stay here was any thing but agreeable, and I was worried by several people with demands which exceeded my power—such as to drive out devils, relieve impotency, and so on; but the mayor sent me a goat, fowls, milk, and a little butter. The village, which consisted of about two hundred huts, seemed to be in good circumstances.

Sunday, July 6th. When we started, at a tolerably early hour in the morning, the weather was clear and favorable; but after we had crossed the little mountain chain which surrounds the village of Múglebú at some distance to the east and north, and reached a small hamlet presenting signs of very careful cultivation, and numerous herds of cattle, we were drenched by a heavy shower. It is generally supposed that storms in the tropical climes break forth in the afternoon or in the course of the night—and this certainly is the general rule; but if there has been a storm the day before or during the night, and the weather has not cleared up, there can be no certainty that it will not come on again in the course of the morning. It is rather a rare phenomenon in these regions for a storm to gather in the morning on a clear sky; but, nevertheless, the reader will find several examples even of this in my meteorological tables.* The natives are not at all insensible to rain; and while the Kánembú† who had attached themselves to our caravan in Badanújo were protecting their persons with their light wooden shields, the natives of the country collected thick bushes, and formed a sort of natural umbrella over their heads. To protect the head, at least, from wet is most essential in these climes. On another occasion, when I come to speak about the prevailing kinds of disease, I shall have to mention how dreadfully the Fúlbe sometimes suffer from the maladies of the rainy season, when employed on their warlike expeditions.

* In Bombay the greatest fall of rain has been observed a little before and after morning. *Magnetical and Meteorological Observations*, Bombay, 1853, Meteorological Results, p. 73.

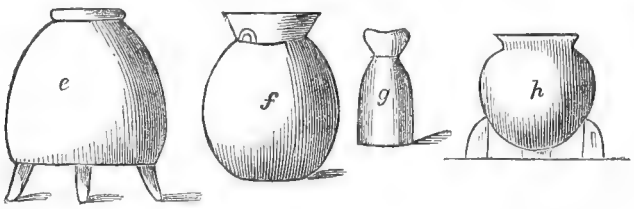
† In my collection of itineraries traversing the country of A'damáwa I shall have occasion to mention several places where, besides Kanúri, Kánembú are also settled.

Early in the morning we reached Múfi or Múbi, but were received so inhospitably that we had great difficulty in obtaining quarters, for which we were obliged to keep fighting the whole day, as a quarrelsome m'allem wished to dislodge me from the hut of which I had taken possession. Fortunately, his better half bore the inconvenience with more equanimity, and I put up cheerfully with the little trouble which she gave me from time to time by calling at the door and begging me to hand to her some little articles of her simple household furniture. My three people were so sick that they lay like so many corpses on the ground; and their condition prevented us from setting out even on the following day, notwithstanding the inhospitable manner in which we were treated here, so that I had ample leisure to study minutely the architecture of my residence, of which I here subjoin a ground-plan.



The hut, measuring about twelve feet in diameter, was built in the manner most usual in these regions—namely, of clay walls, with a thatched roof. The door, a little elevated above the floor, was three feet high and fifteen inches wide, and not at all adapted for very stout persons. From the wall at the right of the door (*a*) ran another wall, "gáruwel súdo," of the same height, but unconnected with the roof, right across the hut in an oblique line, to the length of about six feet, separating one part of the dwelling, and securing to it more privacy. In this compartment was the bed (*c*), consisting of a frame made of branches, and spread over pilasters of clay about three feet high. In the most sequestered part of the hut, in the corner formed by the round inclosing wall and the oblique one, at the top of the bed—"kéla kagá," as the Kanúri say—stood the corn-urn (*d*), about six feet high, and in its largest part two feet wide, destined to keep a certain provision of corn always at hand; besides this, there was a smaller one (*fe*) at the foot of the bed—"shí kagá." At the side of this smaller urn were two small pedestals of clay (*g*), serving the purpose of a sideboard, in order to place upon them

pots or other articles. Then followed the kitchen, "defforíde" (*h*), still under cover of the oblique wall, but exactly on a line with it, so that the smoke might more easily find its way through the door, and consisting of a narrow place inclosed on each side by a low wall, to protect the fire, between which three stones, or rather small clay mounds like fire-bricks, supported the cooking-pot, while a small wooden footstool (*i*) accommodated the industrious landlady when busy with her most important culinary employment. While to all this part of the hut a certain degree of privacy was secured by the oblique wall, a considerable space to the left of the door remained unprotected, and here stood the large water-



urn (*f*), which, always remaining in its place, is filled by means of smaller portable urns or pitchers.

Tuesday, July 8th. It seemed almost as if we were destined to stay another day in this place, for just when we were about to start a most violent shower came down, and lasted full two hours. When at length we were able to set out on our road to U'ba, it was excessively wet, the streams greatly swollen, and the weather still any thing but bright and clear. At U'ba, again, we remained much longer than I wished. In the evening, after our arrival, the governor went on an expedition against the Kílba-Gáya. Falling suddenly upon the poor pagans at early dawn, he captured a good many slaves; but the persecuted natives rallied, and, taking advantage of a defile through which he had to pass on his return to his residence, suddenly attacked him, and succeeded in rescuing all their countrymen from the hands of their relentless enemies.

During my absence the corn had almost ripened, and the fields afforded a spectacle of the utmost exuberance. Almost all the grain here is sorghum, and mostly of the white kind;

the average height of the stalks was from nine to ten feet. The whole area of the town was clothed in the richest vegetation, of great variety, where a botanist might have made a numerous collection.

Thursday, July 10th. Ibrahíma, the principal of the two men whom Mohammed Lowel had appointed to escort me to the frontier of his province, accompanied me a short distance when we left U'ba. This man, who, perhaps because he was not well treated in Kúkawa, behaved rather sullenly on our journey to A'damáwa, had become infinitely more amiable after the governor of that country had sent me back. He not only manifested on every occasion his heartfelt sorrow on account of my having been disappointed in the expectation of traveling over that interesting country in every direction, but he still more lamented that his countrymen had been deprived, by the imprudence of their ruler, of the advantage of my presence in the country. I have had occasion to observe repeatedly that there is a great deal of republican spirit in the Fúlbe, and that they have, in general, the air and manners of freeborn men, though I shall have to dwell upon the deterioration of this original character in the case of the inhabitants of Sókoto.

The commencement of our march through the unsafe and infested boundary district from U'ba northward was not very auspicious, and I was almost afraid lest, after having been allowed to reach the frontier unmolested, we were doomed to some insidious treachery in these lawless lands. The original arrangement was that some other people should succeed to Ibrahíma, in order to see me safe to I'ssege; but they never made their appearance, and we had scarcely parted from Ibrahíma when all sorts of alarms frightened and disturbed our little band. First a dreadful noise was heard from above the rocks at the foot of which lay our road; but it was found to proceed only from a countless multitude of birds of prey enjoying their liberty in noisy mirth. Then, when we reached the fields of corn within this rocky passage, which on our outward journey we had seen under cultivation, we were prevented by armed men from passing through them, and were obliged to make a long circuit.

A little further on people came running after us, and attempted to take away by force two of the slaves whom some of our companions were leading along; and, when resisted, they raised a dismal cry for help, which was heard resounding to a great distance through the wild country. Serious quarrels seemed imminent; but, fortunately, no one came to their assistance.

About thirty travelers, all of them armed either with spears or with bows and arrows, had attached themselves to our troop. I got ready all my cartridges, and we were well on our guard. We had advanced about five miles from U'ba, and were in the middle of the forest, when a more serious alarm arose, several people being seen lurking among the trees—an unmistakable proof that they meditated an attack if we should exhibit any signs of weakness. We therefore rallied a moment, and formed in front, the most sturdy of our spearmen gathering round me, and begging me to take steady aim when they should point out to me the chief men. But the natives, belonging most probably to the tribe of the Báza, who always infest this road, seeing that we were prepared to receive them, did not dare to quit their ambush; and, having continued a while along the path, we thought it wiser to leave it, and struck off to the west into the thickest covert of the wood, where the camels, with their luggage, had some difficulty in passing through, especially as the soil was cracked and rent in all directions. Having trudged on in this way for about two hours, and feeling sure that we were not pursued, we returned to the path, but left it again about noon, and, pursuing another track, reached Laháula, a village of unlucky memory, on the western side. But this time we were well received, not only by 'Aisha, but also by his wild and passionate son, who became a great friend of mine, and, having received from me a present of a knife, brought me three fowls in return, while his father sent túwo for all my people. I sketched the danísko, or hand-bill, of my friend, which was of a peculiarly regular shape.

Friday, July 11th. On leaving Laháula in the morning, we again preferred the covert to the beaten path; but, after we had gone round Kófa, which Billama

thought it better to avoid, we returned to our well-known road parallel to the river and the mountain chain beyond, and reached I'ssege, without any accident, early in the afternoon. There, too, my reception was very different from that which I had experienced on my going, and I was received with the utmost kindness and hospitality into the house of a wealthy family at the northern end of the village, and quartered in a neat little hut, the walls of which consisted of thatch, like the roof, but were plastered over with clay. The little hut, which scarcely measured seven feet in diameter, contained two couches, one raised above the ground to the right, and the other on the level of the ground on the left of the entrance. Three spears, a common shield, and a large shield called "chággo" by the Marghí, "kutufáni" by the Kanúri, consisting of a thick texture of reed, and big enough to protect two or three persons, a basket and a net, "úturu," hanging from the roof, formed the furniture of this little dwelling, which was the apartment of the youngest son of the family, a fine, tall, and slender young man, with a very pleasant expression of countenance. Except that he wore the "funó," a small leather apron, round his waist, he was quite naked, but loaded with coquettish ornaments. Round his neck he wore a double string of red beads, a little lower another set of three strings of corals, and still lower again a set of two strings of iron beads; on his left shoulder he wore four broad iron rings, or "kégelá;" on his elbow two other narrow iron rings (barachággo), very neatly worked like beads; on his wrist six narrow and one broad iron ring, or "únzo," and above them an ivory ring, or "yécho." The right arm was not so richly endowed with ornaments, having only four iron rings at the upper part, and two on the wrist. Below his knee he wore a chain of cotton, very neatly twisted; this is called "shishídderi;"* and on his foot-joint a narrow iron ring called "míltedo." However, I observed afterward that this young man did not wear all the national ornaments of his tribe, for I saw others who wore in addition an iron chain round their loins, which is called "shushú." All these iron articles are very neatly

* Perhaps this was a sign of mourning.

made by the people of Wándalá, Morá being only two days' march from this; and I only regret that I was not able to bring some of these articles home as specimens of the industry of the natives, as well as of the excellent quality of iron which they possess. This young man did not wear the "sér," as they call it—a small reed or feather in the left ear.

I delighted my youthful host by the present of a mirror; and I gave a knife to his father when he returned from the labor of the field. My little hut was not without a crowd of visitors the whole of the afternoon, all the friends of my host coming to see me. They were admitted in a regular way, five at a time, and behaved very decently, while they admired the few curious things which I had to show them. I was greatly amused by the simplicity of my young host and one of his brothers, who, when I presented them with small bits of sugar, gradually nibbled them away, and at the same time compared their size continually till they were reduced to very diminutive morsels, when they agreed between them to give the remnants to a sister.

The language of these people, which, as I have stated, is intimately related to that of the Bátta, seems to show that they belong rather to the family of South African tribes than to the group of neighboring tribes of Central Negroland.

We had plenty of good fare in the evening, the Bórnu titular mayor of the place sending me a sheep, besides corn for the horses, and our hosts preparing a fowl for myself, and several dishes of hasty-pudding, with fish-sauce, for my people. The evening being clear, and illuminated by splendid moonlight, I sat a long time outside—perhaps too long, in my precarious state of health—enjoying the sound of music and dancing which came from the opposite quarter of the village; but I was not a little astonished when I heard from my young friend, whom I asked why he did not go to join in the merriment, that it was not an ordinary amusement, but a religious dance to celebrate the death of an old man; for if a person in old age dies, his death is deemed a cause of satisfaction and mirth, while that of a young one is lamented with tears.

I have already noticed some peculiar customs of the Marghí;

but I must say a few words about their curious ordeal on the holy granite rock of Kóbshi. When two are litigating about a matter, each of them takes a cock which he thinks the best for fighting, and they go together to Kóbshi. Having arrived at the holy rock, they set their birds a fighting, and he whose cock prevails in the combat is also the winner in the point of litigation. But more than that, the master of the defeated cock is punished by the divinity whose anger he has thus provoked, and on returning to his village he finds his hut in flames.

It is evident that this tribe, as well as many of the neighboring ones, venerate their forefathers, in which respect they closely resemble the South African tribes, although the Berbers also seem originally to have had this sort of worship as well as the Háusa people. The Marghí do not practice circumcision; but, what seems very remarkable, they practice inoculation for the small-pox, at least to a considerable extent.

As I was sitting outside the court-yard, by degrees a great many natives collected round me, when a young man took me aside and entreated me earnestly to give him a remedy against the dislike of people. I, however, soon succeeded in making him confess that he meant only the dislike of one girl, who, he said, did not relish his haughty demeanor, and that he was reduced to a state of desperation, and wished for nothing but to die in battle. This example shows that even these simple people have some sentiment of love.

Saturday, July 12th. I had some difficulty in persuading Billama to leave this hospitable place; but I was ashamed to cause these good people, who had been robbed and despoiled a short time ago by Kashélla 'Alí, any more trouble. We took a more easterly path than that by which we had traveled before, but nearly of the same character—full of holes and crevices, and covered with thick forest, while the nutritive root "katakírri" employed the several members of our caravan continually, particularly a Púllo pilgrim from the far west near the coast, who was indefatigable in digging as well as in eating. We had only proceeded a few miles when me met a troop of Marghí, who were going to perform a sacrifice in the holy grove of I'ssege, one

of them carrying a sheep and another a fowl. One of them had ornamented his shield with red lines, which on the black ground of the elephant's hide were quite becoming; but I do not think that this custom is general: perhaps it had some connection with the sacrifice.

After a march of eight hours we reached the first cluster of huts of the Northern Molghoy, where we wished to find quarters; but the unfortunate people, by the recent exactions and contributions levied on them by the Kanúri, were driven to a state of despair, and obstinately refused to receive us. There remained, therefore, no alternative but to continue our march, and to try to reach Yerímarí; but the effort was too much for me, and had the worst consequences in my reduced state of health. I was for some time quite senseless, when, after a ride of thirteen hours, I succeeded in reaching the well-known place, and threw myself flat upon the ground of my little hut. Scarcely had my luggage arrived, when a storm, which the whole afternoon had been hanging over our heads, broke forth, and continued till midnight with unabated violence.

Man as well as beast was so exhausted that we remained here the following day, when I felt strength enough to walk out a little into the fields. There was an extraordinary difference between the advanced state in which I had left the crops in A'damáwa and that in which I found them here. The reader will remember that the fields round this place were just being sown on the day of my leaving it; and during the time of my absence rain must have been rather scanty, so that the crops were scarcely twenty inches above the ground. In the afternoon, Billama, who was always obliging, gave me some information with regard to the adjacent country, which I shall here insert as a note,* though it is not so clear as might be desired.

* About eight miles S.W. from this is a place called Bála, originally belonging to the Marghí, but at present inhabited by Kanúri people. Toward the east, at no great distance, is the town of U'zo, belonging to that division of the Gámerghú whose chief resides in Degímba; E.N.E., at the distance of two days, is the walled town of Gáwa, the residence of the greater chief. A little N. of E., about fifteen miles, is U'rka or Wúrka. A'laba, one short day's march, about ten miles, S.E. from U'rka, is the easternmost town of the Gámerghú, whose territory, how-

Monday, July 14th. We continued our march, and, with a halt during the hot hours, reached Ujé Kasúkulá in the evening. The aspect of the country offered unmistakable proof of our advance northward. Even the grass here was barely an inch or two above the ground; the crops, where most advanced, were ten or twelve inches high, while other fields were still covered with the tunfáfia, or *Asclepias gigantea*, a sure proof that they had not been brought under cultivation. We passed a good many cotton-fields. I reached the place in a state of the utmost exhaustion, and was obliged to stay here three days to recruit my strength, taking hardly any food but quinine, and placing a plaster of cantharides on my chest. The governor of the place, Kashélla 'Alí Aláwó, treated my party very hospitably and kindly, and showed sincere compassion for my feeble condition. I learned from him, to my great satisfaction, that Mr. Overweg had really embarked in the boat on the Tsád, and was gone to the Búdduma.

Friday, July 18th. At length we set out again; but, though I felt a little better, I was glad when, after a short march of three hours through a very pleasant and populous country, we took up our quarters in a place called Gúlfo, a great proportion of the inhabitants of which are Shúwa. Having passed the hot hours in a spacious and cool hut, I enjoyed for a while the freshness of the evening outside in my court-yard, delighted at the same time by the sight of the herds of cattle returning from their pastures. Shortly before we reached Gúlfo we had passed a village entirely inhabited by Shúwa, and even called Shúwarám.

Though we had now reached the monotonous alluvial plains

ever, extends in this direction as far as Mount Dísa. In the immediate neighborhood of A'laba is the small town of Segágiyu. Eastward from Dísa is Mount Kírya, and east from this is Mount U'la or Wúla; one day beyond Wúla is the conspicuous Mount Deládebá. One short day to the N. of Deládebá is Mount Wélle, at the northern foot of which lies the large walled place of the name of Karáwá, the former capital of Wandalá, already mentioned, as we shall see, by the historian of the Bórnu king, Edrís Alawóma, with two gates. To the N. of Karáwá, and about six miles S. of Delhé, is Ajémmaja, or, as it is called by others, Háj A'maka, a place inhabited by Shúwa, or native Arabs, who occupy all the country as far as Díkowa.

of Bórnu Proper, yet the following day's march in the company of my friend Billama, who, after we had become better acquainted, was anxious to gratify my desire for information in every respect, was highly interesting. Although the vegetation was very poor in comparison with that of the more southern districts, yet there was plenty of underwood, and we observed the small bush called "kúmkum," the berries of which taste very like coffee, and which, in reality, may be a kind of *Coffea*. On our right we left a path leading by Yámaké, Tangállanda, and Kirbáje, to Kabé-Ngáwa, a place famous on account of its neighborhood affording the "fógo"—wood from which the shields (ngáwa) of the Kánembú are made: it lies on the road to Díkowa, passing by a place called A'jowa. The spears of the natives (kasékka) are made from the root of the kindíl or talha, but the javelin (béllam) from that of the kúrna; the shafts of arrows are made from the "kabílla"-bush, which hereabouts grows in great abundance. Cultivated and pasture-ground alternately succeeded each other, and I was astonished to see that the produce of this district was exclusively argúm móro, or *Pennisetum*, while ngáberi, or *Holcus sorghum*, is a much more general grain in Bórnu, with the exception of the country of the Koyám. A little before eleven o'clock we finished our day's march in a small village called Múnghono-Mabé, where I took possession of a large hut constructed in the peculiar style of the Shúwa, the roof being of an oval shape, without the characteristic top or head, the "kogí ngímbe," and supported by a pole, "dúngulis," in the middle of the hut, while the thatch is made in a very irregular and hasty manner, the compactness of wicker-work being insufficiently supplied by a heap of reeds thrown upon the roof and fastened with ropes.

Sunday, July 20th. I felt much better, and, after a beautiful moonlight night, we started earlier than usual, "dúnia kéte." The morning was very fine, but the sun soon became rather powerful and troublesome. We passed a considerable pool of stagnant water surrounded by fine trees, tamarinds and sycamores, such as in this district, where stunted mimosas form the predominant feature of the vegetation, are only seen in very favored

spots; it is called "kulúgu Hámtigu." On the path itself also, deeply cut as it was in the sandy soil, there was a good deal of water. We passed the site of a large town named Dóngo, which had been destroyed by the Fúlbe or Felláta some forty years ago, but of which the circumference of the wall was still visible, the gate being marked by a colossal monkey-bread-tree or *Adansonia*, the constant follower of human society, spreading its gigantic branches out like an immense candelabrum. Bíllama brought me the berries of a bush called "búlte," the taste of which was very much like currants; and farther on he presented me with a "fitó," a red fruit looking exactly like red pepper, with numbers of small kernels, and of a somewhat acidulous taste.

We rested a little more than three hours, during the heat of the day, near a pond of stagnant water, in a district rich in pastures, where, among numerous herds of the Shúwa, the cattle of Háj Beshír were also grazing. But the ground hereabouts seemed to be nothing but one continuous world of ants, which did not allow us a moment's undisturbed repose, and even during our short stay they made several successful attacks, not only upon part of our luggage, but even of my dress.

When we set out again, at an early hour in the afternoon, numerous pools of water along the road testified to the presence of the rainy season, and the village Máska, which we passed soon afterward, was surrounded by corn and cotton-fields, as well as by rich green pasture-grounds. The path was well frequented. We met first a horseman of the sheikh sent as a messenger to Újé, with the order to call in the numerous horse of that district; and Bíllama was of opinion that his master had thoughts of arranging the affairs of Khadéja. Farther on we met a troop of Shúwa women, who, in a mournful song, lamented the death of one of their companions. They passed us too rapidly to allow the words of their song to be distinctly heard.

The country on our left and that on our right showed a remarkable contrast; for while, on our left, corn-fields, fine pasture-grounds, and villages succeeded each other, on the right,

an immense ghadír, or fírki, still dry, and only sparingly covered here and there with a little coarse herbage, stretched out to an immeasurable distance. At an early hour in the afternoon, deviating a little from the path, we turned into the village of Káliluwá Grémarí, which belongs to 'Abd e' Rahmán, the second brother of Sheikh 'Omár, and found the male inhabitants of the village sitting in the shade of a chédia or caoutchouc-tree, busily employed in making wicker-work. However, they proved too clearly that we had entered the inhospitable zone in the neighborhood of the capital; observing, with great coolness, that the sun was as yet high, and would enable us still to make a good march to some other place, they would hear nothing of our quartering in their village. But Billama was not the man to be laughed at; and, riding through the midst of them, he took possession for me of one of the best huts. I could not, in truth, approve of this despotical mode of dealing; but I was too weak to run the risk of spending a night in my tent on the damp ground. The villagers seemed to be drained to the utmost by their gracious lord, and did not possess a single cow; even fowls were scarcely to be seen.

In the evening I was greatly amused at first by the noisy hum of a "mákaranchí," or school, close to my hut, where, round a large fire, some six or seven boys were repeating, at the highest pitch of their voices, and with utter disregard of the sense, a few verses of the Kurán, which in the daytime they had been taught to read by their master, who doubtless understood them as little as the boys themselves; but by degrees the noise became almost insupportable. It is generally thought in Europe that a school-boy is too much tormented; but these poor African boys, for the little they learn, are worried still more—at least, I have often found them in the cold season, and with scarcely a rag of a shirt on, sitting round a miserable fire as early as four o'clock in the morning, learning their lessons. Besides, they have to perform all sorts of menial service for the master, and are often treated no better than slaves.

Monday, July 21*st.* The country which we passed in the morning presented more pasture-grounds than cultivated lands,

and after a little while I turned, with my companion, out of our path, to the left, toward a small encampment or "berí Shúwabe" of the Kohálemí, a Shúwa or Arab tribe, where, for three large beads, called "nejúm," we bought a little fresh milk. On this occasion I learned from Bíllama that the Shúwa or native Arabs settled in the district of Ujé belong to the tribe of the Sáraji, while the Sugúla and the Sálamát have their camping-grounds farther east.

The country became rather dreary, black "fírki"-ground and sandy soil alternately succeeding each other; and traffic there was none. But when we reached the well of Maira, a considerable place which we passed on our left hand, the path became animated from an interesting cause, a whole village or "berí" of wandering Arabs passing through in search of fresh pasture-grounds to the west. Each mistress of a family was sitting on the top of her best household furniture, which was carefully packed on the backs of the cattle and covered with hides, while a female slave followed her, sitting astride on the less valuable gear and the poles, with pots and other such utensils; but distinguished above all by the harness of her bullock, the neat arrangement of her seat, a leather tent-like covering over her head, and the stoutness of her own person, sat the wife of the chief. Most of these women, however, were rather slender than otherwise, testifying to the sound and well-preserved national taste of these Arabs. They never veil the face, and their dress is simple and decent; but they are not nearly so tidy as the Fulfúlde ladies. Most of the men followed at a great distance with the flocks of goats and sheep.

When this interesting procession had passed by, the monotony of the country was more intensely felt. The proud Kanúri of the towns mock the inhabitants of these districts, who have nothing but a few cattle and goats, with the verse, "Sémma bíllani—berí kaní" ("This is the whole of my town—cattle and goats;" or, in other words, "The town and moat, two cows and a goat"). The poor stunted mimosas had been cut down in many places, in order that, the whole tract being changed into a quagmire or swamp, it might be sown with the peculiar kind

of holcus called "másakwá" (*Holcus cernuus*); and then these black, dismal-looking plains become one field of life and wealth. This remarkable change in the aspect of the country, and this second harvest, which takes place in the middle of the cold season, and by which the fírki or fírgi becomes a fírgi mosogábe (másakwábe), I shall have to describe in another place.

We then entered a well cultivated and thickly inhabited district called Yelé, where it was a novelty to be obliged to draw water from the well or barrem Yelé; for, since reaching Ujé on our journey out, we had constantly met water-pools or small rivulets, from which we took our supply, and even the well at Maira was rendered quite superfluous by a large tank close by. However, I have already had occasion to observe that the water from these stagnant pools is any thing but wholesome, particularly after the rainy season, when they receive no further supply; and I have no doubt that the drinking of such water is the principal, if not the only cause of that dreadful and widespread disease (the "fárantít" or "'arúg"—"ngíduwí" in Kanúri—"the misery") which disables the working-man, and makes him a poor wretched being—the Guinea-worm, which is sure to be met with in at least one out of three persons who travel a great deal, through the whole of Central Africa. I never met with an instance of this disease in a woman. It seemed to me, too, as if the pagans, whose nakedness exposed all their limbs to view, suffered less from it.

There seemed to be no superfluous supply of water in the district through which our road then lay, which appeared as dry as I had left it, only thinly scattered and lonely blades of grass shooting up here and there; but yet there was a favored spot where the road from Márte to Alárge crossed our path, adorned with fine, wide-spreading tamarind-trees, and rain-clouds were approaching from the east to fertilize the soil, and make it capable of production. We therefore hurried on, and took shelter in the village M'allem-Shíshi, in order to let the storm pass over; our hut, however, was so incapable of resisting heavy rain, that as soon as the storm broke out we were almost swamped. The carelessness with which the houses of the na-

tives are built in this region is an unmistakable evidence of the difference of the climate; on the other side, we have seen the neat huts of the people of Fúmbiná, and we shall see those of the despised pagan natives of Músgu. The people assured me that this was the first regular rain which they had had this year, the first preparatory shower having fallen thirty days ago, and the second two days ago.

The clouds having taken a southerly direction, we started forth in the afternoon, after some hesitation, but had scarcely been an hour on the march, and were just in the middle of a wide, dismal-looking ghadír or fírki, when the clouds, having gathered again over our heads, poured down violent torrents of rain, so that in a few moments the whole country looked like a lake, and our progress was excessively difficult. At length, after an hour and a half, in the most uncomfortable state, we reached the village Kiryúmmuwa, where I was quartered in a rather magnificent but as yet unfinished hut of clay, and endeavored to dry my wet clothes as well as I could.

We were now only one day's march from Kúkawa, and we started early the next morning, in order to reach home before night. The neighborhood of the capital had been sufficiently indicated already during the last day's march by the dúm-bushes, which, with the melancholy *Asclepias gigantea*, might well decorate the scutcheon of Kúkawa—with more justice, indeed, than the kúka, or monkey-bread-tree, from which the name was taken, but of which but a few poor stunted specimens are to be seen in the court-yard of the palace in the eastern town.

We had scarcely gone a mile when we met the first body of Shúwa, men and women, who were returning with their unloaded pack-oxen from the great Monday market of the capital, and then the string of market-people on their way to their respective homes was almost uninterrupted. While our people followed the road, Billama and I turned off a little to the left, in order to pay a visit to the mayor of Múnghono and obtain a cool drink; for, since I had had the fever, I suffered greatly from thirst, and the water from the wells in general, as preserving a mean temperature of about 80 degrees, was quite tepid.

The place lies in an elevated position, and on its south side there is a hollow, where wheat and onions are cultivated after the rainy season, while another cavity surrounding it on the north and east sides, and where at present only small separate water-pools are collecting, forms, later in the season, one continuous lake. There is a great deal of ironstone, "kau súwa," hereabouts; and it is used by the native blacksmiths, though it affords but an inferior sort of metal, far inferior to the excellent iron, the "sú-búltu," of Búbanjídda. While passing through the place, I was greatly struck with the variety which the roofs of the huts exhibited, and made a slight sketch of them.

Múnghono, which is likewise the name of the whole district, has been a place of importance from early times, and is often mentioned in the history of the Bórnu kings. After the richness of natural forms which I had beheld in A'damáwa, the country seemed extremely monotonous, there being nothing whatever to cheer the eye except the blossom of the mimosas, which spread a sweet scent all around. We encamped during the hot hours of the day near the well of Káine, where we had great difficulty in supplying ourselves with water from the well, while a little later in the season a large lake is formed here; for Africa is the region of contrasts as well in nature as in human life.

When we set out again from this place, people from the town, who had been informed of our approach, came to meet us; and I heard, to my great satisfaction, that the crafty Arab Mohammed el Mughárbi, whom I had already met in Gúmmel, had at length arrived with the merchandise confided to his care, the nominal value of which was £100 sterling, so that there was at least some hope of being able to carry on the mission on a small scale.

But I could not but feel pleased with my reception on returning to head-quarters in this part of the world; for when we ap-

proached the southern gate of the town, three horsemen, who were stationed there, came galloping up to me, and having saluted me with their spears raised, placed themselves in front, and in stately procession led me through the town to my house, where I was soon regaled with a plentiful supper sent by the vizier. I afterward perceived that he had expected me to pay him my respects the same evening; but, as I felt very weak, I deferred the visit till the next morning, when, on his return from an early visit to the sheikh, he gave me an audience in the presence of all the people. Having expressed his sorrow at my reduced state, and having inquired how I had been received in A'damáwa, he entered, with apparent delight, into a long conversation with me respecting the form of the earth and the whole system of the world. On being asked what I now intended to do, I replied that it was my design, after having made the tour of the lake, to try to penetrate into the regions south of Bagírmi. He immediately expressed his doubts as to the possibility of going round the lake as far as the Bahar el Ghazál, but promised to further my plans as far as possible, although he thought that I had done enough already, and should rather think of returning home safely with the results of my labors; for, seeing me so weak during the first rainy season which I was spending in these regions, he was afraid that something might happen to me.

Well satisfied with this audience, I returned to my quarters and wrote a short report to H. M.'s government of the results of my journey, informing them that my most deeply-cherished hopes with regard to that river in the south had been surpassed, and requesting them to send an expedition in order to verify its identity with the so-called Chadda. This report, which was sent off by a courier a day or two before Mr. Overweg's return from his navigation of the lake, and which was overtaken by a messenger with a short account of his survey, created general satisfaction in Europe, and procured for me the confidence of H. M.'s government. Meanwhile I endeavored to arrange the pecuniary affairs of the mission as well as I could.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

RAINY SEASON IN KU'KAWA.

I HAD left Kúkawa on my journey to A'damáwa in the best state of health, but had brought back from that excursion the germs of disease; and residence in the town, at least at this period of the year, was not likely to improve my condition. It would certainly have been better for me had I been able to retire to some more healthy spot; but trivial, though urgent business, obliged me to remain in Kúkawa.

It was necessary to sell the merchandise which had at length arrived in order to keep the mission in some way or other afloat, by paying the most urgent debts and providing the necessary means for further exploration. There was merchandise to the value of one hundred pounds sterling; but, as I was obliged to sell the things at a reduced rate for ready money, the loss was considerable; for all business in these countries is transacted on two or three months' credit, and, after all, payment is made, not in ready money, but chiefly in slaves. It is, no doubt, very necessary for a traveler to be provided with those various articles which form the presents to be made to the chiefs, and which are in many districts required for bartering; but he ought not to depend upon their sale for the supply of his wants. Altogether it is difficult to carry on trade in conjunction with extensive geographical research, although a person sitting quietly down in a place, and entering into close relations with the natives, might collect a great deal of interesting information, which would probably escape the notice of the roving traveler, whose purpose is rather to explore distant regions. Besides, I was obliged to make numerous presents to my friends, in order to keep them in good humor, and had very often not only to provide dresses for themselves and their wives, but even for their domestic retainers; so that, all things considered, the supply of

one hundred pounds' worth of merchandise could not last very long.

I have remarked that, when I re-entered Kúkawa, the cultivation of the ground had not yet begun; indeed, the whole country was so parched that it became a matter of perplexity to find sufficient fodder for the horses; for the whole stock of dry herbage was consumed, and of young herbage none was to be had.

It is stated in my memoranda that on the 5th of August I paid twelve rotl for a "kéla kajímbe," or large bundle of dry grass; an enormous price in this country, and sufficient to maintain a whole family for several days; but that was the most unfavorable moment, for in a few days fresh herbage sprang up and made good all deficiencies. While speaking on this subject, I may also mention that, the herbage of Kúkawa being full of "ngíbbi," or *Pennisetum distichum*, horses brought from other countries generally fare but badly on it, as they are reluctant to fill their mouths with its small prickles.

Rain was very plentiful this year, 1851, and I am sure would, if measured, have far exceeded the quantity found by Mr. Vogel in 1854. Indeed, there were twelve very considerable falls of rain during the month of August alone, which together probably exceeded thirty inches. It must be borne in mind, moreover, that the fall of rain in Kúkawa does not constitute the rule for the region, but is quite exceptional, owing to the entire absence of trees and of heights in the neighborhood. Hence the statement of Mr. Vogel in one of his letters,* that the line of tropical rains only begins south of Kúkawa, must be understood with some reserve; for, if he had measured the rain in the woody country north of that capital, between Dáwerghú and Kalíluwá, he would, in my opinion, have obtained a very different result. It is evident that all depends upon the meaning of the expression tropical rain. If it imply a very copious fall of rain, Kúkawa certainly does not lie within the limits of tropical rain; but if we are to understand by it the regularly-returning annual fall of rain, produced by the ascending cur-

* Published in the Journal of the Royal Geogr. Soc., vol. xxv., 1855, p. 241.

rents of heated air, it certainly does.* There was a very heavy fall of rain on the night of the 3d of August, which not only swamped our court-yard, but changed my room, which lay half a foot lower, and was protected only by a low threshold, into a little lake, aggravating my feverish state very considerably, and spoiling most of my things.

On the 5th of August rain fell for the first time unaccompanied by a storm, though the rainy season generally sets in with dreadful tornadoes. The watery element disturbed the luxurious existence of the "kanám galgálma," the large termites, which had fed on our sugar and other supplies, and on the 6th they all of a sudden disappeared from the ground, and filled the air as short-lived winged creatures, in which state they are called by the people "tsútsu" or "dsúdsu," and, when fried, are used as food. Their tenure of life is so precarious, and they seem to be so weak, that they become very troublesome, as they fall in every direction upon man and his food. Of each swarm of these insects only one couple seems destined to survive; all the rest die a violent death.

The town now began to present quite a different appearance; but while it was agreeable to see the dryness relieved, and succulent grass and fresh crops springing up all around, and supplanting the dull uniformity of the *Asclepias gigantea*, on the other hand, the extensive water-pools formed every where in the concavities of the ground were by no means conducive to health, more especially as those places were depositories of all sorts of offal, and of putrefying carcasses of many kinds. The consequence was that my health, instead of improving, became worse, although I struggled hard, and as often as possible rode out on horseback. All the people were now busy in the labors of the field, although cultivation in the neighborhood of the town is not of a uniform, but of a varied character; and a large portion of

* It will perhaps be as well to call to mind the prudent warnings of Colonel Sykes in reference to the observations of Professor Dove. "These observations," he says, "suggest the necessity of caution in generalizing from local facts with regard to temperature and falls of rain."—*Report of the National Association*, 1852, p. 253.

the ground, consisting of "ánge" and "fírki," is reserved for the culture of the masákuwá (*Holcus cernuus*), or winter-corn, with its variety the kérirám.

On the 8th of August the neighborhood presented a very animated spectacle, the crown lands in Gawánge being then cultivated by a great number of people, working to the sound of a drum. Their labors continued till the 15th, on which day Mr. Overweg had the honor of presenting his Búdduma friends to the Sheikh of Bórnu. All nature was now cheerful; the trees were putting forth fresh leaves, and the young birds began to fledge. I took great delight in observing the little household of a family of the feathered tribe; there were five young ones, the oldest and most daring of which began to try his strength on the 12th of August, while the other four set out together on the 14th.

Marriages are not frequent about this time, on account of the dearness of corn; but matches are generally made after the harvest has been got in, and while corn is cheap. I shall speak in another place of the marriage ceremonies of this country.

On the 5th of September we obtained the first specimen of new "argúm moro," white Negro millet, which is very pleasant to the taste when roasted on the fire; but this is regarded as a rarity, and new corn is not brought into the market in any great quantities before the end of November, or rather the beginning of December, when all the corn, which has been for a long time lying in the fields in conical heaps, called "búgga," is threshed out.

My friend the vizier, whose solicitude for my health I can not acknowledge too warmly, was very anxious that I should not stay in the town during the rainy season; and knowing that one of our principal objects was to investigate the eastern shore of Lake Tsád, sent me word, on the 11th of August, that I might now view the bahár el ghazál, an undertaking which, as I have already mentioned, he had at first represented as impossible. The news from Kánem, however, was now favorable; but, as I shall speak in another place of the political state of this distracted country, and of the continual struggle between

Bórnu and Wádáy, I need only mention here that the Welád Slimán, who had become a mercenary band attached to the vizier, had been successful during their last expedition, and were reported on the very day of my return from A'damáwa to have made a prize of 150 horses and a great many camels, which, however, was a great exaggeration.

We were well acquainted with the character of these people, who are certainly the most lawless robbers in the world; but as it was the express wish of the British government that we should endeavor to explore the regions bordering on the lake, there was no course open to us but to unite our pursuits with theirs; besides, they were prepared in some measure for such a union; for, while they inhabited the grassy lands round the great Syrtis, they had come into frequent contact with the English. We had no choice, for all the districts to the northeast and east of the Tsád were at present in a certain degree dependent on Wádáy, then at war with Bórnu, and we were told at the commencement that we might go any where except to Wádáy. Instead of fighting it out with his own people, which certainly would have been the most honorable course, the vizier had ventured to make use of the remnant of the warlike, and at present homeless tribe of the Welád Slimán, in the attempt to recover the eastern districts of Kánem from his eastern rival, or at least to prevent the latter from obtaining a sure footing in them; for this object he had made a sort of treaty with these Arabs, undertaking to supply them with horses, muskets, powder, and shot. Thus, in order to visit those inhospitable regions, which had attracted a great deal of attention in Europe, we were obliged to embrace this opportunity. Under these circumstances, on the 16th of August, I sent the vizier word that I was ready to join the Welád Slimán in Búrgu; whereupon he expressed a wish that Mr. Overweg might likewise accompany us, the stay in Kúkawa during the rainy season being very unhealthy.

Mr. Overweg had returned on the 9th to Maduwári from his interesting voyage on the Tsád, of which every one will deeply regret that he himself was not able to give a full account.*

* I shall return to the subject of Mr. Overweg's voyage.

Traversing that shallow basin in the English boat which we had carried all the way through the unbounded sandy wastes and the rocky wildernesses of the desert, he had visited a great part of the islands which are dispersed over its surface, and which, sometimes reduced to narrow sandy downs, at others expanding to wide grassy lowlands, sustain a population in their peculiar national independence, the remnant of a great nation which was exterminated by the Kanúri. It was a little world of its own with which he had thus come into contact, and into which we might hope to obtain by degrees a better insight. He enjoyed excellent health, far better than when I saw him before, on his first rejoining me in Kúkawa; and as he was well aware of the strong reasons which our friend the vizier had for wishing us not to stay in the swampy lowlands round the capital during the latter part of the rainy season, he agreed to join me on this adventurous expedition to the northeast.

Those regions had, from the very beginning of our setting out from Múrzuk, attracted Mr. Overweg's attention, and while as yet unacquainted with the immense difficulties that attend traveling in these inhospitable tracts, he had indulged in the hope of being able, at some future time, to ramble about with our young Tébu lad, Mohammed el Gatróni, among the fertile and picturesque valleys of Búrgu and Wajánga. For this reason, as well as on account of my debility, which left me, during the following expedition, the exercise of only a small degree of my natural energy, it is greatly to be regretted that my unfortunate companion, who seemed never fully aware that his life was at stake, did not take into consideration the circumstance that he himself might not be destined to return home, in order to elaborate his researches. If all the information which he occasionally collected were joined to mine, those countries would be far better known than they now are; but, instead of employing his leisure hours in transcribing his memoranda in a form intelligible to others, he left them all on small scraps of paper, negligently written with lead-pencil, which, after the lapse of some time, would become unintelligible even to himself. It is a pity that so much talent as my companion possessed was not

allied with practical habits, and concentrated upon those subjects which he professed to study.

The political horizon of Negroland during this time was filled with memorable events, partly of real, partly of fictitious importance. Whatever advantages Bórnu may derive from its central position, it owes to it also the risk of being involved in perpetual struggles with one or other of the surrounding countries. And hence it is that, under a weak government, this empire can not stand for any length of time; it must go on conquering and extending its dominion over adjacent territories, or it will soon be overpowered. Toward the north is the empire of the Turks, weak and crumbling in its centre, but always grasping with its outlying members, and threatening to lay hold of what is around; toward the northwest the Tawárek, not forming a very formidable united power, but always ready to pounce upon their prey whenever opportunity offers; toward the west the empire of Sókoto, great in extent, but weak beyond description in the unsettled state of its loosely-connected provinces, and from the unenergetic government of a peacefully-disposed prince; for, while one provincial governor was just then spreading around him the flames of sedition and revolt, toward the south another vassal of this same empire was disputing the possession of those regions whence the supply of slaves is annually obtained; and toward the east there is an empire strong in its barbarism, and containing the germs of power, should it succeed in perfectly uniting those heterogeneous elements of which it is composed—I mean Wádáy.

With regard to the Turks, the state of affairs at this time was peculiar. Bórnu, as we have seen in the historical account of that empire, once embraced the whole region as far as Fezzán—nay, even the southern portion of Fezzán itself, and even Wadán; but since the decline of the empire in the latter half of the last century, these limits have been abandoned, and the communication with the north had, in general, become extremely unsafe. This state of things is necessarily disadvantageous to a country which depends for many things on the supplies conveyed from the north; and the authorities naturally wish

that, since they themselves, in their present impotent condition, are unable to afford security to this important communication, somebody else may do it. Hence it was that, after my arrival in April, when the vizier was conversing with me about the prospects of a regular commercial intercourse with the English, he declared that he should be much pleased if the Turks would occupy Kawár, and more particularly Bílma; and by building a fort, and keeping a garrison near the salt-mines of that place, exercise some control over the Tawárek of Aïr, and make them responsible for robberies committed on the Fezzán road. It was in consequence of this communication that I begged her majesty's government to enter into communication upon this point with the Porte.

But the matter was of a very delicate nature with regard to Bórnu. Indeed, it seemed questionable whether the Turks, if once firmly established in the Bílma, would not think fit to exercise some control over the latter country. Nay, it was rather to be feared that they might try to obtain there a firm footing, in order to extend their empire; and when the news arrived in Bórnu that the ambitious Hassan Bashá had returned to his post as Governor of Fezzán, with very ample instructions, the whole court of Bórnu became alarmed. The effect of this news upon the disposition of the sheikh and the vizier to enter into friendly relations with the British government was remarkable. On the 5th of August they were not able to conceal their fear lest a numberless host of Englishmen might come into their country, if, by signing the treaty, access was once allowed them, as proposed by her majesty's government; for, although they were conscious of the poverty of their country in comparison with Europe, at times they were apt to forget it. In the afternoon of the 6th the courier arrived, and the same evening Háj Beshír sent me word that they were ready to sign the treaty; and afterward they were very anxious that the English government should endeavor to prevent the Governor of Fezzán from carrying out the ulterior objects of his ambition. At that time I had assured myself that a northern road through the desert was not suitable for European commerce, and that a practicable

high road, leading several hundred miles into the interior of the continent, and passing to the south of Kanó, the great commercial *entrepôt* of Central Africa, and only about two hundred miles in a straight line to the south of Kúkawa, had been found in the River Bénuwé.

With regard to the empire of Sókoto, there happened at this time a catastrophe which, while it was an unmistakable proof of the debility of that vast agglomeration of provinces, proved at the same time extremely favorable to Bórnu; for on the first of August the news arrived that Bowári or Bokhári, the exiled Governor of Khadéja, who had conquered the town and killed his brother, had thrown back, with great loss, an immense army sent against him by 'Alíyu, the Emperor of Sókoto, under the command of his prime minister, 'Abdu Gedádo, and composed of the forces of the provinces of Kanó, Báuchi, Katágum, Mármar, and Bobéru, when several hundreds were said to have perished in the komádugu, or the great fiumara of Bórnu. In the spring, while Mr. Overweg was staying in Góber, the Mariadáwa and Goberáwa had made a very successful expedition into Zánfara; and the Emperor of Sókoto could take no other revenge upon them than by sending orders to Kanó that my friends the Asbenáwa, many of whose brethren had taken part in this expedition, should be driven out of the town, which order was obeyed, while only the well-known Kandáke, the same man whom Mr. Richardson, on his former journey into the desert, has so frequently mentioned, was admitted into the town through the intercession of the people of Ghadámes.

The immediate consequence of these circumstances was, that the court of Bórnu tried to enter into more friendly relations with the Asbenáwa, or the Tawárek of Asben, with whom, at other times, they were on unfriendly terms; and the prisoners whom they had made on the last expedition were released. The coalition extended as far as Gober; and the most ardent desire of the vizier was to march straight upon Kanó. To conquer this great central place of commerce was the great object of this man's ambition, but for which he did not possess sufficient energy and self-command. However, the governor of that place,

terrified by the victory of Bokhári, who was now enabled to carry on his predatory expeditions into that rich territory without hinderance, distributed sixty bernúses and three thousand dollars among the M'allemín to induce them to offer up their prayers to Allah for the public welfare.

We have seen above that the Bórnu people had given to their relations with A'damáwa a hostile character; but from that quarter they had nothing to fear, the governor of that province being too much occupied by the affairs of his own country.

I will now say a word about Wáday. That was the quarter to which the most anxious looks of the Bórnu people were directed; for, seven years previously, they had been very nearly conquered by them, and had employed every means to get information of what was going on there. But from thence also the news was favorable; for, although the report of the death of the Sultan Mohammed Sherif, in course of time, turned out to be false, still it was true that the country was plunged into a bloody civil war with the Abú-Senún, or Kodoyí, and that numbers of enterprising men had succumbed in the struggle.

The business of the town went on as usual, with the exception of the 'aid el fotr, the ngúmerí asham, the festival following the great annual fast, which was celebrated in a grand style, not by the nation, which seemed to take very little interest in it, but by the court. In other places, like Kanó, the rejoicings seem to be more popular on this occasion, the children of the butchers, or "masufauchi," in that great emporium of commerce, mounting some oxen, fattened for the occasion, between the horns, and managing them by a rope fastened to the neck and another to the hind leg. As for the common people of Bórnu, they scarcely took any other part in this festivity than by putting on their best dresses; and it is a general custom in larger establishments that servants and attendants on this day receive a new shirt.

I also put on my best dress, and, mounting my horse, which had recovered a little from the fatigue of the last journey, though it was not yet fit for another, proceeded in the morning to the eastern town, or "billa gedíbe," the great thoroughfare being

crowded with men on foot and horseback, passing to and fro, all dressed in their best. It had been reported that the sheikh was to say his prayers in the mosque, but we soon discovered that he was to pray outside the town, as large troops of horsemen were leaving it through the north gate, or "chinna yalábe." In order to become aware of the place where the ceremony was going on, I rode to the vizier's house, and met him just as he came out, mounted on horseback, and accompanied by a troop of horsemen.

At the same time several cavalcades were seen coming from various quarters, consisting of the kashéllas, or officers, each with his squadron of from a hundred to two hundred horsemen, all in the most gorgeous attire, particularly the heavy cavalry, the greater part being dressed in a thick-stuffed coat called "degíbbir," and wearing over it several tobes of all sorts of colors and designs, and having their heads covered with the "búge," or casque," made very nearly like those of our knights in the middle age, but of lighter metal, and ornamented with most gaudy feathers. Their horses were covered all over with the thick clothing called "líbbedí," with various colored stripes, consisting of three pieces, and leaving nothing but the feet exposed, the front of the head being protected and adorned by a metal plate. Others were dressed in a coat of mail, "síllege," and the other kind called "komá-komí-súbe." The lighter cavalry was only dressed in two or three showy tobes, and small white or colored caps; but the officers and more favored attendants wore bernúses of finer or coarser quality, and generally of red or yellow color, slung in a picturesque manner round the upper part of their body, so that the inner wadding of richly-colored silk was most exposed to view.*

All these dazzling cavalcades, among whom some very excellent horses were seen prancing along, were moving toward the northern gate of the "billa gedíbe," while the troop of the sheikh himself, who had been staying in the western town, was coming from the S.W. The sight of this troop, at least from

* I shall say more of the military department in my narrative of the expedition to Músgu.

a little distance, as is the case in theatrical scenery, was really magnificent. The troop was led by a number of horsemen; then followed the livery slaves with their matchlocks; and behind them rode the sheikh, dressed as usual in a white bernús, as a token of his religious character, but wearing round his head a red shawl. He was followed by four magnificent chargers clothed in líbbedí of silk of various colors; that of the first horse being striped white and yellow, that of the second white and brown, that of the third white and light green, and that of the fourth white and cherry red. This was certainly the most interesting and conspicuous part of the procession. Behind the horses followed the four large 'alam or ensigns of the sheikh, and the four smaller ones of the musketeers, and then a numerous body of horsemen.

This cavalcade of the sheikh's now joined the other troops, and the whole body proceeded in the direction of Dawerghú to a distance of about a mile from the town. Here the sheikh's tent was pitched, consisting of a very large cupola of considerable dimensions, with blue and white stripes, and curtains, the one half white and the other red; the curtains were only half closed. In this tent the sheikh himself, the vizier, and the first courtiers were praying, while the numerous body of horsemen and men on foot were grouped around in the most picturesque and imposing variety.

Meanwhile I made the round of this interesting scene, and endeavored to count the various groups. In their numbers I was certainly disappointed, as I had been led to expect myriads. At the very least, however, there were 3000 horsemen, and from 6000 to 7000 armed men on foot, the latter partly with bow and arrow. There were, besides, a great multitude of spectators. The ceremony did not last long, and as early as nine o'clock the ganga summoned all the chiefs to mount, and the dense mass of human beings began to disperse and range themselves in various groups. They took their direction round the northwestern corner of the east town, and entered the latter by the western gate; but the crowd was so great that I chose to forego taking leave of the sheikh, and went slowly back over

the intermediate ground between the two towns in the company of some very chevaleresque and well-mounted young Arabs from Ben-Gházi, and posted myself at some distance from the east gate of the western town, in order to see the kashéllas, who have their residence in this quarter, pass by.

There were twelve or thirteen, few of whom had more than one hundred horsemen, the most conspicuous being Fúgo 'Ali, 'Ali Marghí, 'Ali Déndal, 'Ali Ladán, Belál, Sálah Kandíl, and Jerma. It was thought remarkable that no Shúwa had come to this festivity, but I think they rarely do, although they may sometimes come for the 'Aid-el-kebír, or the "ngúmerí layábe." It is rather remarkable that even this smaller festivity is celebrated here with such *éclat*, while in general in Mohammedan Negroland only the "láya" is celebrated in this way; perhaps this is due to Egyptian influence, and the custom is as old at least as the time of the King Edrís Alawóma.

I had the inexpressible delight of receiving by the courier, who arrived on the 6th of August, a considerable parcel of letters from Europe, which assured me as well of the great interest which was generally felt in our undertaking, although as yet only very little of our first proceedings had become known, as that we should be enabled to carry out our enterprise without too many privations. I therefore collected all the little energy which my sickly state had left me, and concluded the report of my journey to A'damáwa, which caused me a great deal of pain, but which, forwarded on the 8th of August, together with the news of Mr. Overweg's successful navigation, produced a great deal of satisfaction in Europe. Together with the letters and sundry Maltese portfolios, I had also the pleasure of receiving several numbers of the "Athenæum," probably the first which were introduced into Central Africa, and which gave me great delight.

Altogether, our situation in the country was not so bad. We were on the best and most friendly terms with the rulers; we were not only tolerated, but even respected by the natives, and we saw an immense field of interesting and useful labor open to us. There was only one disagreeable circumstance besides the

peculiar nature of the climate; this was the fact that our means were too small to render us quite independent of the sheikh and his vizier; for the scanty supplies which had reached us were not sufficient to provide for our wants, and were soon gone. We were scarcely able to keep ourselves afloat on our credit, and to supply our most necessary wants. Mr. Overweg, besides receiving a very handsome horse from them, had also been obliged to accept at their hands a number of tobes, which he had made presents of to the chiefs of the Búdduma, and they looked upon him as almost in their employment. He lost a great deal of his time in repairing, or rather trying to repair, their watches and other things. Such services I had declined from the beginning, and was therefore regarded as less useful; and I had occasionally to hear it said, "'Abd el Kerím faidanse bágo"—"'Abd el Kerím is of no use whatever;" nevertheless, I myself was not quite independent of their kindness, although I sacrificed all I could in order to give from time to time a new impulse to their favor by an occasional present.

The horse which they had first given me had proved incapable of such fatigue as it had to undergo, and the animal which I had bought before going to A'damáwa had been too much knocked up to stand another journey so soon; and, after having bought two other camels and prepared myself for another expedition, I was unable, with my present means, to buy a good horse. Remembering, therefore, what the vizier had told me with regard to my first horse, I sent him word that he would greatly oblige me by making me a present of one, and he was kind enough to send me four animals from which to choose; but as none of these satisfied me, I rejected them all, intimating very simply that it was impossible, among four *nags*, "kádara," to choose one *horse*, "fir." This hint, after a little further explanation, my friend did not fail to understand, and in the evening of the 7th of September he sent me a horse from his own stable, which became my faithful and noble companion for the next four campaigns, and from which I did not part till, after my return from Timbúktu in December, 1854, he succumbed to sickness in Kanó.

He was the envy of all the great men, from the Sultan of Bagírmi to the chiefs of the Tademékket and Awelímmiden near Timbúktu. His color was a shade of gray, with beautiful light leopard-like spots; and the Kanúri were not unanimous with regard to the name which they gave it, some calling it "shéggará," while others thought the name "kerí sassarándi' more suitable to it. In the company of mares he was incapable of walking quietly, but kept playing in order to show himself off to advantage. The Bórnu horses in general are very spirited and fond of prancing. He was an excellent "kerísa" or marcher, and "doy" or swift in the extreme, but very often lost his start by his playfulness. Of his strength, the extent of the journeys which he made with me bears ample testimony, particularly if the warlike, scientific, and victualing stores which I used to carry with me are taken into account. He was a "ngírma," but not of the largest size. Mr. Overweg's horse was almost half a hand higher; but while mine was a lion in agility, my companion's horse was not unlike a hippopotamus in plumpness.

With such a horse I prepared cheerfully for my next expedition, which I regarded in the light both of an undertaking in the interests of science and as a medicinal course for restoring my health, which threatened to succumb in the unhealthy region of Kúkawa. Besides two Fezzáni lads, I had taken into my service two Arabs belonging to the tribe of the Welád Slimán, and whose names were Bú-Zéd and Hasén ben Hár.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

EXPEDITION TO KÁNEM.

September 11*th*, 1851. Having decided upon leaving the town in advance of the Arabs, in order to obtain leisure for traveling slowly the first few days, and to accustom my feeble frame once more to the fatigues of a continual march, after a rest of forty days in the town I ordered my people to get my luggage ready in the morning.

I had plenty of provisions, such as zummíta, dwéda or vermicelli, mohámsa, and nákia, a sort of sweetmeat made of rice with butter and honey—two skins of each quality. All was stowed away, with the little luggage I intended taking with me on this adventurous journey, in two pairs of large leathern bags or kéwa, which my two camels were to carry.

When all was ready I went to the vizier, in order to take leave of him and arrange with my former servant, Mohammed ben S'ad, to whom I owed thirty-five dollars. Háj Beshír, as usual, was very kind and amiable; but as for my former servant, having not a single dollar in cash, I was obliged to give him a bill upon Fezzán for seventy-five dollars. There was also a long talk on the subject of the enormous debt due to the Fezzáni merchant, Mohammed e' Sfáksi; and as it was not possible to settle it at once, I was obliged to leave its definite arrangement to Mr. Overweg.

All this disagreeable business, which is so killing to the best hours and destroys half the energy of the traveler, had retarded my departure so long that the sun was just setting when I left the gate of the town. My little caravan was very incomplete; for my only companion on emerging from the gate into the high waving fields of Guinea-corn, which entirely concealed the little suburb, was an unfortunate young man whom I had

not hired at all, my three hired servants having staid behind on some pretext or other. This lad was Mohammed ben Ahmed, a native from Fezzán, whom I wanted to hire, or rather hired in Gúmmel, in March last, for two Spanish dollars a month, but who, having been induced by his companions in the caravan, with which he had just arrived from the north, to forego the service of a Christian, had broken his word, and gone on with the caravan of the people from Sókna, leaving me with only one useful servant. But he had found sufficient leisure to repent of his dishonorable conduct; for, having been at the verge of the grave in Kanó, and being reduced to the utmost misery, he came to Kúkawa, begging my pardon, and entreating my compassion; and, after some expostulation, I allowed him to stay without hiring him; and it was only on seeing his attachment to me in the course of time that I afterward granted him a dollar a month, and he did not obtain two dollars till my leaving Zínder in January, 1853, on my way to Timbúktu, when I was obliged to augment the salary of all my people. This lad followed me with my two camels.

All was fertility and vegetation, though these fields near the capital are certainly not the best situated in Bórnu. I felt strengthened by the fresh air, and followed the eastern path, which did not offer any place for an encampment. Looking round, I saw at length two of my men coming toward us, and found, to the left of the track, on a little sandy eminence, a convenient spot for pitching my tent. I felt happy in having left the monotony and closeness of the town behind me. Nothing in the world makes me feel happier than a wide, open country, a commodious tent, and a fine horse. But I was not quite comfortable; for, having forgotten to close my tent, I was greatly annoyed by the musquitoes, which prevented my getting any sleep. The lake being very near, the dew was so heavy that next morning my tent was as wet as if it had been soaked with water.

September 12*th.* Notwithstanding these inconveniences, I awoke in the morning with a grateful heart, and cared little about the flies which soon began to attack me. I sat down outside

the tent to enjoy my liberty: it was a fine morning, and I sat for hours tranquilly enjoying the most simple landscape (the lake not being visible, and scarcely a single tree in sight) which a man can fancy. But all was so quiet, and bespoke such serenity and content, that I felt quite happy and invigorated. I did not think about writing, but idled away the whole day. In the evening my other man came, and brought me a note from Mr. Overweg, addressed to me "in campo caragæ Æthiopiensis" (kárága means wilderness).

Saturday, September 13th. I decided late in the morning, when the dew had dried up a little, upon moving my encampment a short distance, but had to change my path for a more westerly one, on account of the large swampy ponds formed at the end of the rainy season in the concavity at the foot of the sand-hills of Dawerghú. The vegetation is rich during this season, even in this monotonous district.

Having at length entered the corn-, or rather millet-fields of Dawerghú, we soon ascended the sand-hills, where the whole character of the landscape is altered; for, while the dúm-bush almost ceases, the rétem, *Spartium monospermum*, is the most common botanical ornament of the ground where the cultivation of the fields has left a free spot, while fine specimens of the mimosa break the monotony of the fields. Having passed several clusters of cottages forming an extensive district, I saw to the right an open space descending toward a green sheet of water, filling a sort of valley or hollow, where, a short time afterward, when the summer harvest is over, the peculiar sort of sorghum called másakwá is sown. Being shaded by some fine acacias, the spot was very inviting, and feeling already tired, sick and weak as I was, though after a journey of only two hours, I determined to remain there during the heat of the day. I had scarcely stretched myself on the ground when a man brought me word that a messenger, sent by Ghét, the chief of the Welád Slimán, had passed by with the news that this wandering and marauding tribe had left Búrgu and returned to Kánem. This was very unpleasant news, as, from all that I had heard, it appeared to me that Búrgu must be an interesting country, at least

as much so as A'sben or Aïr, being favored by deep valleys and ravines, and living sources of fine water, and producing, besides great quantities of excellent dates, even grapes and figs, at least in some favored spots.

The morning had been rather dull, but before noon the sun shone forth, and our situation on the sloping ground of the high country, overlooking a great extent of land in the rich dress of vegetable life, was very pleasant. There was scarcely a bare spot; all was green, except that the ears of the millet and sorghum were almost ripe, and began to assume a yellowish-brown tint; but how different is the height of the stalks, the very largest of which scarcely exceeds fifteen feet, from those I saw afterward on my return from Timbúktu, in the rich valleys of Kébbi. Several Kánembú were passing by, and enlivened the scenery.

When the heat of the sun began to abate I set my little caravan once more in motion, and passed on through the level country, which in the simplicity of my mind I thought beautiful, and which I greatly enjoyed. After about an hour's march we passed a large pond or pool, situated to the left of the road, and formed by the rains, bordered by a set of trees of the acacia tribe, and enlivened by a large herd of fine cattle. Toward evening, after some trouble, we found a path leading through the fields into the interior of a little village, called Alairúk, almost hidden behind the high stalks of millet. Our reception was rather cold, such as a stranger may expect to find in all the villages near a capital, the inhabitants of which are continually pestered by calls upon their hospitality. But, carrying my little residence and all the comforts I wanted with me, I cared little about their treatment, and my tent was soon pitched in a separate court-yard. But all my enjoyment was destroyed by a quarrel which arose between my horseman and the master of the dwelling, who would not allow him to put his horse where he wished: my horseman had even the insolence to beat the man who had received us into his house. This is the way in which affairs are managed in these countries.

Sunday, September 14*th.* After a refreshing night, I started

a little later than on the day previous, winding along a narrow path through the fields, where, besides sorghum, karás (*Hibiscus esculentus*) is cultivated, which is an essential thing for preparing the soups of the natives, in districts where the leaves of the kúka or monkey-bread-tree, and of the hajilíj, or *Balanites*, are wanting; for, though the town of Kúkawa has received its name from the circumstance that a young tree of this species was found on the spot where the Sheikh Mohammed el Kánemi, the father of the ruling sultan, laid the first foundation of the present town, nevertheless scarcely any kúka is seen for several miles round Kúkawa.

The sky was cloudy, and the country became less interesting than the day before. We met a small troop of native traders, with dried fish, which forms a great article of commerce throughout Bórnu; for, though the Kanúri people at present are almost deprived of the dominion, and even the use, of the fine sheet of water which spreads out in the midst of their territories, the fish, to which their forefathers have given the name of food (bú-ni, from bú, to eat), has remained a necessary article for making their soups. The fields in this part of the country were not so well looked after, and were in a more neglected state, but there was a tolerable variety of trees, though rather scanty. Besides prickly underwood of talhas, there were principally the hajilíj or bíto (*Balanites Ægyptiaca*), the selím, the kurna, the serrákh, and the gherret or *Mimosa Nilotica*. Farther on, a short time before we came to the village Kalíkágorí, I observed a woman collecting the seeds of an eatable *Poa*, called "kréb" or "kashá," of which there are several species, by swinging a sort of basket through the rich meadow-ground. These species of grasses afford a great deal of food to the inhabitants of Bórnu, Bagírmi, and Wádáy, but more especially to the Arab settlers in these countries, or the Shúwa; in Bórnu, at least, I have never seen the black natives make use of this kind of food, while in Bagírmi it seems to constitute a sort of luxury even with the wealthier classes. The reader will see in the course of my narrative that in Mas-eña I lived principally on this kind of *Poa*. It makes a light, palatable dish, but requires a great deal of butter.

After having entered the forest and passed several small water-pools, we encamped near one of these when the heat of the sun began to make itself felt. This district abounded in mimosas of the species called gherret, úm-el-barka, or "kingar," which affords a very excellent wood for saddles and other purposes, while the coals prepared from it are used for making powder. My old talkative, but not very energetic companion, Bú-Zéd, was busy in making new pegs for my tent, the very hard black ground of Bórnu destroying pegs very soon; and in the mean time, assisted by Hosén ben Hár, gave me a first insight into the numerous tribes living in Kánem and round the bahar-el-ghazál. The fruits of the gherret, which in their general appearance are very like those of the tamarind-tree, are a very important native medicine, especially in cases of dysentery, and it is most probably to them that I owed my recovery when attacked by that destructive disease during my second stay in Sókoto in September, 1854. The same tree is essential for preparing the water-skins, that most necessary article for crossing the desert. The kajíji was plentiful in the neighborhood. The root of this little plant, which is about the size of a nut, the natives use in the most extensive way for perfuming themselves with.

Late in the afternoon we continued our journey through the forest, which was often interrupted by open patches. After having pursued the path for some miles, we quitted it, and traveled in a more easterly direction, through a pleasant, hilly country, full of verdure, and affording pasturage to a great many cattle; for the Kánembú, like the Fúlbe, go with their herds to a great distance during certain seasons of the year; and all the cattle from the places about Ngórnu northward are to be found in these quarters during the cold season. But, not being able to find water here, we were obliged to try the opposite direction in order to look for this element, so essential for passing a comfortable night. At length, late in the evening, traversing a very rugged tract of country, we reached the temporary encampment or berí of a party of Kánembú with their herds, while a larger berí was moving eastward. Here also we were

unable to find water, and even milk was to be got but sparingly.

Monday, 15*th*. Before we were ready to move the whole nomadic encampment broke up, the cattle going in front, and the men, women, and children following with their little household on asses. The most essential or only apparatus of these wandering neatherds are the tall sticks for hanging up the milk to secure it; the "sákti," or skins for milk and water, the calabashes, and the kórió. The men are always armed with their long wooden shields, the "ngáwa fógobe," and their spears, and some are most fantastically dressed, as I have described on a former occasion. After having loaded our camels and proceeded some distance, we came to the temporary abode of another large herd, whose guardians at first behaved unfriendly, forbidding us to taste a drop of their delicious stuff; but they soon exchanged their haughty manners for the utmost cordiality, when M'adi, an elder brother of Fúgo 'Ali, our friend in Maduwári, recognized me. He even insisted on my encamping on the spot, and staying the day with him, and it was with difficulty that he allowed me to pursue my march, after having swallowed as much delicious milk as my stomach would bear. Further on we joined the main road, and found to the left of it a handsome pool of muddy water, and filled two skins with it. Certainly there is nothing worse for a European than this stagnant dirty water; but during the rainy season, and for a short time afterward, he is rarely able to get any other.

Soon after, I had another specimen of the treatment to which the natives are continually exposed from the king's servants in these countries; for, meeting a large herd of fine sheep, my horse-guard managed to lay hold of the finest specimen of the whole herd, notwithstanding the cries of the shepherd, whom I in vain endeavored to console by offering him the price of the animal. During the heat of the day, when we were encamped under the scanty shade of a few gáwo, my people slaughtered the sheep; but, as in general, I only tasted a little of the liver. The shade was so scanty and the sun so hot that I felt very weak in the afternoon when we went on a little.

Tuesday, September 16*th.* I felt tolerably strong. Soon after we had started we met a great many horses which had been sent here for pasturage, and then encountered another fish kafla. My horseman wanted me all at once to proceed to the town of Yó, from whence he was to return; and he continued on without stopping, although I very soon felt tired and wanted to make a halt. The country, at the distance of some miles south from the komádugu, is rather monotonous and barren, and the large tamarind-tree behind the town of Yó is seen from such a distance that the traveler, having the same conspicuous object before his eyes for such a length of time, becomes tired out before he reaches it. The dúm-palm is the principal tree in this flat region, forming detached clusters, while the ground in general is extremely barren.

Proceeding with my guardian in advance, we at length reached the town, in front of which there is a little suburb; and being uncertain whether we should take quarters inside or outside, we entered it. It consisted of closely-packed streets, was extremely hot, and exhaled such an offensive smell of dried fish that it appeared to me a very disagreeable and intolerable abode. Nevertheless, we rode to the house of the shitíma, or, rather, in the full form, Shitíma Yóma (which is the title the governor bears), a large building of clay. He was just about taking another wife; and large quantities of corn, intended as provision for his new household, were heaped up in front of it.* Having applied to his men for quarters, a small court-yard with a large

* The marriage (nígá) ceremonies in this country fill a whole week. The first day is dedicated to the feasting on the favorite "nákia," the paste mentioned before; the second to the "tíggra," a dried paste made of millet, with an immense quantity of pepper; the third to the "ngáji," the common dish made of sorghum, with a little fish sauce, if possible; the fourth day is called "líktere," I think from the taking away the emblems of the virginal state of the bride, "larússa;" the fifth, the bride is placed on a mat or búshi, from which she rises seven times, and kneels down as often; this is called "búshiro," or "búchiro genátsin;" the next day, which must be a Friday, her female friends wash her head while singing, and in the evening she is placed upon a horse and brought to the house of the bridegroom, where the final act of the nigá is accomplished. The Kanúri are very peculiar in the distinction of a marriage with a virgin, "féro," or "féro kuyánga," or a widow, or "kámo záwar."

hut was assigned to us in another part of the town, and we went there; but it was impossible for me to make myself in any way comfortable in this narrow space, where a small gáwo afforded very scanty shade. Being almost suffocated, and feeling very unwell, I mounted my horse again, and hastened out of the gate, and was very glad to have regained the fresh air. We then encamped about 600 yards from the town, near a shady tamarind-tree; and I stretched my feeble limbs on the ground, and fell into a sort of lethargy for some hours, enjoying a luxurious tranquillity; I was so fatigued with my morning's ride that I thought with apprehension on what would become of me after my companions had joined me, when I should be obliged to bear fatigue of a quite different description.

As soon as I felt strong enough to rise from my couch, I walked a few paces in order to get a sight of the river or "komádugu." It was at present a fine sheet of water, the bed being entirely full, "tsimbúllena," and the stream running toward the Tsád with a strong current; indeed, I then scarcely suspected that on another occasion I should encamp for several days in the dry bed of this river, which, notwithstanding the clear and undoubted statements of the members of the former expedition with regard to its real character, had been made by Captain W. Allen to carry the superfluous waters of the Tsád into the Kwára. The shores of the komádugu near this place are quite picturesque, being bordered by splendid tamarind-trees, and "kínzim," or dúm-palms, besides fine specimens of the acacia tribe on the northern shore. At the foot of the tamarind-trees a very good kind of cotton is grown, while lower down, just at this season of the year, wheat is produced by irrigating regularly laid-out grounds by way of the shadúf or "lámbuna." Cotton and small quantities of wheat are the only produce of this region, besides fish and the fruit of the *Cucifera* or dúm-palm, which forms an essential condiment for the "kunú," a kind of soup made of Negro millet; for the place is entirely destitute of any other *Cerealia*, and millet and sorghum are grown only to a small extent. Cattle also are very scarce in Yó, and very little milk is to be procured. Fish is

the principal food of the inhabitants, of which there are several very palatable species in the river, especially one of considerable size, from eighteen to twenty inches long, with a very small mouth, resembling the mullet.

I saw also a specimen of the electric fish, about ten inches long, and very fat, which was able to numb the arm of a man for several minutes. It was of an ashy color on the back, while the belly was quite white; the tail and the hind fins were red. Mr. Overweg made a slight sketch of one.

During the night a heavy gale arose, and we had to fasten the ropes attached to the top of the pole; but the storm passed by, and there was not a drop of rain; indeed, the rainy season, with regard to Bórnu, had fairly gone by.

Wednesday, September 17th. Enjoyed in the morning the scenery and the fresh air of the river. Men were coming to bathe, women fetching water, and passengers and small parties were crossing the river, swimming across with their clothes upon their heads, or sitting on a yoke of calabashes with the water up to their middle. A kafla or "karábka" of Tébu people from Kánem had arrived the day before, and were encamped on the other side of the river, being eager to cross, but they were not allowed to do so till they had obtained permission; for, during several months, this river or valley forms annually a sort of quarantine line, while during the other portion of the year small caravans, at least, go to and fro at their pleasure.

The only boat upon the water was a mákara, formed by several yokes of calabashes, and of that frail character described by me in another part of this work, in which we ourselves were to cross the river. Unfortunately, it was not possible to enjoy quietly and decently the beautiful shade of the splendid tamarind-trees, on account of the number of water-fowl and pelicans which reside in their branches.

On removing some of my luggage, I found that the white ants were busy destroying, as fast as possible, my leather bags and mats, and we were accordingly obliged to remove every thing, and to place layers of branches underneath. There are great numbers of ants hereabouts, but only moderately-sized

ant-hills are seen; nothing like the grand structures which I afterward saw in Bagírmi.

Thursday, September 18*th.* About two hours after midnight Mr. Overweg arrived, accompanied by one of the most conspicuous of the Welád Slimán, of the name of Khálef-Allah, announcing the approach of our little troop, which did not, however, make its appearance until ten o'clock in the morning, when the most courageous and best mounted of them galloped up to my tent in pairs, brandishing their guns. There were twenty-five horsemen, about a dozen men mounted upon camels, and seven or eight on foot, besides children. They dismounted a little to the east of our tents, and formed quite an animated encampment, though, of course, quarrels were sure to break out soon.

Feeling a little stronger, I mounted with my fellow-traveler in the afternoon in order to make a small excursion along the southern shore of the river, in a westerly direction. The river, in general, runs from west to east; but here, above the town, it makes considerable windings, and the shore is not so high as at the ford. The vegetation was beautiful; large tamarind-trees forming a dense shade above, while the ground was covered with a great variety of plants and herbs just in flower. On the low promontories of the shore were small fishing villages, consisting of rather low and light huts made of mats, and surrounded by poles for drying the fish, a great many of which, principally of the mullet kind, were just suspended for that purpose. Having enjoyed the aspect of the quiet river-scenery for some time, we returned round the south side of the town. The ground here is hilly; but I think the hills, though at present covered with verdure, are nothing more than mounds of rubbish formed in the course of time round the town, which appears to have been formerly of greater extent.

Friday, September 19*th.* Overweg and I, accompanied by Khálef-Allah and a guide, made an excursion down the river, in order, if possible, to reach its mouth; but the experiment proved that there is no path on the southern shore, the track following the northern bank; for on that side, not far from the mouth, lies a considerable Kánembú place called Bóso, though, in the

present weak state of the Bórnu kingdom, much exposed to the incursions of the Tawárek. Having penetrated as far as a village, or rather a walled town, named Fátse, the walls of which are in a decayed state, and the population reduced to a dozen families, we were obliged to give up our intended survey of the river. As for myself, I was scarcely able to make any long excursion, for, on attempting to mount my horse again, I fainted, and fell senseless to the ground, to the great consternation of my companions, who felt convinced my end was approaching. We therefore returned to our encampment. In the evening I had a severe attack of fever.*

Saturday, September 20th. It had been determined the day before that we should cross the river to-day, and the governor's permission had been obtained; but, as the vizier's messenger had not yet arrived, we decided upon waiting another day. Feeling a little better, I made a rough sketch of the town, with the dúm-palms around it, and prepared myself, as well as I was able, for the fatiguing march before me. We had a good specimen to-day of the set of robbers and freebooters we had associated with in order to carry out the objects of the mission. The small Tébu caravan, which I mentioned above as having arrived from Kánem, and which had brought the news that the people of Wádáy had made an alliance with all the tribes hostile to the Welád Slimán, in order to destroy the latter, had not been allowed to cross the river until to-day. They were harmless people, carrying very little luggage (chiefly dates) upon a small number of oxen; but as soon as they had crossed our companions held a council, and, the opinion of the most violent having gained the upper hand, they fell upon the poor Tébu, or Kréda, as they call them, and took away all their dates by force. The skins were then divided; and the greater part of them had already been consumed or carried away, when an old Arab arrived, and, upbraiding his companions with their mean conduct,

* Mr. Overweg, at a later period, visited the town of Bóso, but without accurately surveying the line of the river, and without stating exactly the character of the point where it joins the lagoon, except that the river, beyond Fátse, takes a much more northerly direction.

persuaded them to collect what remained or that could be found, and restore it to the owners. In the evening the vizier's messenger arrived, and the crossing of the river was definitely fixed for the next day.

Monday, September 22d. Rose early in order to get over in time, there being no other means of crossing than two mákara, each consisting of three yokes of calabashes. The camels, as is always the case, being the most difficult to manage, had to cross first; and after much trouble and many narrow escapes (owing principally to the unevenness of the bottom of the valley, the water-channel having formed a deep hollow—at present from ten to eleven feet deep—near the southern shore, while in the middle the bottom rises considerably, leaving a depth of only six or seven feet), they all got safely over, and were left to indulge in the foliage of the beautiful mimosas which embellish the northern border of the river. The horses followed next, and, lastly, we ourselves with the luggage.

About nine o'clock in the morning I found myself upon the river on my three-yoked "mákara," gliding through the stream in a rather irregular style of motion, according as the frail ferry-boat was drawn or pushed by the two black swimmers yoked to it. It was a beautiful day, and the scenery highly interesting; but, having been exposed to the sun all the morning, I was glad to find a little shade. When all the party had successively landed, and the heat of the day had abated, we loaded our camels and commenced our march. We were now left entirely to the security and protection which our own arms might afford us; for all the country to the north of the komádugu has become the domain of freebooters, and though nominally Sheikh 'Omár's dominion stretches as far as Berí, and even beyond that place, nevertheless his name is not respected here, except where supported by arms.

The country through which we were passing bore the same character as that for miles round the capital—a very stiff, black soil, clothed with short grass, and a few trees far between. Having encountered a flock of sheep, our friends gave chase, and after they had laid hold of three fat rams, we decided to encamp.

Tuesday, September 23d. For the first four hours of our march the character of the surrounding country remained nearly the same; it then opened, and became better cultivated; and soon after we saw the clay walls of Báruwa, though scarcely to be distinguished, owing to the high mounds of rubbish imbedding them on all sides. Near the southwest gate of the town the road leads over the high mound (which destroys entirely the protection the wall might otherwise afford to the inhabitants), and lays its whole interior open to the eyes of the traveler. It consists of closely-packed huts, generally without a court-yard, but shaded here and there by a mimosa or kúrna, and affords a handsome specimen of a Central African dwelling-place. The inhabitants, whose want of energy is clearly seen from the nature of the mounds, do not rely upon the strength of their walls; and, to the disgrace of the Sheikh of Bórnu, who receives tribute from them, and places a governor over them, they likewise pay tribute to the Tawárek. They belong in general to the Kánembú tribe; but many Yédiná, or Búdduma, also are settled in the town. Their principal food and only article of commerce is fish, which they catch in great quantities in the lake, whose nearest creeks are, according to the season, from two to three miles distant, and from which they are not excluded, like the inhabitants of Ngórnu and other places, on account of their friendly relations with the warlike pirates of the lake. As for corn, they have a very scanty supply, and seem not to employ the necessary labor to produce it, perhaps on account of the insecure state of the country, which does not guarantee them the harvest they have sown. Cotton they have none, and are obliged to barter their fish for cotton strips or articles of dress. Indeed, gábagá, or cotton strips, and kúlgu, or white cotton shirts, are the best articles which a traveler, who wants to procure fish for his desert journey by way of Bílma (where dry fish is the only article in request), can take with him.

At the well on the north side of the town, which does not furnish very good water, the horsemen belonging to our troop awaited the camels. Only a few scattered hajilíj (*Balanites*

Ægyptiaca) and stunted talha-trees spread a scanty shade over the stubble-fields, which were far from exhibiting a specimen of diligent cultivation; and I was very glad when, having taken in a small supply of water, we were again in motion. We soon left the scanty vestiges of cultivation behind us, and some bushes of the siwák (*Capparis sodata*) began to enliven the country. At eleven o'clock, having mounted a low range of sand-hills, we obtained a first view of the Tsád, or rather of its inundations. The whole country now began to be clothed with siwák. Having kept for about half an hour along the elevated sandy level, we descended, and followed the lower road, almost hidden by the thickest vegetation. This lower road, as well as our whole track to Ngégimi, became entirely inundated at a later period (in 1854), and will perhaps never more be trodden; in consequence, when I came this way in 1855, we were obliged to make a circuit, keeping along the sandy level nearer to the site of the ancient town of Wúdi.

Shortly afterward we encamped, where the underwood had left a small open space, at the eastern foot of a low hill. The prickly jungle was here so dense that I searched a long time in vain for a bare spot to lie down upon, when, to my great satisfaction, I found Bú-Zéd clearing me a place with his axe. The swampy shore of the lake was only about four hundred yards from our resting-place; but the spot was not well chosen for an encampment, and it was found necessary to place several watches during the night, notwithstanding which a skin of mine, full of water, disappeared from the stick upon which it was suspended, and the Arabs tried to persuade me that a hungry hyæna had carried it off; but it was most probable that one of themselves had been in want of this necessary article of desert traveling.

Wednesday, September 24th. We continued our march through the luxuriant prickly underwood, full of the dung and footsteps of the elephant. Here and there the *capparis* had been cut away, and large fire-places were to be seen where the roots had been burned to ashes. The tripods, of which several were lying about, are used for filtering the water through

these ashes, which takes from them the salt particles which they contain. This water is afterward boiled, and thus the salt is obtained. This salt is then taken to Kúkawa by the Kánembú, while those who prepare it are Búdduma.

On our return from Kánem we met large numbers of this piratical set of islanders, and on my home journey in 1855, I saw them in the full activity of their labors. This salt, weak and insipid as it is, is at least of a better quality than that which the people in Kótoko prepare from neat-dung. In Míltu, on the Upper Shári or Bá-Busó, salt of a tolerable quality is obtained from a peculiar species of grass growing in the river. The Músgu, as we shall see, prepare this necessary article (or, at least, something like it) from the ashes of the stalks of millet and Indian corn.

After we had emerged from the underwood into the open country we passed a considerable salt manufactory, consisting of at least twenty earthen pots. Large triangular lumps of salt were lying about, which are shaped in moulds made of clay. Several people were busy carrying mud from an inlet of the lake which was close at hand, in order to make new moulds. Keeping close along the border of the latter, and enjoying the fresh breeze which had before been kept from us by the forest, we halted early in the afternoon. A small Tébu caravan was also encamped here, no doubt with the intention of passing the night; but they did not like the neighborhood of our friends, and, loading immediately, started off.

Our path now lay through fertile pasture-grounds, with a line of underwood to our left. It was a fine cool morning. We passed a large pool of fresh water, frequented by great numbers of water-fowl of various species. Overweg, on his fine and tall, but rather heavy and unwieldy charger, made an unsuccessful attempt to overtake a pair of kelára (*Antilope Arabica? Aigocerus ellipsiprymnus?*), who scampered playfully away through the fine grassy plain. At nine o'clock we reached the far-famed place Ngégimi, and were greatly disappointed at finding an open, poor-looking village, consisting of detached conical huts, without the least comfort, which, even in these light structures, may

well be attained to a certain degree. The hungry inhabitants would not receive any thing in exchange for a few fowls which we wanted to buy, except grain, of which we ourselves, in these desolate regions, stood too much in need to have given it away without an adequate substitute.

The situation of this place is very unfavorable, since the ruler of Bórnu has restricted his real dominion within the border of the komádugu, and the poor inhabitants are constantly in fear of being molested by a ghazzia of the Tawárek. Indeed, two years later, this village was plundered by these freebooting hordes; and some months afterward, in the year 1854, the remainder of the population, who had not been carried away into captivity, were obliged, by the high floods of the lagoon, to leave their old dwelling-place altogether, and build a new village on the slope of the sand-hills, where I found it at the end of May, 1855. As for Wúdi (a large place, once an occasional residence of the Bórnu kings) and Lári, both mentioned by Denham and Clapperton, they have long been deserted, Wúdi having been taken and ransacked by the Tawárek in the year 1838, and Lári a little later. At present only a few palm-trees (said to yield a kind of date far superior to the little black Kánem dates) in the sand-hills about eight miles S.W. from Ngégimi indicate the site of the once celebrated Wúdi. Ngégimi was then nominally under the control of Kashélla Hasen or Hassan.

Plunged into sad reflections on the fate of this once splendid empire of Kánem, and the continued progress of the Berber race into the heart of Sudán, I hung listlessly upon my horse, when, on leaving this uncomfortable dwelling-place, we took our course over the unbroken plain, once no doubt the bottom of the lake, and soon to become once more a part of it. Sometimes it was dry and barren, at others clothed with rich verdure, while on our left it was bordered by a range of sand-hills, the natural limit of the lagoon. At a little before noon we came to a deep inlet of the lake, spreading the freshest verdure all around in this now desolate country. Having watered our horses, and taken in a sufficient supply of this element for the night, we crossed the plain, here not more than a thousand yards wide,

and ascended a broad promontory of the range of sand-hills, where we encamped.

It was a delightful spot, where the heart might have expanded in the enjoyment of freedom. In front of us to the south-east, the swampy lands of the lagoon, one immense rice-field (as it ought to be at least), spread out to the borders of the horizon; but no "white water," or open sea, was to be seen—not even as much as connected channels—nothing but one immense swampy flat, stretching out as far as the eye could reach. To the south the green pasturages, along which we had come, extended far beyond Ngégimi. It was a picture of one of the most fertile spots of the earth doomed to desolation. But there was a feeble spark of hope in me that it would not always be so, and I flattered myself that my labors in these new regions might contribute to sow here the first germs of a new life, a new activity.

My companions and friends did not seem to share in my feelings; for, wholly intent upon mischief, they had been roving about, and having fallen in with some Kánembú cattle-breeders, they had plundered them not only of their milk, but also of the vessels which contained it; and in the afternoon some respectable old men applied to Mr. Overweg and myself, the only just people they were sure to find among this wild band of lawless robbers, for redress, and we were happy not only to restore to them their vessels, but also to make them a few small presents.

Thursday, September 25th. Descending from our lofty encampment, we continued our march in the narrow grassy plain, between the sand-hills to the north, and another blue inlet of the lake to the south, where the rich pasture-grounds extended further into the lake.

It was about seven o'clock in the morning when we had the good fortune to enjoy one of the most interesting scenes which these regions can possibly afford. Far to our right was a whole herd of elephants, arranged in regular array like an army of rational beings, slowly proceeding to the water. In front appeared the males, as was evident from their size, in regular order; at a little distance followed the young ones; in a third

HERD OF ELEPHANTS NEAR THE TSAD.

line were the females; and the whole were brought up by five males of immense size. The latter (though we were at some distance, and proceeding quietly along) took notice of us, and some were seen throwing dust in the air; but we did not disturb them. There were altogether ninety-six.

The fine fresh pasture-grounds some time afterward gave way to a drier plain, covered with a species of heath, and the country presented rather a melancholy appearance. A little before ten o'clock we came to a large herd of cattle or "berí," collected round a small hamlet or dawar, consisting of light, high-topped corn-stalks, fastened together by three rings of straw, and lightly plastered with a little cow-dung. But, although we obtained some milk, some of our friends, not content with filling their stomachs, laid hold of a fine pony and carried it off, under the pretext that it belonged to the Búdduma, who, as they asserted, were enemies of the sheikh; and when we had started again, and encountered a small caravan of oxen laden with dates, not only were all the skins containing the dates taken, but another ruffian laid hold of one of the beasts of burden and dragged it away with him, notwithstanding the lamentations of its owner. And yet the people who were thus treated were subjects of the King of Bórnu, and the Welád Slimán were his professed friends and hirelings.

Fine fresh pasture-grounds, and melancholy tracts clothed with nothing but heath, succeeded each other, while not a single tree broke the monotony of the level country. At length we encamped near a deserted village of cattle-breeders, consisting of about twenty small, conical huts, built in the form of a large circle. We had scarcely begun to make ourselves comfortable, when a noisy quarrel arose about the dates so unjustly taken from their owners, and some of the Arabs concerned in the dispute came to my tent in order to have their claims settled, when the whole particulars of the shameless robberies committed in the course of the day came under my notice, and especially that of the horse. But this was a delicate subject, and one that excited the angry passions of those concerned—so much so that one of them, named Ibrahím, came running with

his loaded gun straight into my tent, threatening to blow out the brains of any body who spoke of injustice or robbery. As for Bakhér and 'Abd e' Rahmán, who were the actual possessors of the horse, they were about to leave by themselves.

The violent proceedings of our protectors had spread such terror throughout these almost desolate regions, that in the evening, solely from fear, two oxen and a quantity of milk were sent from a neighboring berí as presents. The night was fresh, but not cold, and a very heavy dew fell.

Friday, September 26th. Reached about noon the first large cluster of huts of the village of Berí, after having followed a numerous and fine herd of cattle (one of the finest I saw in the interior of the continent) for a while, with the urgent desire of obtaining a drink of fresh milk, and then crossed a tolerably deep inlet of the lagoon. Here we encamped on a terribly hot, sandy spot, without any shade, some two hundred yards from the village, which stretches in a long line from north to south.

Berí is a place of importance, at least since the date of the greatest splendor of the Bórnu kingdom, and is frequently mentioned in the history of the great King Edrís Alawóma, written during his lifetime by his chief Imám Ahmed. Its situation is such as to render it of great importance as a station; for here the army proceeding from Bórnu to the interior of Kánem leaves the shore of the lagoon, and has generally to make a long stay, in order to regain strength for the ensuing march, and to supply itself with fresh provisions. Till a few years previously, a Bórnu governor of the name of Shitíma Aba had been residing here, but he had given up the place, and preferred living in the capital.

But here I must add that there are two places called Berí, distant from each other a few miles, the one where we were encamped being called Berí-kurá, the Great Berí, the other with the surname "futé" (the western), from its more westerly situation; but it is at present greatly reduced, and we had left it unobserved on one side. The greater part of the inhabitants of Berí are Kánembú, and belong to the clan of the Sugúrtu, a large division of that tribe, which, however, in the last struggle

of the old dynasty, suffered greatly. Besides these, a good many Búdduma are settled here.

I was very glad when, after another severe quarrel, the young horse was at length given up by the robbers, as likewise the beast of burden. One of the oxen sent yesterday as a present was slaughtered to-day, and divided among the whole band. As for myself, I made merry on a little fresh milk; for though the people are, and appear to have been from their birth (for "berí" means cattle-herd), in possession of numerous herds of cattle, nevertheless, in the village, as is often the case, there is very little milk—only just as much as is required for the use of the owners themselves—the cattle being at a great distance. Very little can be obtained here, and corn is scarcely cultivated, owing to the insecure and desperate state of the country. The inhabitants are in continual intercourse with the Yédiná, that section of the Kótoko who inhabit the islands in the lake, and who are generally called Búdduma. But of course the distance of their village from the lagoon varies considerably, and the nearest branch or inlet at present was that which we had crossed in the morning, from which the inhabitants supplied themselves with water. The want of firewood is greatly felt; scarcely a single tree is to be met with in the neighborhood.*

Saturday, September 27th. We now left the shores of the lake, ascending a little, but had a difficult march this morning in order to avoid the many small boggy inlets and natron-lagoons which are formed by the lake, and wind along through the sand-hills. With regard to these natron-lakes, which, after the report of Major Denham, have led to many erroneous conjectures respecting Lake Tsád, I have to observe that the natron or soda is not originally contained in the water, but in the ground, and that all the water of Lake Tsád is fresh; but when a small quantity of water, after the lake has retired from the highest point of its inundation, remains in a basin the soil of

* I will here add the stations of another route between Ngégimí and Berí. 1st day: sleep in Ngubó, an open village inhabited by Kúri; arrive before heat of day. 2d. Tabúnte, the first place in Kánem. 3d. Berí. Some people going from Ngégimí to Berí sleep the first night in Turra, second night in Baláya.

which is filled with soda, the water of course becomes impregnated with this quality. The consequence is, that there are many basins round Lake Tsád which, according to the season, are either fresh or brackish; for the soda contained in the ground has very little effect so long as the basin is deep, and does not begin to make itself felt till the water becomes shallow. Of this same character seems to be Lake Bóro in Kánem, which I shall mention hereafter. I here remind the reader of what I have stated above with regard to the importance of the natron-trade between Bórnu and Núpe or Nýffi.

Having no guide—for who would willingly trust himself in the hands of such lawless robbers as our companions?—we found it rather difficult work to get out of this labyrinth of lagoons; and after a few miles we came to a narrow but very boggy inlet, which it was thought necessary to cross.

Riding a lively horse, an excellent "sayár," I was rather in advance, and had only three horsemen in front of me; on coming to the bog, the nature of which it was easy to perceive, we rode one after the other, Khálef-Allah being in front of me. The first horseman went in, made a few steps, and then came down; but he got his horse upon his legs again, went on, and again sunk into the bog, but, being near the firm ground, got over tolerably well. As soon as those who were before me saw this, they stopped their horses short, and wanted to return, pressing my horse upon his side, who, being annoyed by the morass, made a vacillating movement forward, and fell upon his knees; upon being raised he made some wild exertions to get through, but after two or three ineffectual attempts he again fell on his side, and I under him. The morass here was about four feet deep, and I received several smart blows from the fore legs of my horse upon the head and shoulders before I was fortunate enough to extricate myself from this interesting situation. Being clad in a white bernús over a Nýffi tobe, with a pair of pistols in my belt, my appearance may be easily conceived when, after a great deal of labor, I succeeded in reaching firm ground. I had still the difficult task of extricating my horse, which, after wild and desperate exertions, lay motionless in the bog. I had

on this occasion a good specimen of the assistance we were likely to receive from our companions in cases of difficulty, for they were looking silently on without affording me any aid. Mr. Overweg was some distance behind, and, when he came up, was enabled to supply me with dry clothing.

The spot would have been quite interesting but for this accident, as there was here, favored by the rich soil and this very morass, a beautiful plantation of red ngáberi, or sorghum, of that peculiar kind called mósogá, or rather másakwá, in the highest state of exuberance, and just beginning to ripen; it was the finest specimen I saw on my whole journey. Fortunately, the sun was moderately warm, as I began to feel very chilly after my involuntary bath. We continued our march at first along another hollow containing fresh water, and then, ascending a little, came upon a sandy level well clothed with herbage and trees of the mimosa kind. Here we seemed to be entirely out of reach of the lake; and great was our astonishment when, a little after nine o'clock, we came close upon another fine sheet of fresh blue water. It was a great satisfaction to me, in the state I was in, that we encamped at so early an hour on its northern border, where some serrák afforded a tolerable shade. I was busy drying my clothes, arms, saddle-cloths, and journals, when there appeared certain indications of an approaching storm; and in order to avoid being wetted twice in the same day, I got my tent pitched. After a furious gale the rain poured down, and about a dozen of my companions took refuge in my small, frail dwelling; but all were not so fortunate as to escape a wetting, for the rain, being very heavy, came in at the door. The storm lasted more than an hour; and every thing, including horses and camels, being thoroughly soaked, it was decided to remain here for the night.

Sunday, September 28th. For some reason or other, but chiefly in order to slaughter the other ox, divide it, and cut it up into "gedíd," we remained here the whole morning; and the sun had long passed into zawál (past noon) when we started through the sandy and slightly undulating country, full of herbage, principally of the plant called "nesí," besides bu-rékkeba

or *Avena Forskalii*, the bur-feathered prickle *Pennisetum distichum*, and various kinds of mimosa, chiefly consisting of the talha and úm el barka (*Mimosa Nilotica*). Our companions found several ostrich-eggs, and met a large troop of gazelles. The country then became more thickly wooded, and, where we encamped for the night, presented a very interesting character; but the danger from wild beasts was considerable, and the roar of a lion was heard throughout the greater part of the night.

Monday, September 29th. Started early: the character of the country continued the same as yesterday, and presented beautiful specimens of the mimosa, here breaking down from age, at another place interwoven with creepers, one species of which produces the red, juicy fruit called "fito" by the Kanúri, and has been mentioned by me before. It was nearly eight o'clock when, proceeding in groups, two of our horsemen, on passing near a very large and thick gherret, suddenly halted, and with loud cries hastened back to us. We approached the spot, and saw a very large snake hanging in a threatening attitude from the branches of the tree: on seeing us it tried to hide itself; but after firing several balls, it fell down, and we cut off its head. It measured 18 feet 7 inches in length, and at the thickest part 5 inches in diameter, and was of a beautifully variegated color. Two natives, who had attached themselves to our troop the day before, cut it open and took out the fat, which they said was excellent.

The ride was truly interesting; but by degrees it became too much for me, and after seven hours' march I was so utterly exhausted as to be obliged to halt and lie down. Most of the Arabs remained with us; others, with 'Ali ben 'Aisa, went on to the well. When we pursued our march in the afternoon the country for the first three hours was more level, but then became very hilly; and at five o'clock we ascended a considerable elevation to our left, the highest point in the whole country, but perhaps not more than 600 or 700 feet above the level of the Tsád. From here we crossed two very pretty valleys or dells, especially the second one, where there were very curious hilly projections of a calcareous stone. But these val-

leys were very poor indeed in comparison with the valley or hénderi Fóyo, situated at some distance from the well where we encamped for the night; for its bottom presented one uninterrupted mass of vegetation, impenetrable in many spots. Here the botanist might be sure to find some new species, although the principal trees were the kúrna (*Cornus*), serrákh, úm el barka, or *Mimosa Nilotica*, hajilíj, or *Balanites*, and the talha, *M. ferruginea*, but all interwoven with creepers, and offering the most delightful shade.

These valleys, which afford the only watering-places, must, of course, be very dangerous during the night on account of the wild beasts, principally lions, of which there are great numbers hereabouts. Here our companions received a messenger from Ghét, the young chief of the Welád Slimán.

Tuesday, September 30th. We remained in the forenoon and during the heat of the day in our encampment. While stretched out in the shade of a fine mimosa, I obtained some valuable information regarding the various tribes dwelling in Kánem, and the districts of their settlements. But it will be better, instead of inserting it here, to collect all the information I received at different times into one general account, which shall be given in the Appendix.

In the afternoon the camels and the heavier portion of the troop were allowed to start in advance, and the horsemen followed about half an hour afterward, after having watered the horses; but, instead of taking care to follow the footsteps of the camels, in a wild country where there was no regular path, they rode on negligently, and soon became aware that they had missed the track. There now began a very disorderly riding in all directions. This fatigued me greatly, for nothing is so vexing to a weak man as to ramble about without knowing when he is likely to reach the place of repose so much looked for. After sending scout after scout, we at length found the track, and reached our men in the dark.

Wednesday, October 1st. Having set out early, after nearly two hours' ride we were met by a single horseman coming toward us from the encampment of the Welád Slimán, and bid-

ding us welcome to their wild country. They kept starting up from the thicket on our right and left, firing their muskets and saluting us with their usual war-cry, "yá riyáb, yá riyáb." Having thus advanced about half an hour, we came to a halt in order to receive in a more solemn form the warlike compliments of a larger troop of horsemen, led on by a person of some importance.

The dust raised by the horsemen having subsided a little, and the country being clearer of wood, we now saw before us the whole cavalry of the Welád Slimán drawn up in a line in their best attire, their chief Ghét, the son of Séf el Nasr ben Ghét, and his uncle 'Omár, the son of Ghét, and brother of 'Abd el Jelíl, in the midst of them. This stately reception, not having been anticipated by Overweg and myself, made a great impression upon us; but we were not left to gaze long, but were desired by our Arab companions to ride in advance of the line in compliment to the chiefs. We accordingly put our steeds into a gallop, and, riding straight up to our new friends, saluted them with our pistols. Having answered our compliments, and bidding us welcome to their wild abode, the young Ghét galloping along at the head of his squadrons, his sword drawn, and with the continuous cry "yá riyáb, yá riyáb," they led us to the encampment, and we had a place shown to us where we might pitch our tents.

CHAPTER XL.

THE HORDE OF THE WELÁD SLIMÁN.

We had now joined our fate with that of this band of robbers, who, in consequence of their reckless habits, having been driven from their original dwelling-places in the Syrtis,* after a great variety of events, have at length established themselves in this border region between the desert and the fertile regions of Negroland, under the guidance of Mohammed, the son of 'Abd el Jelíl, on the ruins of the old kingdom of Kánem, very much in the same way as in the west the Welád Ammer (Ludamar) have established themselves on the ruins of the empire of Mélle. At that time they mustered a considerable force, and, being joined by a great many adventurers from all the Arab tribes from the Ríf as far as Fezzán, were able to bring into the field from 900 to 1000 horsemen. They then turned their attention toward our friends the Kél-owí, and began to seize upon their camels, which came to Bílma for the salt-trade; these, as the reader has seen from my previous account, are always proceeding in large caravans; but it is almost impossible to give implicit credit to the statement which was made to us by several individuals, that the Welád Slimán had taken from the Tawárek more than 30,000 camels in the course of two or three years.

If they had continued in this way for a short time, they would have brought about an immense revolution in the whole of Central Africa; for the Kél-owí would, of course, not have been able to provide Háusa with salt after having lost their camels, and thus, having no salt for bartering, would have remained without the most necessary articles of subsistence; they

* I will only refer to the animated description which Captain Lyon (Narrative, p. 54) gives of the former power of this tribe.

would accordingly have been obliged either to starve, or to emigrate into and take possession by force of the more fertile districts of Sudán. But, before they were driven to this extreme, they made one energetic effort against their enemies, and succeeded; for, having summoned the contingents of all the different tribes inhabiting Aïr or A'sben, they collected a host of at least 7000 men, chiefly mounted on camels, but comprising also a considerable number of horsemen, and proceeded to attack the lion in his den in the beginning of the year 1850.

I am almost inclined to suspect that the people of Bórnu had a hand in this affair; at least, the existence of such a warlike and restless horde of men, and mustering considerable forces, as the Welád Slimán were then, under the guidance of Mohammed, and in such a neighborhood, could not be wholly indifferent to any ruler of Bórnu possessed of prudence and foresight. Of course, since its power had decreased to a such a degree that it could not of itself make the necessary resistance against the daily encroachments of the Tawárek, it was of great service to Bórnu to have such a strong and energetic auxiliary to keep them down. But, be this as it may, the Arabs left their very strong intrenchments at Késkawa (which, at the first news of the intended expedition, they had formed on the border of the Tsád, and which the Tawárek themselves confessed to me they would never have been able to conquer), and separated, not thinking that their enemies were able to carry out their intention; for all those tribes which had come to join them, as the Gedádefa, the Ferján, the Urfílla, the Ftáim, Swási, Temáma, and Dhóhob, after having enriched themselves with the spoils of the Tawárek, were anxious to carry away their booty in safety, and proceeded on their home-journey by way of Kúffara. They were just encamped in the Wadi 'Alála, where my readers will soon have to accompany me, when a scout brought the news that a very large host of the Tawárek was close at hand; but they say that his report did not find credit, and that on this account the Arabs had no time to make any preparations, but were all on a sudden surrounded on all sides by the numerous host of their enemy. It is, moreover, to be understood that the

greater part of this band were merely armed with guns, which are very useful in a skirmish of horsemen, who can retreat after having fired them off, but of very little use in close combat; few of them were armed with pistols, and still fewer with swords. But the Kél-owí, in addition to their numbers, had also the advantage of superior arms, having spear, sword, and dagger, even if we do not take into account their muskets, which they rarely know how to use. The consequence was, that the Arabs, after having killed a small number of their enemies in the foremost lines, were soon overpowered and massacred, not half of them succeeding in making their escape. Their chief, Mohammed himself, made his way through the host very severely wounded, and was slain, according to report, shortly after by a Tébu woman who recognized him. S'aid, the most valiant of all the Welád Slimán, but also the most violent, was killed on the spot, together with the bravest champions of the little horde; and a very considerable booty was made by the Tawárek, not only in camels and slaves, but also in silver, the chiefs having amassed a great deal of property. Thus the flower of this troop was destroyed, and only the least brave and youngest were left.

The Vizier of Bórnu then took the young man, to whom very little power and property were left, under his special protection, entering with him and the remaining part of the tribe into a contract to the effect that he would furnish them with horses and muskets, as far as they should stand in need of them, on condition of their delivering to him a certain share of their booty in every expedition. Of course, such a troop of swift horsemen, armed with muskets, if kept in strict subjection and subordination, might have proved exceedingly useful on the northern borders of Bórnu, on the one side as a check upon the Tawárek, on the other upon Wádáy. But the great difficulty, which the vizier appears not to have overcome, was to subject the predatory excursions of such a set of people to some sort of political rule.

With this view, he sent the young chief, who was scarcely more than twenty years of age, to Kánem with all that were left of the Welád Slimán, keeping back in Kúkuwa, as hostages

for his proceedings, his mother, and the wives and little children of some of the principal men. But from the beginning there was a strong party against the young chief, who had not yet achieved any exploit, and whose sole merit consisted in his being the nearest relation of 'Abd el Jelíl. 'Omár, his uncle, who from his youth had given himself up to a life of devotion, and was called a Merábet, had a considerable party; and there were, besides, several men who thought themselves of as much importance as their chief. In the absence of individual authority in a small band like this, which only numbered 250 horsemen, no great results could be produced. All the tribes settled in Kánem and the adjacent districts were their natural enemies: the Nóreá or Nuwárma and the Shendákóra and Médema, the Sákerda and Karda in the Bahar el Ghazál, the Búltu, the Woghda, the Welád Ráshid, the Díggana or Dághana, the Welád Hamíd, the Hommer and the Máhamíd in Khúrma, all were bent upon their destruction, while none but the Lasál'a or El Asál'a beyond Kárká, and the Kánembú tribe of the Fugábú, were attached to them. All the tribes around call them only by the name Mínnemínne or Ménemené ("the eaters"), which name, although it seems to have arisen in the real gluttony of these Arabs, might be referred appropriately to their predatory habits.*

In the course of these broils and petty intrigues the most respectable among them took to commerce, while others formed the design of returning; and when I left Bórnu in May, 1855, the rest of the little band had separated into two distinct camps, and the dissolution or ruin of their community was fast approaching.

This was the horde with which, in order to carry out the objects of our mission to the utmost of our power, Mr. Overweg and I were obliged to associate our fate; but, unfortunately, we were unprovided with that most essential article for exciting a more than common interest in ourselves personally, or the objects of our mission, namely, valuable presents.

While our people pitched our tents, Mr. Overweg and I went

* The Tébu call them Erdi mádé, "the red enemies," or Yógodé.

to pay our compliments to Sheikh Ghét and 'Omár, and to have a friendly talk with them before we proceeded to more serious business. They seemed to expect this compliment, having lain down in the shade of a tree at a short distance from our place of encampment. Ghét, who was smoking a long pipe, was a tolerably handsome young man; but his pronunciation was very defective, and he had nothing very commanding in his manner. Having exchanged a few compliments and asked some general questions, we withdrew, and soon after received a present of dates and milk. A great many of the Arabs paid us a visit; and a renegade Tripolitan Jew, 'Abd-Allah, with the surname "El Musulmáni," who would not leave us for a moment, kept telling us of his adventures and his importance, and assuring us of his most disinterested affection for us. Though his former religion differed from ours, and he had again exchanged this for another from mere worldly motives, he nevertheless thought himself entitled to the claim of brotherhood, and was gracious enough to call us sometimes his cousins (welád 'amí). There was another man who tried to make himself as agreeable as possible to us, and endeavored to obtain our friendship: this was an Egyptian named Ibrahím, a fine, tall man, who evidently belonged originally to a good family; but he had run away from home, and was now leading, in company with this little horde, a restless, remorseful, and wearisome life.

When the heat of the day had a little abated, we prepared the small present we had to give to Sheikh Ghét, and which consisted of a red cloth bernús of good workmanship, a pound of cloves, a pound of jáwi or benzoin, and a razor. We were well aware that it was rather a trifling gift, considering the assistance we required from these people to carry out our object; but we knew also that it was rather a favor bestowed upon us by the Vizier of Bórnu, who regarded these people as in his service. Referring, therefore, to the friendship which existed of old between their tribe, when still in their old settlements in the Syrtis, and the English consul in Tripoli, and delivering a letter from Mr. Frederick Warrington, who was personally well known to the chief men, we openly professed that the object of

our coming was to try, with their assistance, to visit the eastern shore of the lake, and especially the Bahar el Ghazál, which had formed a remarkable object of curiosity in our country for some time. But Sheikh Ghét, without hesitation, declared it was impossible for them to take us to that place, the most dangerous locality in all these quarters, on account of the many predatory expeditions which were made to that spot from different quarters, and by tribes hostile to them. After some commonplace talk about the English, we left him, and went to his uncle with a present of precisely the same kind, and began here to urge the distinct object of our coming in a more positive way. I expressed the opinion that, as they would render acceptable service to the British government if they were to enable us to investigate the connection between the Bahar el Ghazál and the lake, so, on the other hand, a great portion of the blame, if we should not be able to carry out our design, would certainly fall upon them, inasmuch as they had always professed to be under great obligations toward the English. 'Omár ben Ghét ben Séf e' Nasr acknowledged all this; but he doubted very much if the band, in its present reduced state, would be able to carry us to those quarters, which were entirely under the sway of Wádáy. The Bahar el Ghazál having given an opportunity of speaking about the river-system between the Tsád and the Nile, our friend came forward with a most confused statement, which it would not be worth while to explain. But with regard to that large wadi itself we found that he, as well as the experienced men among these Arabs, asserted that it took its course, not toward, but from the lake.

We then took our leave of 'Omar and returned to our tents. The place of the encampment was a fine, open, sandy, undulating level, commanding the vale, where are the wells Yongo or Bú-Halíma, covered with verdure, and richly adorned with scattered mimosas. The tents and sheds of the Arabs were spread over a great space, and no precaution was taken to obtain some degree of security by means of fences and stockades. The sun having set, I lay down outside my tent to enjoy the coolness and tranquillity of the evening after a hot and troublesome day.

All seemed calm and tranquil, when suddenly a terrible screaming and crying arose from the women in the west part of the encampment. We hurried to our arms, thinking that an enemy had entered the place. The cry, "'Alá e' dhahar! 'ala e' dhahar!" (Mount! mount!)—properly speaking, "In the saddle!" "in the saddle!"—sounded from all sides, and the horsemen hurried past us; but it was only a small party of freebooters, who, in the twilight of the evening, had made an attack upon the camels, and, after having put to flight two or three men and killed a horseman, had driven off a part of the herd. Our friends pursued the robbers at full speed and soon overtook them, when they retreated into the thicket and gave up their booty.

In this way we had a specimen of the character of our present expedition the very first day we had joined this little horde; and the lamentations of the females on account of the man who had been slain sounded woefully through the night, and brought before our minds the fate which, in a very short time, might befall ourselves. Late in the night, when the alarm had subsided, Sheikh Ghét sent us a heifer as a present.

Thursday, October 2d. We remained quietly in our encampment, and obtained a great deal of valuable information respecting the southeastern part of the lake and the districts adjacent.* Thus the day passed by most pleasantly.

Nothing remarkable happened to us on the following day except the arrival of the important news that the Agíd of Wádáy, who had resided in M'awó, on the report of an attack intended to be made by the Arabs upon that town, had fled. This news, if it proved true, held out, of course, a feeble ray of hope that we might be able to penetrate to the eastern shore of the lake; and the Arabs formed schemes accordingly. As Háj 'Abbás, who had come with us in order to raise from the Arabs Háj Beshír's share in the spoil of their last predatory excursions, was to return to Kúkawa in a few days, I wrote a letter to the vizier concerning the prospect we had of probably not being able to accomplish the whole of our design. The rest of

* The whole of this information is collected in the Appendix.

the day I enjoyed in comfort, stretched quietly in the shade of a tree; but my tranquillity was a little disturbed by disputes that arose among my men.

Saturday, October 4th. Very early in the morning, when all was quiet, I was aroused from my sleep by the mournful song of an Arab, who, between the different stanzas of his dirge, seemed to give vent to his tears. The impression made by this song, which was full of deep feeling, among such a horde of lawless people, where generally only the meanest side of man was exhibited, was charming; but, as the singer was at some distance from my tent, I could not distinctly make out what was the cause of his grief, neither was I able to learn it afterward: the thoughts of the Arabs were taken up by another affair. The most handsome among the female slaves who composed part of the spoil that was to be taken to the vizier by his officer Háj 'Abbás had made her escape during the night; they were eagerly searching from dawn of day, but could not find her. At length they discovered her necklace and clothes, and the remains of her bones—evident proofs that she had fallen a prey to the wild beasts. She belonged to the Yédiná or Búdduma, and was represented as having been possessed of considerable charms; and it was supposed that her loss would affect the vizier greatly, who, as I have before observed, was rather fond of an ethnological variety of female beauty. There was a great deal of unpleasant conversation about this affair, the girl not yet having been delivered up to Háj 'Abbás when she made her escape.

But there were many other causes of discord among this little horde, and when the vizier's officer set out, a great many more of the Arabs made use of the opportunity to go to Kúkawa than had been agreed upon. The most serious loss to us was certainly the departure of Sheikh 'Omár, Ghét's uncle, who, on account of his experience and knowledge of the English, which much exceeded that of his youthful nephew, might have been of considerable service to us. At any rate, he ought to have informed us of his intention to leave, as, by his accepting our present, it was understood that he undertook the obligation

of assisting us in carrying out our project; and having nothing to spare, we felt rather disappointed. But, although our prospects were not too flattering, at least we had hopes of moving a little onward, as our departure from this place was fixed for the following day.

Sunday, October 5th. When the camels, guarded by the men on foot, had left in the morning, we went first, with the other horsemen, to the well, in order to water our horses. We had not visited it before, as it was at some distance from our tents. The vale was of that general wild and luxuriant character which distinguishes the valleys of Kánem; but it was even more wild and picturesque than usual, and a chill draught of air met us proceeding from the richly-wooded dale, where the sun's rays never penetrated. There were several wells, which exhibited a busy and interesting scene, the horsemen, in their picturesque attire (a mixed dress of their native abode and their present adopted home), thronging around these sources and centres of life, in order to water their poor-looking but persevering nags. When we returned to the place of our former encampment all was desolate, and loneliness and silence had succeeded to the animated dwelling-place of a quarrelsome multitude of people. We hurried on over undulating sandy ground, richly overgrown with trees, and soon overtook our camels. The place of our destination was not far off, and at noon we were already encamped on a fine sandy level, rising over another luxuriant hollow or vale especially rich in kúrna-trees, whence the well "Bír el Kúrna" has received its name. It was a spacious encampment, with Arabs and Tébu intermixed, and could not but be very salubrious, although we found afterward, just in this elevated position, the difference between the cold of the night and the heat of the day extraordinary. Our appetite being rather keen, we indulged in the luxury of some turtle-soup; for turtles are by no means a rarity in these districts, although in general they seem to be of a rather small size. I do not remember to have seen or heard in this quarter of such large specimens as seem to be common in the country round Aïr.

Monday, October 6th. The day of the 'Aíd el kebír. I went

in the morning, as soon as the sun began to shine forth, to a place in a cool shade a little south from our encampment, without knowing that this was the very spot which the Arabs had chosen for their holiday prayers. In general only a few of them were praying; but to-day the leading persons among them, who came here with Sheikh Ghét, offered up their prayer with solemnity and apparent fervor.

This proved an unlucky day to us, and very unfavorable to our design to penetrate into those dangerous districts on the east side of the lake; for a considerable portion of the tribe (one hundred and fifty men, with about seventy horses) left that day for Kúkawa, to our great surprise and mortification, and, as it would seem, also to the mortification of the young chief, a circumstance of which we became fully aware when we paid him a visit about noon. Of course, with our very small means, and the poor and insignificant character of our mission, we could not expect that this unsettled horde should have a scrupulous regard to our wishes and designs in arranging their affairs. It was quite evident that their proceeding was the mere effect of a stubborn sense of independence and jealousy, and it seemed to be done in open opposition to the wish of their young chief. About one o'clock in the afternoon they left; and we forwarded a short note with them, expressive of our dissatisfaction at this state of things, which filled us with the saddest forebodings as to the success of our mission.

But, while thus disappointed in more important matters, we felt tolerably well off in material comforts; for in the morning a party of Fugábú arrived with a number of sheep for sale, selling two for a dollar, and thus enabled us to gratify the religious longing of our servants for an extra dish on this their holiday. In the course of the evening, a numerous caravan of oxen laden with grain, or rather Negro millet, arrived from Bórnu, which made provisions a little cheaper. The grain grown in the country, in its present wild and desolate state, is not sufficient for the population, though so greatly reduced; and the last season had been rather an unfavorable one. In consequence of the arrival of this caravan, we not only had the opportunity of buying corn

at a cheaper rate, but we also got some from the chief as a present.

Every thing in Kánem is bought with the common white Bórnu shirts, which form the general dress of the people, black tobes being worn only by richer persons. Even the general dress of Arabs settled here in Kánem consists of these white tobes and a háik made of the same stuff, only the wealthier individuals being able to buy a woolen plaid. The dress of the females, too, is made of these very tobes, which are cut into the regular oblong pieces of which they consist, and sewn together lengthwise.

Tuesday, October 7th. Being obliged to remain here without the certain prospect of doing any thing worth while, we at least thought we had some right to the hospitality of our hosts, and we expressed our desire to obtain a little more milk, as we ourselves possessed neither cows nor she-camels. Our request was complied with. Thus we accustomed ourselves entirely to camel's milk, and found it by degrees more palatable and wholesome than the milk of cows. I attribute the recovery of my strength principally to this sort of diet. There was always some milk brought into the encampment by the daughters of the Beni Hassan; but this was generally milk in an unpleasant intermediate state between sweet and sour, and the vessels (the kórió, made of the leaves of the palm-tree) in which it was carried had usually a bad smell, which they communicated to the milk.

As the renegade Jew 'Abd-Allah (El Musulmáni) was the medium through which all our business with the chief was transacted, I made him to-day a present of a red sash, and continued to keep him in good humor by occasional small presents. This man was a curious specimen of a Jewish adventurer. He was by birth a Tripolitan, but had been obliged to leave his native home on account of a murder which he had committed. He then betook himself to the tribe of the Welád Slimán, exchanging his Jewish creed for that of Mohammed, and obtained protection. When he had gained a good deal of property as a silversmith, his new companions stripped him of his treasures; he then for a time separated from them, and, in company with two other

renegade Jews, Músa and Ibrahím, made a journey to Negroland—a memorable event, as they were the first of their nation who trod this road. On his receiving news of the prosperity of the Welád Slimán in Kánem, he once more joined them, and became a freebooter. He was a very good horseman; but that was all, his horsemanship but badly supplying his want of courage. However, he was useful to us in many respects, although we had to take care that the people did not confound us with these Jewish adventurers.

I began this day my little vocabulary of the Tébu language, or, rather, the "módi Tedá," and provisionally that dialect of this language which is spoken by the inhabitants of Búrgu, and which varies considerably from the language as it is spoken by the inhabitants of Bílma and in the south of Fezzán. Already at that early period I became aware that this language is nearly related to the Kanúri, while it has scarcely any link whatever which externally connects it with the Berber language.

Wednesday, October 8th. The only thing which happened this day worth mentioning was the arrival of Hallúf, a warlike Tébu chieftain, with seventeen horsemen of the Fugábú Tébu, who rode up in a very spirited manner to the tent of Sheikh Ghét. Hallúf, a man of great bodily size and strength, and renowned in these quarters on account of his valor, had formerly been the enemy of Bórnu, but had now been won over to its interest. However, he was still too much afraid of the Bórnu people to join the Welád Slimán as long as Háj 'Abbás, the vizier's messenger, was present, but he came as soon as he heard that he was gone. He was not a very scrupulous man, as I soon convinced myself, as he, with the Fugábú, called upon us, and, as soon as he had introduced himself, began begging for poison. We of course cut his demand short. He then sat quietly down with his companions, and took great delight in the performances of my musical box, which I really found, together with the watch, the most useful instrument for demonstrating to the people the great superiority of European genius and handicraft. These people were not without sympathy for those lively airs which the little instrument was capable of per-

forming, and would sit down quietly for a great length of time, enjoying this mysterious music. The rumor soon spread, and Sheikh Ghét likewise desired to be made acquainted with the mysterious little box. But the day did not end so harmlessly, for bad tidings arrived. Háj 'Abbás, on his way to Bórnu, had seen a troop of Kindín near Ngégimi, and warned the Arabs to beware of a sudden attack. Thus uneasiness and anxiety spread through the encampment, and scouts were sent out to scour the country in every direction.

Friday, October 10th. News having been brought in the morning that three Tawárek on horseback, and five on camels, had been seen at a neighboring well, an alarm was raised immediately. All the Arabs mounted, and we followed their example, though I felt extremely weak; while my horse, having had rest and good food for several days, and seeing so many companions galloping and capering about, was almost unmanageable.

The whole encampment presented a very warlike appearance, but it turned out to be a false alarm. We therefore returned into the encampment, and began to arrange our luggage, as we were to leave here the heaviest part of our things, and take only as little as possible with us in our progress further eastward; for the Arabs had conceived the hope of plunder, the news having been brought that the Khalífa of Wádáy had left his residence M'awó, and that nobody was there to defend that quarter against their inroads. At the same time, our friends cast a longing look toward Báteli, the celebrated pasture-grounds in the northern course of the Bahar el Ghazál, two days' march beyond Egé, where numbers of camels were reported to be collected at the time. Of course, they did not want it to become known where they intended to direct their foray, and therefore spoke now of this, then of that quarter, as likely to be the object of their expedition.

CHAPTER XLI.

SHITÁTI.—THE EASTERN, MORE FAVORED VALLEYS OF KANEM.

Saturday, October 11*th.* With the rest of our people, and with the remaining two camels carrying the smaller part of our luggage, we accompanied the following day the more active part of the horde, while the older men were left behind for the defense of the encampment, with their families and property.

The country through which our way led was entirely of the same character as that which I have already described, a sandy level, adorned with trees of moderate size, almost all of the genus *Mimosa*, and in favorable seasons well adapted for the cultivation of Indian corn—now and then broken by deep hollows of larger or smaller extent, generally with a sufficient supply of water to produce fine plantations or corn-fields, and overgrown with more luxuriant vegetation. We crossed a fine vale of this description about eight miles from our starting-point, and chose our camping-ground on the higher level commanding the "Bir el Ftáim." The hollow, however, which contains this well is rather of a peculiar kind; for, unlike the other basins, which afford sufficient space for cultivation, it is extremely narrow, while the encompassing slopes, at least that on the north side, rise to a greater altitude than the general level of the country. I made a sketch of it.

On this commanding point there was a village of the Fugábú Kóbber; and Overweg and I, before we went to our encampment, which was chosen on the southern slope, paid these people a visit, dismounting under a tree at some distance from their light huts, and were well received. They brought us immediately a dish made of the meal of Indian corn and sour milk, and sat down cheerfully, questioning us as to the difference between their country and ours, and asking, with regard to the

BIR EL FAAIN.

politics of England, whether we were the friends or enemies of Dár-Fúr and Wádáy (which countries, together with Bórnu, comprised their political horizon), and expressed great astonishment at our instruments. They brought us a lion's skin, and soon after another very palatable dish of deshíshe made of wheat, with very good butter, which had nothing of that nasty taste peculiar to the butter of Bórnu and the surrounding countries: the dish was seasoned with dates.

It would have been far more instructive and agreeable to us to be in the constant company and under the protection of these people, the natives of the country, who would have made us acquainted with its characteristic features so much better than that band of lawless robbers who took no real interest in it except as regarded the booty which it afforded them. But they had neither power nor authority; and we were satisfied that where the Arabs were not able to conduct us, these people never could. Notwithstanding their alliance with the Arabs, they are treated with contempt by the latter, and the Arabs never omit to add a sneer when they speak of the "damned" ("ám bú") Keráda; for so they call the Fugábú. Of course, the intercourse of these two different people can neither be sincere nor intimate, and the natives were only waiting for their day of revenge.

A storm gathering and threatening to burst upon us, we hastened away from this spot; but there was only a little rain. In the evening there arrived two Shúwa from the villages of the Woghda, and were thrown into irons, in order not to betray the approach of the Arabs.

Sunday, October 12th. We went on a short distance to another well situated in a considerable hollow or basin, which might afford, and has once afforded a splendid place for cultivation, but which at present was entirely blocked up and made really impassable by rank and wild vegetation. With great trouble, we penetrated with the first horsemen to the well. Nobody had made use of it for a long period. The Arabs had not encamped at this place for at least seven years; hence there was a rich abundance of excellent food for the camels; but the danger from beasts of prey was also very great. The ground was

full of elephants' dung, and wild pigeons were hovering about in great numbers.

The place for our encampment was chosen on the level commanding the rich basin on the eastern side, and descending into it by a steep slope of from 300 to 400 feet. Here I laid myself down in the cool shade of a luxuriant serrákh not far from the slope, and surveyed the trains of the Fugábú, who, in the course of the day, arrived with their little movable household, having left their former residence near Bír el Ftáim. In the evening we paid a visit to the sheikh, and, as usual, were obliged to give him and his companions some account of European matters, though it would have been far more interesting for us to listen to their own stories, so full of incidents of a wild, restless life.

Monday, October 13th. The weather was cool, and a strong north wind made it rather chilly. Having been told that we were not to leave the next day, I purchased a ram with a white tobe which I had bought for about forty rotl in Kúkawa, receiving, besides the ram, one s'aa or zékka of Guinea-corn to complete the bargain. I afterward got a fine fat goat, which we slaughtered to-day, and found its meat pretty good. Hallúf came while I was lying in the shade of my serrákh of the preceding day, which I had nicely cleaned, and sat down to a chat: he assured me that he was able to bring us to Kárká or Kargha, the swampy country in the southeast corner of the lake, which forms an archipelago of small islands, and would offer his services for that purpose, but that he was afraid of Sheikh Ghét's jealousy. He then went with me over my little Tébu vocabulary, and corrected some slight mistakes. He was quite a sociable man, but Overweg, as well as I, doubted much whether he could be trusted.

Having consulted what course to take, we went to the sheikh and asked him whether he really thought Hallúf would be able to take us with any degree of safety to Kárká. He did not hesitate to declare that Hallúf was unable to accomplish what he had boasted of, and begged us to have patience till news should arrive from Bórnu, where he had sent to ask for advice

with regard to our design of visiting the eastern side of the lake, and respecting his own proceedings. We rather imagined that the vizier had given him orders, at the same time that he sent us out to Kánem, to assist us in carrying out our project in every respect, and we could scarcely hope for any favorable result by their asking advice at such a distance. We therefore complained to 'Abd-Allah of the sheikh's lukewarmness; and, presuming that he was not content to leave us under the protection of Hallúf because he expected the latter would get some handsome present from us, we told him that even if we were to go with Hallúf we should regard ourselves as still under the protection of the sheikh, to whom we were entirely indebted for Hallúf's acquaintance, and would make him a valuable present if we should not fail in our enterprise. This seemed to take effect; and we received the satisfactory message in the evening that we should be allowed to go with Hallúf, but that we must make a handsome present to the sheikh, besides the large tent which I had prepared for myself in Tripoli. Being willing to make any sacrifice in order to carry out the express wish of the government who had sent us, and elated by the prospect that something might be done, we paid another visit to Sheikh Ghét in the evening, but could not arrive at any definite arrangement. There was a great deal of talk about a certain Keghámma, who alone had the power to take us to Kárká, while Hallúf, at best, was said to be able to conduct us to M'awó; but at this time we could not make out distinctly who this Keghámma was, except that we learned that he resided in a place called Kárafu, in the direction of M'awó.

Tuesday, October 14th. The strong wind making it rather uncomfortable outside, I remained in my tent studying the Tébu language, and conversing with the fáki 'Othmán, a man who, by his mild conduct, formed a curious contrast to the lawless and quarrelsome character of this band of robbers, besides being possessed of less prejudice and superstition. In the afternoon several Fugábú paid us a visit; they all behaved well, and were not troublesome. It was at length decided that we should leave the second day following, with Hallúf, for the Bahar el Ghazál

and Kárká; and although we were sorry at not having brought the affair to a more definite conclusion, we yet indulged in the hope that we should be able to attain our object, when suddenly in the evening we received information that Hallúf had receded from his engagement, and that therefore no further idea of our going with him could be entertained.

What the reason was for this sudden change of proceeding I can not say, but all our arguments, of course were faulty, as we were unable to give them sufficient weight by good presents. That the tidings of the carrying off of three herds of cattle from a village at a few miles' distance from Yó by the Tawárek, which arrived this evening, could have had any influence upon this course of policy, was rather improbable.

Wednesday, October 15th. I was so happy as to collect a good deal of information about the country of Shitáti, which we had now entered, once densely inhabited in large and populous cities, and passed the day quietly and usefully. We heard, to our great joy, that we were to go on the next day with the whole expedition.

Thursday, October 16th. We had scarcely left the place of our encampment when we fell in with an elephant's track, apparently leading to the well, and followed it for a long distance. It was well trodden, and was an undoubted proof that these huge animals abounded in this deserted region, where man had left scarcely any trace of his presence. Having proceeded at a swift rate, we crossed, at the distance of about six miles, a very fine hollow or vale, stretching south and north, and capable of producing every thing, and even at that time exhibiting a few vestiges of human activity and industry in a small field of wheat, irrigated from those wells called "kháttatír" by the Arabs, which name is given by them also to the spot irrigated in this way. Its native name, if I am not mistaken, is "Yakállogo."

We then came to another hollow, formed like an ancient circus, and having its soil richly impregnated with natron; it is called Bérendé. After a short halt here we continued our march, and Overweg and I, while our men and camels followed the direct road, turned off toward the south, and visited another

hollow, called "Bóro," in whose deep bottom a lake is formed, which, according to the season and to the quantity of water it contains, like several other water-basins round the lake, may be termed a fresh or brackish-water lake.

During the last rainy season but very little rain had fallen in Kánem, and consequently this lake was of rather small extent, being about one mile and a half round, and limited to the more deeply depressed southern corner of the basin, while its northern corner, which is rarely inundated, was thickly wooded. There was formerly much cultivation here, and a small village stood on the border of the lake. Now all is desolate, and our Kánemma guide, Músa Bedé, unwilling to make a longer stay in such a spot, hurried on, ascending the steep eastern slope, which is at least three hundred feet high. Here we obtained a view over a great extent of country; but it was all one desolate wilderness, and nothing particular to be seen excepting a party of five men watching our movements and keeping parallel with us. We therefore returned to our troop and informed them of the circumstance, and a body of horsemen was sent in pursuit.

We then, about half an hour before noon, crossed another hollow or vale, called Tawáder, with the dry basin of a lake in its southernmost part, on whose border were several wells; the ground was thickly overgrown with underwood. Continuing our march, we reached, after noon, a more extensive and extremely beautiful vale, richly clothed with vegetation, but not in so wild a state, and not of the same impenetrable character as many of those which we had seen; the reason seemed to be that it was less deep, being only about 150 feet under the higher level.

Here the troop halted during the heat of the day, the groups being scattered over the whole extent of the hollow; but it was not a fit spot for a night's encampment, as well on account of the wild beasts, as of the danger of a sudden attack from hostile men. Sweet as repose was here in the cool shade of a luxuriant serrákh or a kúrna, the ground was full of scorpions, and my body-guard, Bú-Zéd, was severely stung by one. Accordingly, when the dhohor had passed by, the order was given for

decamping, and we kept along the vale and ascended the eastern slope, when, on an entirely open ground almost bare of trees, we chose a place for our night's encampment. The Arabs here brought us a young ostrich which they had caught in the valley; and we had a long, unprofitable conversation with them in endeavoring to obtain their good-will.

Friday, October 17th. We started very early for a long day's fatiguing ride; for, notwithstanding all the care I took of myself, I could not recover from my sickly state, and was extremely sensitive of fatigue. The country in the beginning of our march was less adorned with trees than usual, but it became more densely wooded after we had passed the vale called Asfúra. This hollow, of small extent, and inclosed all around by steep slopes, is provided with a great number of wells of excellent water; but its bottom, being in most parts stony, is almost bare of vegetation, with the exception of here and there a dúmbush. While the men made a short halt for taking in a supply of water, I went a little in advance with Abd-Allah; but I soon found that he did not know the road at all, keeping far too much to the south, and I thought it wiser to return to our people, and march along with them.

The country here offers a greater variety in its configuration; and instead of an extensive level, as before, hill and dale succeed each other. Having passed several smaller concavities, we reached a more considerable valley, called Jená ú Shelúkko, which contained corn, or rather durra-fields, but they were entirely destroyed by the elephants. Grain had also been cultivated at the foot of the slope, but it had failed entirely, on account of the scarcity of rain. There were no vestiges of human habitations.

Our people had begun to make themselves comfortable in this fine valley for passing the heat of the day, when suddenly orders were given for continuing our march. The country now became more hilly. Having passed *en route* a hollow provided with wells, and called Aghó, once one of the most famous places of Káñem, we made, after noon, a short halt in the flat dell called Núundul, in which are several kháttatír or draw-wells, and

stubble-fields, in order to provide ourselves with water, and also to water our horses. There was a great bustle and confusion, every body wanting to get first to the wells, and proceed with the principal troop, as we were now approaching a hostile territory. My she-camel, which was a very fine little animal, but rather too heavily laden for such an expedition, was among the last that arrived, and, starting after the others, was soon left behind the whole troop, and I endeavored in vain to bring her up.

The country here was more level than it had been in the latter part of our route, and we left on our right only one vale, which is called Maínasa. Fortunately for me, the whole host made a longer halt at two o'clock in the afternoon, in one long line, in order to exhort the little band to valor, and to give them some instructions in case of a conflict with the enemy. No quarter was to be given, and any one of them who should lose his horse or camel was to be indemnified for the loss. But a great deal was proclaimed besides, which, as I was at the very end of the line, I could not make out. Two horsemen were galloping along the line and brandishing white banners, such as I had not observed before. There was a good deal of parade in the whole scene, and at the end of it several small troops of horsemen galloped out in advance of the line as "imán," that is to say, as bound by an oath either to be victorious or to die.

At length we pursued our course, the line breaking up into small irregular detachments, as chance or attachment grouped the people together; but we soon came to another halt, and much conversation ensued, in consequence of which three of the Fugábú horsemen were dispatched to the south to bring up an experienced guide. Having at length resumed our march, through a fine, undulating, and well-wooded country, we chose, about sunset, an open place for our encampment, where we were told we should rest till the moon had risen. Strict orders were given not to light a fire, in order that the enemy might not become aware of our approach. But as soon as it became dark, very large fires were seen to the southeast, forming one magnificent line of flame; and as it was clear that those were not common fires for domestic use, but appeared rather to be beacons, it

was conjectured that the enemy had tidings of our coming, and were calling together their people. An order was therefore immediately given to proceed; but scarcely were the loads put upon the camels, and every thing ready for the march, when a counter order was received that we were to remain. We then began to make ourselves comfortable, when a third order was given to load immediately and to pursue the march.

This ordering and countermanding seemed to arise rather from the bad organization of a band subject to no strict authority, but where every man of any experience and a little valor had something to say, than with the intention of misleading a lurking spy; but, whatever the cause, it was rather trying, and my two men, Bu-Zéd and A'hmed, neither of whom was very energetic, could scarcely be persuaded to load a second time, while all the people were getting ready with great expedition, and marched off as soon as they were ready. We therefore remained behind from the beginning. Unfortunately, the load was so badly adjusted that several things soon fell down, and had to be replaced; and this happening more than once, the distance between us and the host became so great, that at last not even the slightest noise could be heard of the troop before us to direct our course; but having once noticed the direction by the stars, I was able to guide my servants. To make matters worse, the ground was covered with high grass, and it was not easy to proceed at a rapid rate. Trees were very scanty here.

At length the Arabs became aware of my having been left at a great distance behind, and about midnight made a halt, when I overtook them. After having lightened my camel, we proceeded with expedition through the dark night, illuminated only by the distant fires, which gave a painful idea of the resistance we were to meet with, till after two o'clock in the morning of the 18th, when we reached a rising ground, and, dismounting, lay down near our wearied horses to get an hour's rest.

We then continued our march with great alacrity for an hour, when we came to a halt on undulating sandy ground thickly covered with bushes. The horsemen galloped on in advance.

while Overweg and I remained with the train, consisting of from sixty to seventy camels mounted by young men, and boys not more than ten years old, who were looking forward with such avidity for prey that they could scarcely be kept back. At length we began to proceed slowly, but soon came to another halt, as till now we had not heard a single shot; but when the day dawned the greedy multitude could not be kept back any longer, and on we went.

We here obtained a faint view of an irregular valley-formation ahead of us, adorned with a few palm-trees, which, in the dubious light of the dawn, gave to the country an interesting and entirely new appearance. Crossing this valley-plain, we gradually ascended higher ground, and reached a small deserted village, consisting of large, spacious huts; but, though we turned off from it to the north in order to prevent our little troop from dispersing to make booty, the best-mounted and most daring of them started off on their light mehára to see if something might not have been left to suit them.

Some little cultivation was to be seen around the village, but in general the country continued to bear the most evident traces of desolation. At length its dreary aspect became relieved, and we descended into a regularly formed valley called Gésgi, about 500 yards broad, and inclosed between high cliffs of sandstone. This was the first regular valley-formation which we saw on our journey to Kánem, for as yet all depressions in the ground presented rather the character of hollows without a regular shelving or sloping in any direction. This valley, on the contrary, extending from north to south, was apparently the occasional channel of a small torrent, and, on account of the moisture extending over the whole of it, was adorned with several groups of palm-trees, and in several places with corn-fields.

But while this valley presented great attraction to the European traveler, it was not less attractive to the covetous Arab freebooter; and all order ceasing in our little troop, the young, inexperienced lads who composed our *cortége* dispersed in all directions. Some small flocks of sheep had been observed in the valley, and they were now pursued by part of our compan-

ions, while others ransacked the huts of a small hamlet situated on the western brow of the vale. It was very fortunate for us that no natives were lurking hereabouts, as they might have done immense mischief to our troop, scattered as it was about the country. Overweg and I were almost left alone, when, after having looked about in vain for traces of the footsteps of the horsemen who had gone in advance, we ascended the eastern slope, which was extremely steep and very difficult for the camels. Gradually our companions, fearing to expose themselves by staying behind, collected around us, and we proceeded in a southeasterly direction, when we soon came to another and more favored valley, called Hénderí Síggesí, its bottom adorned with a thicker grove of date-trees and with beautiful corn-fields—that is to say, fields of wheat, with their golden stalks waving in the wind; while the high ground, being elevated above the bottom of the valley about 120 feet, was planted near the brow with fields of millet, which was just ripe, but not yet reaped. What with the rich vegetation, the steep cliffs, the yellowish crop, the burning hamlet, and the people endeavoring to make their escape, it formed a very interesting scene, which is represented in the accompanying view.

Keeping along the western brow, which in some places, where the rock lay bare, was extremely steep, we observed that several natives, including even two or three horsemen, had taken refuge in the thickest part of the date-grove, watching our motions. A small hamlet of straw huts of a peculiar shape, not unlike those of the Koyám described on a former occasion, and lying at the very brink of the steep rocky declivity, had been set on fire. Our wild, lawless companions now began to descend into the valley at a spot where the slope was more gradual, raising a war-cry in order to frighten those people who were hid in the grove. Five good horsemen would have sufficed to overthrow this whole troop of young unbearded lads, who were snapping their firelocks without being in general provided with balls. It was very lucky, indeed, that Overweg and I, with our people, kept well together in the foremost part of the train, for the natives, rushing suddenly out from their hiding-place upon the

HÉNDERÍ SIGGESÍ.

stragglers, laid hold of two camels, with which they immediately made good their retreat, their young riders, who a moment before had shown such courage, having betimes jumped off their animals and run away. Our companions were now full of gesticulations and warlike threats, but nobody dared to attack the small body of men and dispute with them their booty. We soon reached the level on the eastern side of the valley; but if we had hesitated before what course to pursue, we were now quite puzzled to find the whereabouts of the horsemen. Wandering thus up and down without any distinct direction, we, of course, as it was not safe for us to dismount and take a moment's rest, suffered great fatigue, after a whole day and night's journey. Meanwhile the sun had almost reached the zenith, and I felt extremely weak and exhausted.

At length some of the horsemen were seen, at a great distance beyond a more shallow dell, driving before them a herd of cattle; and rescued at length from the dangerous position in which we had been, destitute as we were of any sufficient protection, we hastened to cross the valley, and to join our more warlike and experienced friends. Falling in with them, we went together to a place a little further down this wide, flat valley, where there were a small hamlet and stubble-fields. Here at length I hoped to get a little rest, and lay down in the scanty shade of a talha; but, unfortunately, there was no well here, and, after a very short halt and a consultation, the order was given to proceed. I was scarcely able to mount my horse again and to follow the troop. The Arabs called this valley, which was very flat and produced no date-trees, Wádi el Ghazál, but what its real name is I did not learn; it has, of course, nothing to do with the celebrated and larger valley of this name. The well was not far off, in another fine valley, or rather hollow, deeper than Wádi el Ghazál, but much flatter than either Síggesí or Gésgí, and called Msállat or Amsállat. It was adorned with a wild profusion of mimosa, and in its deepest part provided with "kháttatír" or draw-wells, irrigating a fine plantation of cotton, the first we had yet seen in Kánem.

The Arabs had not made a very considerable booty, the

Woghda having received intelligence of their approach and saved what they could. The whole result of the expedition was fifteen camels, a little more than three hundred head of cattle, and about fifteen hundred sheep and goats. The Arabs were for some time in great anxiety about Ghét, and a party of horsemen who had gone with him to a greater distance; but he joined us here, driving before him a large flock of sheep. We were busy watering our horses, and providing ourselves with this necessary element. But there was not much leisure; for scarcely had we begun to draw water, when the alarm was given that the Woghda were attacking us, and three bodies of horsemen were formed in order to protect the train and the booty. The main body rushed out of the valley on the southeast side, and drove the enemy back to a considerable distance; but the intention of encamping on the slope near this well was given up as too dangerous, and it was decided to go to a greater distance, though the intention of penetrating to M'awó seemed not as yet entirely to be abandoned. It took us a considerable time to get out of this wooded valley, the Arabs being afraid of being attacked and losing their booty.

At length, the cattle and flocks having been driven in advance, we started, and, leaving the vale, ascended elevated rocky ground, from which, following a southwesterly direction, we descended, a little before two o'clock in the afternoon, into the narrower eastern part of a deep and beautiful valley, which here is adorned by a pretty grove of date-trees, while its western part expands into fine cultivated ground. Here we made a halt of about half an hour, in order to water the animals and replenish our skins; for not even here was it thought advisable to encamp, as it is regarded as a very inauspicious place, this being the spot where, in 1850, the Kél-owí fell upon the Welád Slimán and almost exterminated them. After so short a halt we again pursued our march. I was now so totally exhausted that I was obliged to dismount at short intervals and lie down for a moment; and once, when left alone, it was only with the utmost exertion that I was able to mount my horse again; but nevertheless I managed to drag myself along. At length, about sunset, we chose

a place for our encampment on the brow of the slope descending into a deep valley. Having now been thirty-four hours on horseback with only short and insufficient intervals, I fell senseless to the ground, and was considered by Mr. Overweg and our people as about to breathe my last. But after an hour's repose I recovered a little, and, having had a good night's rest, felt myself much stronger on the following morning, so that I could even undergo some exertion which was not exactly necessary.

Monday, October 20th. Descended with our people into the valley when they went to fetch water. It is called A'láli A'dia, or Jerád, from a small hamlet lying on the highest ground, and called A'láli. The well was very rich and plentiful; but no traces of cultivation appeared at the foot of the date-trees. The slope was rather steep, and about 130 feet high. The Arabs, who had contracted their encampment or "dowar" within the smallest possible compass, barricading it with their baggage, as all the empty bags which they had taken with them on the expedition were now full of corn from the magazines of the enemy, were not at all at their ease, and seemed not to know exactly what course to take, whether to penetrate further in advance or to return. Several Fugábú and people belonging to Hallúf came to pay their respects to Sheikh Ghét; and a person of considerable authority, called Keghámma, or rather Keghámma-futébe (Seraskier of the West), the very man of whom we before had heard so much talk, came also and paid me a visit in my tent; for, being in a weak state, I had been obliged, when the sun became oppressive, to pitch my tent, as there was no shade. There being no other tent in the encampment, I received visits from several parties who wished to breakfast a little at their ease, and among others from a man called Kédel Batrám, Hallúf's brother. Keghámma stated that he was certainly able to bring us to Kárká; but this was a mere pretense, and he himself retracted his promise shortly afterward before the sheikh. Our cherished object lay still before us, at a considerable distance; but our friend Ghét thought that he had brought us already far enough to deserve some more presents, and plainly intimated as much to us through 'Abd-Allah. Fortunately, I had

a handsome yellow cloth caftan with me, embroidered with gold, and toward evening, when I had recovered from a severe fit of fever which had suddenly attacked me in the afternoon, we went to pay our compliments to the chief, and begged him to accept of it; at the same time we told him we should be satisfied if we were enabled to visit the district belonging to the keghámma. But the situation of the Arabs soon became more dangerous, and nothing was thought of but to retrace our steps westward with the greatest possible expedition.

I was lying sleepless in my tent, in a rather weak state, having scarcely tasted any kind of food for the last few days on account of my feverish state, when, in the latter part of the night, a great alarm was raised in the camp, and I heard the Arabs mount their horses and ride about in several detachments, raising their usual war-cry, "yá riyáb, yá riyáb;" but I remained quietly on my mat, and was not even roused from my lethargical state when I received the intelligence that a numerous hostile army, consisting of the Woghda, the Médelé, the Shíri, and the people of the Eastern Keghámma, was advancing against the camp. I received this news with that indifference with which a sick and exhausted man regards even the most important events. Neither did I stir when, with the first dawn of day on the 21st, the enemy having actually arrived within a short distance, our friends left the camp in order to offer battle. I heard about ten shots fired, but did not think that the Arabs would be beaten. Suddenly Overweg, who had saddled his horse at the very beginning of the alarm, called out anxiously to me that our friends were defeated, and, mounting his horse, started off at a gallop. My mounted servant, Bú-Zéd, had long taken to his heels; and thus, while Mohammed was hastily saddling my horse, I flung my bernús over me, and grasping my pistols and gun, and throwing my double sack over the saddle, I mounted and started off toward the west, ordering Mohammed to cling fast to my horse's tail. It was the very last moment, for at the same time the enemy began to attack the east side of the camp. All the people had fled, and I saw only the chief slave of Ghét, who, with great anxiety, entreated me to

take his master's state sword with me, that it might not fall into the hands of the enemy.

But I had not gone a great distance when I heard firing close behind me, and, turning round, saw the Arab horsemen rallying, and with the cry "He keléb, keléb," turn round against the enemy, who had dispersed in order to collect the spoil. I went on in order to inform Mr. Overweg, who, together with the Arabs who were mounted on camels, and even several horsemen, had fled to some distance and posted themselves on a hill. Assuring him that the danger was over, I returned with him to the camp, where we were rather surprised to find that not only all our luggage was gone, but that not even a vestige of my tent was left.

The enemy, attracted only by the English tent and Sheikh Ghét's baggage, had scarcely touched the effects of the other people, but considered my tent as a fair prize and ran away with it. But the Arabs pursuing them, we got back most of our things. A leathern English bag of mine, which contained some articles of value, had been cut open, just, as it seemed, at the moment when our friends came up with the enemy. Our chief loss consisted in our cooking utensils and provisions; I also much regretted the loss of an English prayer-book which had belonged to Mr. Richardson. Four of the Arabs had been killed, and thirty-four of the enemy. Mr. Overweg was busily employed in dressing some severe wounds inflicted on our friends. The Arabs were furious at the insolence, as they called it, of the enemy, who had dared to attack them in their own encampment, and they swore they would now go and burn down all their hamlets and their corn. The horsemen actually left, but returned in the course of the afternoon rather silently, with a sullen face and unfavorable tidings, and before sunset they were once more obliged to defend their own encampment against another attack of the energetic natives; they, however, succeeded in beating them off. Hallúf distinguished himself greatly by his valor, killing three or four of the enemy with his own hand.

But, notwithstanding this little victory, the forebodings for the night were very unfavorable, and our friends would certain-

ly have decamped immediately if they had not been afraid that in the darkness of the night the greater part might take to their heels, and that a shameful flight would be followed by great loss of life and property. Accordingly, they determined to remain till the next morning. But an anxious and restless night it was; for they had received authentic news that a body of from thirty to forty Wádáy horsemen were to join their enemies that night, and to make a joint and last attack upon them, and they were well aware that the enemy had only been beaten from want of horses. All the horses remained saddled, and the whole night they sounded the watch-cry; but the most restless was the renegade Jew 'Abd-Allah, who felt convinced that this would be his last night, and was most anxious to get a razor in order to shave his head before the hour of death.

October 22*d*. The night passed on without the enemy appearing, and with the dawn of day the sign for decamping was given, when every body endeavored to get in advance of his neighbor. The enemy, as was positively stated afterward, arrived there about an hour later, but, seeing that we were gone, did not choose to pursue us.

Thus we left the most interesting part of Kánem behind us, the country once so thickly studded with large, populous, and celebrated towns, such as Nijímiye, Agháfi, and all those places which I shall describe in the Appendix from the account of the expeditions of Edrís Alawóma, with many rich valleys full of date-trees.

Keeping first in a westerly, and afterward in a more south-westerly direction, through a rather uninteresting country, we arrived about eight o'clock in the morning in a wide vale called Tákulum, full of rich succulent herbage and fine trees, where, it being supposed that we were out of danger, it was decided to give the horses and camels a feed after having watered them. I, for my part, was extremely thankful for getting a few hours' rest in the shade of a venerable acacia, near the gentle slope surrounding the hollow. But just in the greatest heat of the day we left this pleasant resting-place, near which is the ordinary residence of the keghámma, in the valley Kárafu, and fol-

lowed a more northwesterly direction, ascending gradually from the vale, and entering a well-wooded district, where all the grass had recently been burned, or was still burning; and in one place it was even with some danger that we found our way through the flames. This burning of the grass, as I have stated above, seems to be a general practice all over Negroland.

Toward evening the country became quite open, and ahead of us a small range was seen, at the western foot of which our resting-place was said to be; but it seemed very distant, and it was quite dark when we made halt in two separate encampments, not being able to reach the point of destination. Our supper was very simple indeed; for, having lost all our provisions at the taking of the camp at A'láli, we were obliged to content ourselves with a few bad dates, the only thing we were able to obtain from our friend Sheikh Ghét.

Thursday, October 23*d.* While our camels and people kept along the direct road, together with the train and part of the horsemen, Overweg and I, following Sheikh Ghét and his troop, took a more northerly direction, and passed the heat of the day in a fine valley. It was certainly one of the finest vales we had seen in the country, except that it did not produce date-trees; but the district of Shitáti, which we again had entered here, seems not to be favorable for that tree, while Shíri and the neighborhood of M'awó is very productive in date-trees. Part of the bottom was laid out in corn-fields, irrigated from Kháttatír, near which some huts were standing, while a larger village, at present deserted, is situated on the brow of the slope dominating the valley. It is called Burka-drússo or Burka-drústo. Here we enjoyed a few hours of tranquil repose; but with the exception of this our enjoyment was very scanty, having nothing to breakfast upon but a handful of dates and some water. But our material wants were inconsiderable in comparison with the disappointment which we felt, as we clearly saw that all hope of reaching the Bahar el Ghazál, or even M'awó, was to be given up; and the hope of attaining these districts had been the only reason which had induced us to join our fate with this band of freebooters. We had spent all the property that remained to

us to enable us to undertake this expedition, and our reflections, therefore, were far from pleasant.

When the heat of the day had passed by, the Arabs pursued their march, and we followed them, reascending the higher level, and marching over a pleasant country well adorned with trees and bushes, while we left a hollow called Núkko on our left—one of the three vales of Shitáti which bear this name—and farther on crossing another one called Arnánko. When night approached, our companions began to put their horses in a gallop in order to arrive betimes, while we preferred going on more slowly.

The country here became more undulating, and afterward even rugged, and we made our way as well as we could in the dark, stumbling along over a rugged ground in a northwesterly direction, and were not a little delighted when at length we saw the fires of the encampment, which this time had not been pitched on the highest level, but rather in a hollow not far from the well. Its name is Bír el Hamésh, or Yégil, or, as it is generally pronounced, Yíggeli. We were the more delighted to reach it, as we found here not only all our people and luggage, but also provisions, and we were nearly famished. Of course, we were most cheerfully hailed by those of our servants whom, with the remainder of the Arabs, we had left at the Bír el Kúrna, and who had felt the greatest anxiety about our safety on account of the many unfavorable rumors which had reached them with regard to the proceedings and sufferings of our party. They had transported the camp from Bír el Kúrna to this place several days previously, and were looking forward to our return most anxiously.

We immediately attacked a bowl of camel's milk, and, thus materially comforted, rested outside our tents, enjoying the freshness of the evening. The camp, or dowar, was rather narrow, being encumbered by the booty which had been taken from the enemy; and the people, dreading lest the enemy might follow them, all huddled closely together, and kept strict watch. In such circumstances, the wailings of the women over the dead, which sounded through the night, accompanied by loud, mourn-

ful strokes on the great drum, could not fail to make a deep impression. However, we passed here tranquilly the following day, and enjoyed rest and repose the more as the weather was very oppressive.

We received here the positive news that the Wádáy horsemen who had come to the assistance of the Woghda, and had caused the Arabs so much fear aud anxiety the day before, had returned to M'awó; and a very curious story was told with regard to them, which at once shows how highly these horsemen of Wádáy are respected by the Arabs, and the esteem which they themselves entertain for the latter. Thirty Wádáy horsemen were said to have arrived with the Woghda in consequence of their entreaties, and to have followed with them the traces of our friends, the Woghda representing to them that many of the latter had been killed. Thus they arrived in the morning when we had just left the camp at A'láli, and the dust raised by our host was plainly visible in the distance; but when the Woghda instigated the Wádáy people to go and attack that host, they wanted to assure themselves how many Arabs had fallen in the last battle, in which thirty-four of the Woghda were said to have been slain, and when they found only two tombs, the latter told them that in each there were ten bodies; but the Wádáy people, being anxious to make sure of the valor of their friends, had the tombs dug up, and found only two buried in each. Whereupon they stigmatized the Woghda as liars, and felt little inclined to follow the valiant robbers who had killed so many of the enemy, while they had lost so few of their own. But this story may have been adorned by our friends the Welád Slimán, who could not even deny that, besides a great deal of other booty from their own camp, which the enemy had succeeded in carrying away, the chief of the Woghda could pride himself on the red bernús which we had given as a present to Sheikh Ghét; nay, he could even boast of four horses taken from the Arabs.

Sunday, October 26th. This and the following day the Arabs were all busy in writing, or getting letters written to Kúkawa, as a courier was to leave. I myself was almost the only per-

son who did not get a note ready, for I could not muster sufficient energy to write a letter. Had I been strong enough, I should have had sufficient leisure to make up the whole journal of my excursion to the eastern parts of Kánem; but I was quite unable, and the consequence was that this part of my diary always remained in a very rough state. Sheikh Ghét, who thought that we were greatly indebted to him for having seen so much of the country, sent for a variety of things; but we were only able to comply with very few of his wishes. On our telling him that we were not at all satisfied with what we had seen, and that, in order not to waste more time, we had the strongest wish to return to Kúkawa as soon as possible, he wanted to persuade us that he himself was to leave for the capital of Bórnu in five or six days. But we prudently chose to provide for ourselves, and not rely upon his promise.

Monday, October 27th. The courier for Kúkawa left in the morning, and in the evening a party of freebooters made an attack upon the camels of the Arabs, but, being pursued by the horsemen, whose great merit it is to be ready for every emergency, they were obliged to leave their booty, and be contented to escape with their lives. The vale in which the well is situated is rather more exuberant than is the case generally, and there were several pools of stagnant water, from which the cattle were watered. There was even a real jungle, and here and there the den of a ferocious lion, who did not fail to levy his tribute on the various species of animal property of our friends, and evinced rather a fancy for giving some little variety to his meals, for a horse, a camel, and a bullock became his prey.

Tuesday, October 28th. Seeing that there was a caravan of people forming to go to Kúkawa, while the Arabs intended once more to return to Burka-drússo, we at once went to the chief to inform him that we had made up our minds to go with the caravan. A chief of the Haddáda, or rather Búngo, arrived with offerings of peace on the part of the Shíri, and came to see us, together with the chief mentioned above, Kédl Batrám, who was the father-in-law of the khalífa of M'awó; Kóbber, or rather the head man of the Kóbber, and other great men of the Fugábú;

and I amused them with my musical box. Overweg and I, disappointed in our expectations of penetrating farther eastward, prepared for our return journey, and I bought a small skin of tolerable dates for half a túrkedí, while to 'Abd-Allah, who had been our mediator with the chief, I made a present of a jeríd, in order not to remain his debtor.

All this time I felt very unwell, which I attribute principally to the great changes of atmosphere, the nights being cool and the days very warm.

Friday, October 31*st.* Though we were determined to return to Kúkawa, we had yet once more to go eastward. The Arabs removed their encampment to Arnánko, the hollow which we passed on our way from Burka-drússo to Yégil. There had been a great deal of uncertainty and dispute among them with reference to the place which they were to choose for their encampment; but though, on the following day, very unfavorable news was brought with regard to the security of the road to Bórnu, the departure of the caravan nevertheless remained fixed for the 2d of November; for in the morning one of the Welád Slimán arrived from Kúkawa, accompanied by two horsemen, bringing letters from the vizier, requesting the Arabs, in the most urgent terms, to remove their encampment without delay to Késkawa, on the shore of the lake, whither he would not fail to send the whole remainder of their tribe, who at that time were residing in Kúkawa, for he had positive news, he assured them, that the Tawárek were meditating another expedition against them on a large scale.

The report seemed not without foundation, for the three messengers had actually met, on their road between Bárrowa and Ngégimi, a party of ten Tawárek, three on foot and the rest on horseback, and had only escaped by retreating into the swamps formed by the lake. This news, of course, spread considerable anxiety among the Arabs, who were still more harassed the same day by information received to the effect that a party of fifteen Wáday horsemen were lying in ambush in a neighboring valley; and a body of horsemen were accordingly sent out to scour the country, but returned without having seen any body.

Sunday, November 2d. The day of our departure from Kánem at length arrived. Sorry as we were to leave the eastern shore of the lake unexplored, we convinced ourselves that the character of our mission did not allow us to risk our fate any longer by accompanying these freebooters.* The camels we had taken with us on this expedition were so worn out that they were unable to carry even the little luggage we had left, and Sheikh Ghét made us a present of two camels, which, however, only proved sufficient for the short journey to Kúkawa, for the one fell a few paces from the northern gate on reaching the town, and the other a short distance from the southern gate on leaving it again on our expedition to Músgu.

The caravan with which we were to proceed was numerous, but the whole of the people were Kánembú, who carried their little luggage on pack-oxen and a few camels, while besides ourselves there were only two horsemen. But there were some respectable people among them, and even some women richly adorned with beads, and with their fine, regular features and slender forms, forming a strong contrast to the ugly physiognomy and square forms of the Bórnu females. The difference between the Bórnu and Kánembú is remarkable, although it is difficult to account for it by historical deduction.

We were so fortunate as to perform our home-journey without any serious accident, although we had some slight alarms. The first of these occurred when we approached the town of Berí, and found all the inhabitants drawn up in battle array at a narrow passage some distance from the town; and at the first moment there was considerable alarm on both sides; but we

* The information which, in the weak and exhausted state I was then reduced to, and under the unfavorable circumstances in which I was placed as a hostile intruder, I was able to collect with regard to this country—once the mighty and populous kingdom of Kánem, and now reduced to the desolate abode of the scanty remnants of the former native population preyed upon every day by roving and lawless tribes from different quarters—I shall put together in an Appendix (II.) at the end of this volume, as well as the interesting geographical details with regard to Kánem in its flourishing state, as they are to be gleaned from the historical work of Imám Ahmed (Appendix III.). The dates of the earlier history of Kánem, as far as they have come to our knowledge, have been detailed in a former chapter.

KANEMBU CHIEF.

soon learned that they had taken us for Tawárek, of whom a numerous freebooting party, consisting of 200 camels and about as many horses, had a short time previously carried away all the cattle belonging to the place. The state of the country was so insecure that the inhabitants would not allow Mr. Overweg to stay here, notwithstanding his earnest protestations, so that he was obliged to make up his mind to proceed with the caravan, although he was sensible of the danger connected with such an undertaking; and certainly, if we had met with a tolerably strong party of the Tawárek, our companions would have afforded us very little protection. We were so fortunate, however, as to pass through this infested track just at the time when an expedition, laden with booty, had returned homeward.

We, however, met more than forty Búdduma half a day's journey beyond Ngégimi, armed with spears and shields, and clad in nothing but their leather apron. They had been occupied in preparing salt from the roots of the siwák or *Cupparis sodata;* and when they saw the first part of our caravan coming through the thick forest, they commenced an attack, so that Overweg and I were obliged to fire a few random shots over their heads, when, seeing that we were stronger than they had supposed, and recognizing some friends among the Kánembú, they allowed us to pass unmolested. But our whole march from Ngégimi to Bárrowa, through the thick underwood with which the shores of the lake are here overgrown, resembled rather a flight than any thing else.

On the 10th we reached the komádugu, and after some lively negotiation with the governor or shitíma, who resides in the town of Yó, I and my companion were allowed to cross the river the same afternoon; for it has become the custom with the rulers of Bórnu to use the river as a sort of political quarantine—a proceeding which, of course, they can only adopt as long as the river is full. During the greater part of the year every body can pass at pleasure. Even after we had crossed we were not allowed to continue our journey to the capital before the messenger, who had been sent there to announce our arrival, had returned with the express permission that we might

go on. The shores round the komádugu were greatly changed, the river being now at its highest. Extensive patches were cultivated with wheat, being regularly laid out in small quadrangular beds of from four to five feet in diameter, which were watered morning and evening from the river by means of buckets and channels.

We reached Kúkawa on the 14th, having met on the road a party of about fifty Welád Slimán, who were proceeding to join their companions in Kánem. We were well received by our host, the Vizier of Bórnu.

We had already heard from the Governor of Yó that the sheikh and his vizier were about to leave in a few days on an expedition; and, being desirous of employing every means of becoming acquainted with new regions of this continent, we could not but avail ourselves of this opportunity, however difficult it was for us, owing to our entire want of means, to make the necessary preparations for another campaign, and although the destination of the expedition was not quite certain.

CHAPTER XLII.

WARLIKE PREPARATIONS AGAINST MÁNDARÁ.

November 25th, 1851. Ten days after having returned to our head-quarters from the wearisome journey to Kánem, I left Kúkawa again in order to join a new warlike expedition.

The sheikh and his vizier, with the chief part of the army, had set out already the previous Saturday. The route had not yet been determined upon—it was, at least, not generally known; but Wándalá, or, as the Kanúri call it, Mándará, was mentioned as the direct object of the march, in order to enforce obedience from the prince of that small country, who, protected by its mountains, had behaved in a refractory manner. The chief motive of the enterprise, however, consisted in the circumstance of the coffers and slave-rooms of the great men being empty; and,

a new supply being wanted, from whence to obtain it was a question of minor importance. There was just then much talk about a final rupture between 'Abd e' Rahmán and the vizier, the former having intimate relations with the Prince of Mándará; and it was for that reason that Mr. Overweg had at first thought it better to remain behind.

My means were scanty in the extreme, and did not allow me to have a mounted servant, my camp-followers consisting merely of the same naga or "jíge," as the Kanúri call the female camel, which had proved of the highest value to me on the journey to Kánem, and of two very indifferent Fezzáni lads, weak in mind and body—Mohammed ben Habíb and Mohammed ben Ahmed.

The weather being temperate, and my spirits excellent, I followed cheerfully the Ngórnu road, with which I was well acquainted. The country looked much more interesting now than three months before, on my return from A'damáwa. Then all was dry and barren; scarcely a single fresh blade had started from the ground; and I was obliged to draw with immense exertion my supply of water from a deep well near Kaine; now the ground was covered with young herbs, the trees were in foliage, and near the very place of Kaine where the sheikh with his camp-followers had rested the first night, a large lake had been formed by the rains. This lake, which is surrounded by shady trees, retains its water until two or three months after the rainy season, when it begins gradually to dry up. I was therefore enabled to water my horse without any further trouble, after which I followed my people, who were in advance. Here I met with my friend Háj Edrís and Shitíma Makarémma, who were just returning from the camp. They told me that the sheikh had encamped that day at Kúkia, beyond Ngórnu. I therefore made a short halt at noon on this side of that town, in order to reach the camp during the evening without staying in the place; for the city, on all sides, at about an hour's distance, is almost entirely surrounded by fields devoid of trees. After I had enjoyed about an hour's rest, Overweg arrived with the disagreeable tidings that his camel, soon after leaving the gate, had

fallen, and was unable to get up again even after the luggage had been removed. He therefore sent his servant Ibrahím in advance, in order to procure another camel from the vizier, while he remained with me. When we set out again we took the direct route to the camp, the road being enlivened by horsemen, camels, and pedestrians. The country on this side was only cultivated in some places; we perceived, however, two miles behind Ngórnu, a carefully-kept cotton-plantation, and the fields near the village of Kúkia were well cultivated.

The whole of this fertile plain became a prey to the inundations of the Tsád in the year 1854, caused by a sinking of the ground, when the whole country was changed in the most marvelous way. Here we obtained a first view of the camp with its tents; but it made no remarkable impression upon me, being still in an unfinished state, including only those people who were in the most intimate connection with the court.

The "ngáufate" having its fixed arrangements, our place was assigned near the tents of Lamíno, at some distance east from those of Háj Beshír. As the greater part of the courtiers were taking at least a portion of their harím with them to the "kerígu," a simple tent was not sufficient for them; but, by means of curtains made of striped cotton stuff, a certain space is encompassed in order to insure greater privacy. For the sheikh and the vizier, as long as we remained in the Bórnu territories, at every new encampment an inclosure of matting was erected; for it is not the custom, as has been asserted, to separate the royal camp from that of the rest, at least not on expeditions into a hostile country, nor has it been so in former times. The common soldiers had no further protection, except some light and small huts with high gables, which some of them had built with the tall stalks of the Indian corn, which lay in great abundance on the stubble-fields.

But I shall first say a few words about our friend Lamíno, whom I have already occasionally mentioned, and with whom on this expedition we came into closer contact. This man furnishes an example how, in this country, notwithstanding the immense difference of civilization, in reality matters take the same

course as in Europe, where notorious rogues and sharpers often become the best police functionaries. Lamíno, originally "El Amín," had formerly been a much-dreaded highway robber, but had now become *chef de police*, or, as the Háusa people would say, "serkí-n-karfi," being, in consequence of his hard-heartedness and total want of the gentler feelings, of the greatest importance to the vizier, whose mild character did not allow him personally to adopt severe measures. Imprisoning people and ordering them to be whipped constituted one of Lamíno's chief pleasures. He could, however, at times, be very gentle and amiable; and there was nothing which afforded greater amusement to my companion and me than to hear him talk in the most sentimental manner of the favorite object of his affections, a woman whom he carried with him on this expedition. It caused us also great delight to witness the terror he felt at our comparing the shape of the earth to an ostrich's egg; for he seemed to be quite at a loss to understand how he should be able to preserve his balance on such a globe, with his great heaviness and clumsiness.

Wednesday, November 26th. Early in the morning the signal for the decampment of the army was given in front of the tent of the sheikh by the sound of the great drum, and in broad battle-array ("báta") the army, with its host of cavalry, moved onward over the plain, which was covered with tall reeds, and showed only here and there a few signs of cultivation.

This time I still remained with the camels and the train-oxen, which, mixed with pedestrians and some single horsemen in long unbounded lines, kept along the road, while single troops of Kánembú spearmen, in their light, fanciful garments, mostly consisting of a small apron of rags, or a hide tied round the loins, and armed with their light wooden shields, passed the luggage-train, shouting out in their wild native manner. Thus, after a march of about eleven miles, we reached the cotton-fields of Yédi, a town of considerable magnitude, surrounded by a clay wall in a state of good repair. We passed it on a rising ground to our left, while the country on the northwestern side spread out in one continuous sandy plain, dotted here and there by a

few dúm-bushes (ngílle) and by a few single dúm-palms. On this side of the town, at about a quarter of an hour's distance, after the autumnal rains, a large pond is formed, on the borders of which gardens of onions are planted by the inhabitants of Yédi, and irrigated with the aid of khattatír.

The sun was intensely hot, and the heat at noon was very great. Strange to say, during all this time I neglected to make thermometrical observations, and, as far as I am aware, Overweg did not pay more attention to this subject than myself; but the reason of this neglect was that we usually started early in the morning, and seldom had shade in the neighborhood of our tents at noon; for these, which by this time were so much worn out that every object inside cast a shadow as well as outside, could give us, of course, no measure for the temperature of the air.

Our protector Lamíno afterward sent us an excellent dish of rice boiled in milk, and covered with bread and honey. The rice was of a whiteness unusual in this country. Having received likewise a dish of bread and honey from the vizier, we thought it our duty to pay him a visit, and, through his mediation, to the sheikh also. The sheikh had alighted at his spacious clay mansion outside the walls of the city, and he was just occupied with granting a grand reception to the townspeople.

After the usual exchange of compliments, our discourse turned upon Captain Denham (Ráis Khalíl), who had once taken the same road in conjunction with Kashélla Bárka Ghaná, and with Bú-Khalúm. On this occasion also the manner in which old M'allem Shádeli or Chádeli, then a simple fáki, who was present, behaved toward that Christian was mentioned. We related to them what a faithful description Major Denham had given, in the narrative of his adventures, of the hostile disposition of the fáki, when the old m'allem, who was now one of the grandees of the empire, in order to revenge himself upon Major Denham and ourselves, described to the assembly, with sundry sarcastic hints, how he had seen the major, after his shameful defeat at Musfáya, half dead and stripped of his clothes,

and exhibiting to uninitiated eyes all the insignia which mark the difference between the faithful and unfaithful. The whole spirit in which the story was told bore evidence of the enlightened character and the tolerance of these gentlemen.

All the people behaved very friendly, and the sheikh sent us in the evening two sheep, a load of "ngáberí" or sorghum, besides two dishes of prepared food. We were also entertained by a young musician, who had accompanied Mr. Overweg during his voyage on the Tsád, and in this way there was no end of feasting. Nor was there any want of intellectual food, the inquisitive and restless vizier being desirous of learning from us as much as possible on this expedition, where he enjoyed plenty of leisure. Here we remained also the following day, as some more detachments were to join the army.*

Friday, November 28th. The ngáufate advanced as far as the town of Márte. Not far from Yédi there extends, in a southerly direction, a very expansive plain devoid of any sort of vegetation except some mimosas. This is the beginning of the "fírki" ground, which comprises so large a space in the southern regions of Bórnu, and of which I have repeatedly spoken on former occasions; but the plantation of the *Holcus cernuus*, called "másakwá" or "mósogá" (which is limited to this peculiar territory), had not turned out well this year, in consequence of the scarcity of rain.

I had marched in advance with my camel, when the vizier got sight of me, and begged me to come to the sheikh. After having saluted me in the most friendly way, he asked me why I always wore my pistols in my belt round the waist, instead of fixing them at the saddle-bow; but he praised my foresight when I appealed to the example of Ráis Khalíl, who, when thrown from his horse, on his unlucky expedition to Mándará, remained without a weapon in his hand. However, he was of opinion that at present, with such a large army, no danger of this kind was to be feared. He showed me also, in the most

* Between Yédi and the Tsád the following places are situated: Léga, a considerable town surrounded by a wall; Dibbuwa, Jíggeri, Manawáze, Górdiná, and Mógolám.

flattering manner, that he had imitated my example of having my chronometer continually girded around my waist, and he assured me that he found it very convenient.

The troop was here proceeding in stately order, and a broad line of battle deployed, one officer, with the title of jérma, riding in advance, and being followed by the four fan-bearers of the sheikh in full array; but a little farther on, a small tract of underwood compelled them to change their order of march, and proceed in one long line. The vizier was kind enough to send me a message to the effect that I had better get in front, so as not to be in the midst of the confusion.

The place of encampment was chosen on the northwest side of the town of Márte; and when the shiekh had dismounted in order to take possession of the mat house which had been prepared for him, the whole host of cavalry galloped up in the fiercest manner, before I was able to get out of their way, so that I received a very severe shock from a horseman, who struck against me with great violence.

In the afternoon my friend and companion on my journey to A'damáwa, Kashélla Billama, called on me, and we mounted on horseback in order to pay a visit to the market, which is held every Friday outside the western gate of the town, where an open area, surrounded by several wells, spreads out. But the market, at least that day, was very insignificant: it was not furnished with a single shed or stall, and not a single article of manufacture was exposed, Negro millet, butter, and wooden bowls being almost the only articles offered for sale; and sellers, as well as buyers, were very few in number. The town contains about four thousand inhabitants, and, taking into account the strategetical art of this country, possesses proper defenses, the clay wall being in a good state of repair, and having a gate on each side excepting the side of the market, where there are two. Toward the east there is a little cultivated ground, and on the north a small suburb, consisting of large, conical thatched huts, where, besides Kanúri, several Fúlbe or Felláta families are living. The interior of the town consists of narrow lanes, and most of the houses are clay buildings.

There was nothing interesting to be seen; but I was agreeably surprised when my companion, who was a native of this place, took me to pay my compliments to his mother, who kept a small shed, or rather, as we should say, a shop, in the little market-place inside the town. It was certainly a trait of a good-natured and friendly disposition.

We remained here the following day; but our stay was not at all pleasant, there being very little shade near the encampment, while our tents were so worn that they scarcely afforded any protection against the sun. Owing to the smallness of my means, I had been obliged to leave my large tent in Kúkawa.

Sunday, November 30th. The following morning I was obliged to remain behind the army a considerable time, in order to allow the air to acquire a more genial temperature. I enjoyed the more the beautiful morning, although the country did not possess many attractions. Here also it exhibited that black, boggy soil called "fírki," which is peculiar to the southern parts of Bórnu, though near the village of Little Márte, or "Márte ghaná," some slight variation was seen, in a crop of Indian corn or "holcus" still standing in the fields; the ears, however, were quickly plucked off by the undisciplined army. Further on I reached a group of villages ornamented by a cluster of beautiful tamarind-trees, and here lay down a while to enjoy the delicious shade. Numbers of people were resting here and there, in order to partake of the hospitality of the villagers; for, to the ruin of the country, there is no commissariat in these armies to provide for the wants of the private individual, and every one must supply himself with food in the best manner he can.

Our march, however, was very short, the encampment having been chosen on the west side of the town of Alá. This town also is of some importance, and surrounded by a wall in good repair, with two gates on the north and west sides, and only one on the south and east. The interior is enlivened by large trees, consisting of chédia (elastic gum) and kúrna trees, while the huts are remarkable for their high conical roof, the thatch of which, in a great many instances, is interlaced by the clasps of the *Cucurbita lagenaria*, the whole looking very cheerful. The

sheikh having requested me repeatedly to give my compass up to him, as he imagined it would be sufficient for one of us to possess such an instrument, I thought it prudent to offer him my musical-box as a present, remarking that I would willingly give away such articles, but not scientific instruments. Several hares had been caught in the course of the day; and in the evening we had some of them palatably dressed by the experienced female slave of Lamíno.

Monday, December 1st. Soon after starting, early in the morning we had to traverse some underwood, which caused a great rush and much confusion among the undisciplined army, so that two or three horsemen were seriously injured. On such occasions, as well as in the thick covert of the forest, I had full opportunity of testing the valuable properties of the Arab stirrups, which protect the whole leg, and, if skillfully managed, keep every obtruder at a respectful distance; indeed, I am almost sure that if, on these my African wanderings, I had made use of the English stirrups, I should have lost both my legs. Our way afterward led over monotonous fírki ground, where we were cheered by the sight of some fine crops of sorghum. Detached hamlets were seen in every direction, even where the country did not present any traces of cultivation; but, with the exception of the Shúwa villages, this province does not contain many small hamlets, the population being concentrated in larger places. Underwood succeeded to the fírki ground, and extended to the very walls of the large town of Díkowa.

The sight of this town, with its walls overtowered by the regularly-shaped crowns of magnificent fig-trees, was very imposing. The western wall, along which our road lay, was covered with women and children, and we met a numerous procession of females in their best attire, who were going to salute their sovereign upon his arrival at the encampment; and, coming from the capital, which is distinguished by the ugliness of its female inhabitants, I was agreeably surprised at their superior countenance and figure. But, though the observer might be gratified with the personal appearance of the natives, their industry was questionable; for only a small tract of cultivated

ground was to be seen on this side of the town, girt by a forest of mighty trees.

The encampment, or "ngáufate," began to form close to the southern wall of the town, amid sandy ground free from trees, and completely surrounded by a thick covert. Although it was December, the sun was very powerful; and, until the camels arrived, I sat down in the shade of a "bíto" or *Balanites*, while the encampment was spreading out in all directions, and approached the edge of the covert. I then gave up my shady place to Kashélla Játo, an officer of the musketeers, who, in acknowledgment, offered me a clear piece of delicious gum, just taken from the tree and full of sweet fluid, in which state it is certainly a delicacy, and is so esteemed here as well as in Western Negroland. The encampment springing up gradually from the ground, with its variety of light dwellings built only for the moment; the multifarious appearance of armed people; the numbers of horses of all colors, some of the most exquisite beauty; the uninterrupted train of beasts of burden, camels, and pack-oxen, laden with the tents, furniture, and provisions, and mounted by the wives and concubines of the different chiefs, well dressed and veiled, altogether presented a most interesting picture; for now almost the whole host, or "kebú," had collected, and twenty thousand men, with ten thousand horses, and at least as many beasts of burden, were no doubt assembled on this spot.

At length our two tents also were pitched, and we could make ourselves as comfortable as the scanty shade which they afforded allowed us.

In the evening, our conversation with the vizier turning upon the means which remained for Bórnu to attain once more to her former greatness, these devastating expeditions and slave-hunts fell under discussion, and I took the liberty to indicate, in opposition to such a system, the necessity of a well-established government, with a strong military force capable of extending their dominion. I also called the attention of the vizier to the point that, as they could never rely upon the Turks, who might easily cut off all supplies of foreign merchandise, it was greatly to their interest to keep open to themselves that large river

which passed a short distance to the south of their dominions, and which would enable them to supply themselves with every kind of European manufacture at a much cheaper rate than they were able to obtain them by the northern route. He did not hesitate to throw the whole blame upon the former sultans; but those poor men, when they possessed the dominion of the Kwána tribe, probably had no idea that the river which ran through their territory joined the sea; and even if they had, the relation between Islám and Christianity at that period was of so hostile a character that, for the very reason that this stream might open to the Christians a more easy access to their country, they shunned any nearer connection with it as dangerous. However, under the present entirely altered state of affairs, there is no question that an energetic native chief, basing his power on a supply of European merchandise, as facilitated by the River Bénuwé, might easily dominate a great part of Central Africa; but energy is just the very thing these people are wanting in.

From this point of our discourse there was an easy transition to that of the abolition of slavery; and here my late lamented friend, Mr. Overweg, made a most eloquent speech on this important question. The vizier could not bring forward any other argument in his defense than that the slave-trade furnished them with the means of buying muskets; and, lamentable as it is, this is certainly the correct view of the subject, for even on the west coast the slave-trade originated in the cupidity of the natives in purchasing the arms of Europeans. Such is the history of civilization! If the poor natives of Africa had never become acquainted with this destructive implement of European ingenuity, the slave-trade would never have reached those gigantic proportions which it has attained; for at first the natives of Africa wanted fire-arms as the surest means of securing their independence of, and superiority over their neighbors; but in the further course of affairs, these instruments of destruction became necessary because they enabled them to hunt down less favored tribes, and, with a supply of slaves so obtained, to procure for themselves those luxuries of European civilization with which they had likewise become acquainted. This is the great

debt which the European owes to the poor African, that after having caused, or at least increased, this nefarious system on his first bringing the natives of those regions into contact with his state of civilization, which has had scarcely any but a demoralizing effect, he ought now also to make them acquainted with the beneficial effects of that state of society. Entering, therefore, into the views of our hosts, I told them that their country produced many other things which they might exchange for fire-arms, without being forced to lay waste the whole of the neighboring countries, and to bring misery and distress upon so many thousands.

I informed them of the last negotiations of her Britannic majesty's messengers with the King of Dahomé, when our friend, listening with the greatest interest to the account of these noble endeavors of her majesty's government, which he could not but admire, declared, in the most distinct manner, that if the British government were able to furnish them with a thousand muskets and four cannons, they would be willing to subscribe any obligatory article for abolishing the slave-trade in their country—of course not including, all at once, domestic slavery, for such a measure would scarcely be feasible in a country where all the relations of domestic life are based upon this system. But the abolition of the foreign slave-trade would be the beginning of a better system. However, I told them that, supposing government were to entertain such a proposal, the first thing for them to do was to open themselves a road to the River Bénuwé, as it would be difficult, not only with respect to the state of the country to be traversed, but also on account of the suspicions of the Turks, to provide them with such a military store by way of the desert. But at present this whole question has been superseded; the vizier himself has succumbed, and his master, the Sheikh 'Omár, although he has been fortunate enough once more to usurp the sovereign authority, seems scarcely sufficient to hold out any guarantee of the stability of his dynasty. Moreover, the slave-trade at present is, in fact, abolished on the north coast; and this circumstance must eventually exercise a great influence over the destinies of Bór-

nu, on account of its central situation, especially if at length a regular intercourse be established on the River Bénuwé.

It was our lot to remain here several days; for while the Kanúri people, who were expected to join the expedition, had assembled in sufficient numbers, only a very small portion of the indigenous Arab or Shúwa population had as yet come up; for almost all of them live in the southeastern parts of the country, where they have taken possession of the deserted seats of former tribes, which were annihilated or weakened in the relentless wars between Islamism and Paganism.

On the first day of our arrival our encampment was very comfortable, but every day that we staid here it became more confined, owing principally to the numerous cavalry of these Arab tribes, almost all of whom are mounted; and many a newcomer was seen hurrying about, without being able to find a spot to lie down, or to meet with friends to treat him. I myself had to entertain a respectable man among these Shúwa of the name of Háj Hamadán, belonging to the tribe of the Hasúnna.

This man, who generally had his settlement far to the east, in the Wadi Guskáb, had come some time previously to Logón in order to pay a visit to some relations of his, and had now joined this expedition. But one must be very careful with these Shúwa; for, to use a common expression, if you give them an inch they are wont to take an ell. But for their Jewish character, I should have liked to enter into more intimate relations with them than I actually did.

Their emigration into these regions, at least several centuries ago, is certainly not without interest; and, as I have already had occasion to observe in another place, they preserve the characteristic type of their race very distinctly—a middle-sized, slender figure (which, however, is apt to become fuller as they advance in years), small, pleasing features, and a dark olive complexion. Their dialect is very peculiar; and while it lays claim to a far greater purity than belongs to the dialects of the coast, by the profusion of vowels which it has preserved, its character is deteriorated, and becomes nearly ridiculous by the

continued repetition and insertion of certain words. A Shúwa is not able to say three words without inserting his favorite term "kúch, kúch," which corresponds to the English word "thorough," but which is not Arabic at all. When they omit the word "kúch" they make use of another term, "bérketek," "your worship," which at once bears testimony to the servile and degraded position which they occupy in Negroland, although in Bórnu they are still treated with some indulgence and lenity, especially since the time when Mohammed Tiráb, the father of the present vizier, who belonged to the tribe of the Sálamát, attained the highest degree of power and influence in the country. In Wádáy again, even at the present time, they are treated very badly.

Of Kanúri people, besides a few smaller bodies of troops, only two officers or kashéllas, 'Ali Marghí and Jérma, were wanting. All the officers and bodies of troops on this side of the komádugu of Bórnu, the so-called Yeou, were collected together, the only exception being Kashélla Mánzo, my hospitable host in Zurríkulo, whose presence at his post was required on account of the Tawárek; for, as regards the officers and chiefs of the provinces on the other side of the komádugu, nobody is required to take part in these expeditions of the sheikh, every officer remaining at his post, except when his master enters upon a war in his own quarters.

While the encampment itself presented considerable interest, as being the temporary abode of so many people, the town of Dí-kowa, near which we were encamped, seemed well deserving some attention, as having been repeatedly the residence of the rulers of the country, and being still one of the largest towns in the kingdom. I therefore paid a visit to it in the afternoon of the second day of our stay, being accompanied by my friend Billa-ma. We entered the town by the western gate, and I saw that the walls were about thirty feet high, and terraced on the inside like those of the capital, and of considerable breadth at the base: they were in a state of good repair. I was struck by the height and round shape of the huts, which entirely wanted the characteristic top, or, as the Kanúri people call it, kógi ngímbe,

and were of the same kind as I had observed in the other towns of this southern province. Every hut had its little court-yard, in some of which vegetation was seen, mostly karás.

The further we proceeded, the more I was pleased with the general appearance of the town, the exterior of which had made a favorable impression upon me on our first arrival. Large, beautiful, wide-spreading fig-trees, ngábore, chédia or elastic gum-trees, and kórna-trees, spread their shade all around, and two or three isolated papaw-trees, or, as the Kanúri call them, bambás-másarbe, with their remarkable feathery crowns, and their smooth, virgin-like stems, formed a lively contrast to the broad-leafed canopy of the other trees, while the hedges and fences of the court-yards were partly enlivened by a luxurious creeper called "dagdágel" by the natives. The real nucleus of the town seemed to consist entirely of clay houses.

After a very pleasant ride we reached the house of the "mainta" or governor, who still enjoys a certain degree of independence. The chief ornament of the place in front of his house was the most splendid caoutchouc-tree I have ever seen; indeed, I can scarcely imagine that the diameter of its crown, which was so regularly and symmetrically shaped that it appeared as if effected by art, measured less than from seventy to eighty feet. It really formed a beautiful fáge, or, as the Háusa people call it, ichenbatú, or open council-hall, such as are common in these places; but at present no political business of any importance was transacted here, and it formed a favorite lounge for idle people, among whom there was a troop of musicians, playing lustily upon their instruments to console the petty chief for the loss of his former power, which had dwindled away to a mere shadow. I would gladly have paid him a visit, but, poor as I was at the time, and without a single article worthy of his acceptance, I was rather glad that I was under no obligation to him. The interruption in the daily course of life of the inhabitants, by the presence of the army, was the more to be lamented, as it prevented me from becoming an eyewitness to the chief industry of the natives, which consists in weaving and manufacturing into shirts the cotton which they grow; for they

are almost exclusively cotton-growers, and have very little corn. But, although they are able to produce a fine sort of texture, they are very badly off for dyeing, and in this respect are far outstripped by the inhabitants of Ujé and Mákari. Instead of the beating of shirts, which forms so pleasant a sound in many other industrial towns of Negroland, there was nothing to be heard but the sound which proceeded from the powder-mill, if I may be allowed to give this grand name to a yard in which eight slaves were employed in pounding powder in large wooden mortars, for this is the way in which powder is prepared in Negroland; and during my stay in Bagírmi, every time I had my coffee pounded (as I did not possess a coffee-mill), I excited the suspicion that I was preparing powder. Of course, the presence of the army was the reason why so little activity was to be seen at present, and the little market or durríya, which is held in the afternoon, was very badly attended; but the size and populousness of the town made such an impression upon me that I thought myself justified in rating the number of inhabitants at about twenty-five thousand.

Altogether, I was so much pleased with the character of the place, that on expressing my satisfaction to one of the inhabitants who came to salute my companion with the words, "A'tema bílla ngílla," "This is a fine town," he replied, with conscious pride, "A'te bílla déka genί, ate bílla maíwa," "This is not a country town; this is a royal residence." We reached the gate on the northwest side of the town just at the moment when 'Abd e' Rahmán, the eldest brother of the Sheikh 'Omar, arrived with a party of horsemen. What his business was I do not know; but, before the expedition left the town, there had been a great many unfavorable rumors concerning his ambitious designs, and the malcontents expected that he would avail himself of this opportunity for striking a blow at the vizier, in order to prevent the expedition from proceeding against Mándará, as he himself was supposed to be on friendly terms with the chief of that country. But, whatever may have been his intentions, he found his rival still too strong; and, after a friendly parting from his brother, he retraced his steps.

The view over the encampment which presented itself when from the north I turned to the southwest side of the town, was extremely interesting, and I kept along the higher ground formed by the rubbish which had accumulated at the foot of the wall. Tents of every description and size—light sheds constructed with the long stalks of Indian corn, supported by four poles and connected lightly at the top, and forming high-topped gables—horses and men, all in the greatest confusion, presented a busy scene of animated life; but the place where our tents were pitched had become so confined that I was glad to avail myself of any opportunity which presented itself of roving about in the neighborhood.

The most attractive place was the komádugu, or water-course, which passes at some distance to the south of the town, and is distinguished by the special name of Yálowe. It was a very charming spot, winding along through a rich and varied forest, bordered by an uninterrupted line of the finest fig-trees, principally of the kind called "ngábore." The channel itself was only about forty yards wide, encompassed by banks of from twelve to fifteen feet in height, and at present it was not enlivened by a continuous stream, but contained several detached pools of stagnant water. Although the water was cool, and not disagreeable to the taste, still it was not very pure, and could not but contain the germs of much disease. This is the same komádugu with which, in its upper course in the territory of Ujé, I had become acquainted on my journey to A'damáwa.* The banks all around were enlivened by horses and pack-oxen, who were enjoying the rich verdure; and there was not a shady tree but had been taken possession of by a troop of Kánembú or Kanúri, in order to find that comfortable repose which the noisy encampment could not afford.

Having heard that the wealth of the inhabitants of Díkowa consisted of cotton, I expected to find extensive, well-kept cotton-plantations; but, although the article was cultivated to a

* With regard to the direction of its lower course, the statements of the people do not entirely agree, and I shall have occasion to say something more about it when I speak of my return journey from Bagírmi.

great extent, I was astonished at the neglected appearance which it exhibited, the cotton-fields being almost buried beneath the thicket, and overgrown, not only with rank grass, but even with trees and bushes, so that scarcely any space was left for the plants to spread out; nevertheless, their luxuriant growth bore ample testimony to the rich nature of the soil, and gave an idea of the wealth that lies buried in these regions. I have already observed, on another occasion, that the natives of Negroland take very little care of their cotton-plantations; and there is no doubt that, if sufficient care was bestowed, quite a different quality might be produced.

I roved about this wild and fertile region till I was entirely hemmed in by an impenetrable thicket. While returning hence to our encampment by a more westerly path, I was ruminating in my mind how the former rulers of this country had evinced so much more feeling for the bounty and beauty of nature than its present possessors; for while these have chosen for their residence the most monotonous district of the empire, the former selected those parts which nature itself had embellished—the shores of the so-called Yeou, or the komádugu Wáube, and this fine water-course of Díkowa; and they not only chose the most interesting spots, but they even embellished them by art, as the large artificial basins in the neighborhood of Ghasréggomo, Ghámbarú, and Dámasak amply testify. In this respect it is not uninteresting that we are informed by the Imám A'hmed, the historian of King Edrís Alawóma, that his master, when he visited the town of Fíka, could not forego the pleasure of paying a visit to the famous little Alpine lake which lies at some distance from that town. Although the country of Bórnu is far from being the most favored part of Negroland, yet the shores of these water-courses are very rich indeed, and capable of maintaining a numerous population.

In returning to our encampment I passed the market or durríya, which was held every afternoon on the west side of the encampment. It was really a busy scene, not yielding in importance to the little daily market of the capital; and this was not at all marvelous, as a greater crowd of people and a far

greater number of horses were gathered here than the average population of Kúkawa. Not only were provisions, such as meat, grain, beans, ground-nuts, and other articles of a like description, offered for sale, but even small luxuries; and there was a good deal of bartering, as the buyers were destitute of currency —kúngona or cowries, as well as gábagá or cotton-strips. I also observed that the encampment, especially on this side, where it was skirted by a thick covert of trees, was encircled by a living wall of light Kánembú spearmen, who were keeping watch; for although the army was still in its own territory, yet, in the weak state of the government, a certain degree of insecurity already commences here; and the very first evening of our being encamped on this spot, the ngáufate was roused by the gangéma, or announcement by beat of drum, to the effect that every body should be on his guard against horse-stealers.

While the country around presented interesting features, and the encampment itself exhibited a scene of great variety, the time we spent here passed away comfortably and agreeably, with the sole exception that the space allotted to us was too confined to be comfortable. We were on the most friendly terms with the sheikh as well as with his vizier, and all court etiquette was dispensed with. This went so far that I and my companion accommodated our noble and princely friends with our woolen jackets and drawers; for they began to feel the cold at night very severely, and on these occasions the very respectable Háj Edrís had to play the part of a royal laundress.

Already, during our hibernal stay in the country of Aïr, we had been obliged to accommodate our old and austere friend A'nnur and his numerous relatives with our Turkish waistcoats, but we had not yet condescended to give away our under-clothing; and being ourselves extremely poor and destitute in every respect, it was certainly not a little privation we imposed upon ourselves. The clothes of the sheikh and his vizier were all very wide, and not fit for keeping out the cold. I have repeatedly had occasion to mention how sensitive the Africans are to cold; and I am persuaded that, in the burning regions of Central Africa, a good cargo of warm under-clothing would find a

ready sale, especially if it should arrive in the months of December and January. But neither did our noble hosts, on their part, fail to do every thing in their power to render our situation as comfortable as possible; and it was very satisfactory to see how anxious the vizier was to supply us with all desirable information.

One evening, at a late hour, when I was reposing in my tent and about to go to bed, he sent for me in the greatest hurry, as if my life or death were at stake; and upon hastening thither, anxious to hear what was the matter, I was told that the vizier had been informed of a person being in the encampment who, like my old friend the M'allem Katúri, had accompanied the memorable expedition of A'mba Sámbo, the warlike chief of Chámba, toward the country of I'gbo on the sea-coast. But while the latter had gone to Mbáfu with the main body of the army, the adventurous proceedings of that person had not even been limited by the boundaries of the sea; and he informed me, in the most positive and conclusive manner, that the body of troops which he accompanied had sailed along a rocky coast for fifteen days, when they unexpectedly met with an island, where they took possession of a number of muskets, their owners, who were all dressed in jackets, having taken refuge in their large vessel.

He did not doubt that these people were Christians, and, according to the description which he gave me of the vessel, there can scarcely be any doubt that it was a European one; but I did not feel quite certain as to the point whether he had navigated a large river or the open sea, though I think it probable they went down the Niger, and surprised one of the European traders at the mouth of the river. At any rate, however, this is an extremely interesting circumstance. I apprehend that the chiefs of A'damáwa will hesitate in future to extend their expeditions so far, after an English steamer has gone up the river to the very heart of their own country. It was this same Bórnu horseman who informed me that, on that expedition, all the horses had died from a disease proceeding from worms.

While chatting together upon these subjects till after mid-

night, I had an opportunity of giving the vizier some little information regarding the peculiar character of the maritime power of the Imám of Maskat, of which he had never heard before, and which interested him exceedingly. With the Arabs of Timbúktu, also, this subject formed a topic of the highest interest, as they had no idea that there were people of the same faith living on the eastern shores of this continent; and they delighted in the thought that even in those regions there were Moslems who were not quite destitute of political power; for, although that famous traveler E'bn Batúta has given to his countrymen an account of these regions, it was only in Sókoto that I met with a man, the learned Káderi dan Táffa, who knew Sofála by name.

My friend Bíllama also frequently called on me, and furnished me with a variety of information,* while I applied myself strenuously to the study of the Kanúri language, which had discouraged me at first, owing to the difficulties of its grammatical structure; and I could scarcely have had a better teacher than our friend Háj Edrís; for, being of Kanúri origin, he had lived a great many years in the East, especially in Medína, and had become almost an Arab. He was certainly an intelligent and honest man, and in the course of our stay we became indebted to him in many respects. Of course, we could not expect him to render his service gratuitously, as he himself was not in affluent circumstances, though as a courtier he had to keep up a good appearance; but, being myself very poor at the time, I could do nothing but place him upon a needle-pension, the needles being very useful in the encampment for buying provisions.

* Among other things, he informed me that at a short distance north from Díkowa lies the town A'jiri, equally surrounded by a clay wall, and inhabited by Kanúri; but, while a tribute is levied on Díkowa by the Malá Másа Mándará, A'jiri belongs to a man called A'bsa. About two hours south by west from Díkowa is another walled town, called Gáwa; but this town still at the present day is inhabited by the ancient population of the country, viz., the Gámerghú, and is the residence of a petty native chief, Bíllama Sára, while another petty chief of the Gamerghú has his residence in Degímba, the Dagwamba of Major Denham. Of the Gámerghú I have spoken on a former occasion.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE BORDER REGION OF THE SHÚWA.

Saturday, December 6th. At length, after a protracted stay, we left our encampment at Díkowa, though still in complete uncertainty whether the expedition was directed against Mándará or not; for as yet the chief of that little country (which, through the adventures of Major Denham, has obtained in Europe a greater share of attention than it really deserves), relying upon the natural strength of his mountains, had not yet made his submission. The rumors which we heard from thence were of the most contradictory nature; and it seemed as if Abú Bakr, which is the name of the present chief, had made up his mind to a determined resistance, having retired into his mountain fastnesses, to the great disappointment of the vizier, who repeatedly asked me and my companion, with great anxiety, what was to be done, and how it was possible for the cavalry to attack the enemy in his mountainous retreat; for, whatever military strength the Kanúri may still possess, it is almost solely looked for in their cavalry. The former excellence of the Kánembú spearmen, resulting from their enthusiastic devotion to their leader, has disappeared long ago, at least since the overthrow of the old dynasty; and the vizier had to expect very little sympathy from this body, as most of them were decidedly favorable to the interest of his adversary, 'Abd e' Rahmán. As far as I had been able to learn the nature of those rocky mountains on my journey to Yóla, I could not but think that not only the cavalry of Bórnu, but even the Kánembú spearmen, accustomed as they were to the level plains of their country, would be incapable of climbing those rocky cliffs.

The whole country was enveloped in a thick fog when we started in the morning, so that the passage of the komádugu,

with its steep banks, caused a considerable crowding and pushing, which was far from agreeable. When we had got safely over we had to pass a thick forest consisting of "bíto" and "kindín" or talha-trees, and on our left appeared the large walled place of A'fagé, a considerable town, but not so large as Díkowa. After only a short interval we saw another town on our right, called Kodége, the walls of which were in an advanced state of decay, but were at present adorned with living battlements of male and female spectators.

Proceeding a short distance onward, we encamped at an early hour to the westward of another walled town called Zógoma. The whole of this district, favored as it is by nature, seems to have been once in a very flourishing condition. It was, however, rather odd that we should have encamped here, as the horses had to be led back to A'fagé for water.

I had scarcely pitched my tent when that cruel minister of police, Lamíno, a man whose character my friend Háj Edrís used significantly to describe in the few words "kárgo díbbi, kíndi díbbi" (bad in heart and bad in deed), brought into my presence a famous cut-throat of the name of Barka-ngólo, whose neck was secured in a large machine called "bégo," consisting of two pieces of wood from four to five feet in length, and very heavy, so that every movement was accompanied with the greatest pain. Nevertheless, my mischievous friend persuaded himself that it would gratify me to see this miserable wretch fight with another culprit secured in the same manner, by giving to each of them a long whip of hippopotamus hide, and forcing them by threats to flog each other. It was a horrible sight, and I had great difficulty in convincing my cruel friend that such a scene was far from being agreeable to me. In order to get rid of him, I presented him with a quantity of cloves to give to his beloved 'Aáisha, of whose culinary powers we had already had several proofs. He was greatly pleased with my present, and with an amorous smile he described to me how deeply he was in love with his darling, saying that he loved her and she loved him also; "and," added he, in a very sentimental way, "such a mutual love is the greatest bliss on earth." Eu-

ropeans must not fancy that there is no such feeling among these Africans as love, although it is not quite so ethereal as it sometimes seems to be with us. Notwithstanding these amorous declarations, which sounded very ridiculous coming from such a mass of flesh as he was, I was glad when he was gone.

We were now approaching hostile territory, and in the evening a "gangéma," or proclamation accompanied by beat of drum, was made throughout the whole encampment, to the effect that the train of camels and pack-oxen, which previously had greatly hemmed in the cavalry, should not start until after the former had moved on. Zógoma is the farthest town of the Bórnu territory in this direction, and the following day we encamped in a district of the name of Mása, close to a swamp thickly covered with water-plants, principally the *Pistia stratiotes*. Several Shúwa villages were lying about at short distances from each other.

On the road we passed some cotton-plantations and stubble-fields. The chief agricultural produce of Mása consisted of "sábade," the sweet sorghum or *Sorghum saccharatum*. This sort of grain I had not yet seen in the course of my journey, but in Díkowa my friend Malá Ibrám had sent me a large quantity of it, in order that I might indulge in this African luxury. At that period I was surprised at the great length of these stalks, some of which measured fourteen feet; but how astonished was I afterward, when, in the course of my travels, in the luxuriant valleys of Kébbi I found specimens of twice that length! This evening the vizier treated us with the marrow of the "sábade," which, in snow-white pieces of about eight inches in length, was neatly placed upon a straw cover or "féfe," such as are used in the country. While indulging in this simple African dainty, our conversation very naturally turned upon the cultivation as well as the preparation of sugar, which is one of those articles of European industry that most excites the admiration of the natives of this country. But when they learn in what a filthy manner it is refined, they become horrified, and hesitate whether they shall say farewell to

this indulgence or overcome the scruples and prejudices of their creed.

There is no doubt that the "sábade" would yield a rich produce of sugar; but it is not necessary to have recourse to this expedient, as the sugar-cane itself grows wild in several regions of Negroland, and we shall actually find a small plantation of it, and boiling-houses on a small scale, carried on by a native in the neighborhood of Sókoto. Our conversation at these African *soirées* with the vizier became sometimes so learned that even Ptolemy with his "*Mandros oros*" was quoted. But, sad as it must seem to all who, like myself, delight in going back into remote antiquity, this famous mountain, which at the first sight seems to be an ancient memorial of the Mándará Mountains, of some 1700 years standing, appears to belong entirely to Western Africa. Our kind host always found great delight in every kind of information; it was only a pity he was wanting in manly energy to carry out his good projects.

Monday, December 8th. Woe to those regions through which an army takes its march in these parts of the world, were it even their own country. We passed this morning some very extensive corn-fields, the crops of which were of the most luxuriant growth; but, notwithstanding the piteous clamors, and even the threats of the slaves who were watching on the highly-raised platforms in order to keep away the birds from the corn, the rich ears fell a prey to the hungry horsemen for their own sustenance and that of their animals. These raised platforms are here called "górgo;" and the ropes which were fastened between them and the trees were provided with small hollow gourds, "káre," filled with stones, which, when set in motion, were intended to frighten away the birds.

After a tolerable march, we took up our encampment near the straggling hamlet Delhé, a locality touched at by Major Denham on his unfortunate expedition to Mándará, but placed by him much too far southward.

All the cottages in these Shúwa villages have a conical roof rising to a great elevation, and tapering like a sugar-loaf, the thatch being put on in a very irregular way, and fastened with

ropes, though it is pleasantly and cheerfully adorned by the climbers of the "ságade" or "kubéwa," a species of the *Cucurbita melopepo* (squash gourd), if not identical with it, the fruit of which, when boiled, has a very pleasant taste, and in some regions of Negroland, as far as Timbúktu, forms the principal vegetable for seasoning food.

The long duration of the rainy season here, as well as in A'damáwa, renders sheds for the cattle necessary, and these consist of huts constructed similarly to the dwellings of man, but more spacious, with the exception that the walls consist merely of trunks of trees. The Shúwa of this village, as well as those of a neighboring one, which, after the name of a chief, is called Háj A'maka, belong to the tribe of the Bulgówa or 'Awisíya. The place where we encamped was full of brushwood, and it took us a long time to pitch our tents.

The variation of the temperature was so great that I caught a severe cold; it was therefore agreeable to me that we remained here the following day; for while, during the greatest heat, at two o'clock P.M., the thermometer in the ventilated tent showed often from 93° to 96° F., during the night it generally fell to between 50° and 53°. The vizier was kind enough, when I did not come to his *soirée*, to send one of his young slaves with a censer; but I was so unfortunate as to excite the anger of the little tyrannical messenger, who wanted me to imitate their own custom, which is, to place the censer under their wide shirt, and, by drawing the opening close over the head, to concentrate the fumes arising from the incense under their shirt, and receive it into the face, while I, thinking this rather too much, was satisfied with holding my face over it.

Wednesday, December 10th. We made a short march in advance, and transferred our encampment to Díggera, through a country where wilderness and cultivated ground alternated. Here we remained the five following days, and I had sufficient leisure to regret that I was not better provided with books. Anxious to employ my time usefully, I began, with the assistance of two Mándará, or rather Wándalá slaves, to write down a vocabulary of the language of that country, which by the na-

tives themselves is called "A'ra-Wándalá," as they call their country "Khakh-Wándalá" or "Khákh-U'ndalá."

The cold which we experienced during our stay here we considered very severe, at least from an African point of view and feeling, for in Europe it would have been thought very moderate. Fortunately, our encampment was more comfortable than it had been at Delhé, and presented features of considerable interest; for here we saw the first complete example of those shallow, stagnant water-courses which are so highly characteristic of the equatorial regions of this continent, and explain at the same time the conflicting statements with regard to the direction of so many water-courses in these regions. However, there are two different kinds of these shallow waters: first, such as are in immediate connection with larger rivers, and often run parallel to them, and which most appropriately deserve to be called backwaters; and, secondly, those which are quite independent, and form a small water-system by themselves. To the latter kind seems to belong this swampy sheet of water, or "ngáljam," of Díggera, although I heard some Shúwa affirm that it extended to the Tsád.

I first turned my steps eastward, where the encampment extended to the very foot of the beautiful trees which, forming a rich border of the finest embroidery from the hand of nature, girt the water. Most of them were either fig (sycamore) or tamarind-trees. The aspect of the scenery was most interesting, and under almost every tamarind-tree a group of people was encamped.

The cavity where this sheet of water had collected formed a very slight depression in the meadow-ground; the water, to all appearance, had already decreased considerably, and only in a few places presented an open sheet, being in general closely overgrown with rank grass and tall reeds. I followed it to a considerable distance toward the N.N.W., till I was obliged by the thick covert to retrace my steps, and then turned westward. The far larger extension of the water during the rainy season was sufficiently indicated by the luxuriant growth of trees. I crossed it at a spot where it was not so extensive, and found

the bottom of it extremely muddy, which made the passage rather difficult, though the water was only two and a half feet deep. The indented outlines of its shores greatly distinguished it from those more complete and regular-shaped ngáljams which, in the course of time, I had an opportunity of visiting, not only in those extensive plains between the River Bénuwé and Shári, but also in the regions of the middle course of the so-called Niger; for, in the quarters just mentioned, these shallow waters or meadow-waters often stretch out, in a straight or regularly-sweeping line, like artificial canals, to an immense distance, especially that most interesting sheet of water three days west of Timbúktu, the "A'raf-n-áman," or Rás el má.

Of quite a different nature is the character of the famous Bahar el Ghazál, which joins the Tsád on the northeastern side, being a broad sandy valley girt by a rich border of vegetation. This peculiar valley, which it was not our destiny to become acquainted with by ocular inspection, formed the subject of conversation with the vizier on Sunday evening, and a disputation arose of so scientific a character that it might have silenced all those who scoff at the uncivilized state of the population of these regions. To be sure, the two principal persons in this conversation were Arabs, but their forefathers had been settled in these regions for at least ten generations.

Here in Díggera, where we were only one good day's march distant from the capital of Mándará, our friends were obliged to come to a decision upon the future destination of the expedition. After the news which had arrived some days previously that the petty chief of Mándará, whose ancestor had once completely defeated a countless host of the Bórnu people, had decided upon making resistance, they had been very silent and dejected, and were therefore extremely delighted when at length, to-day, a servant of the obstinate vassal made his appearance with a present of ten beautiful female slaves and the offer of complete submission. So at least we were told; but the affair seemed very doubtful, and a native of Mándará, or, as they say, A'r-Wándalá, afterward assured me that his master, the powerful "Tuksé" of Khakhúndala, had been so far from making his

submission to the insolent "Móthaké" (by this name they call the Bórnu people), that, on the contrary, he treated them with contempt. Which of the two assertions was correct I do not know; but it is probable that the chief of Mándará thought it prudent to consent to some sort of compromise, perhaps through the intermediation of 'Abd e' Rahmán, the sheikh's brother.

Whatever may have been the case, the vizier informed us in the evening, in a very cheerful manner, that the affair with Mándará had taken the most favorable turn, and that, in consequence, the sheikh, with a small part of the army, was to retrace his steps, while he himself, with the far larger portion, was to undertake an expedition into the Músgu country, and that we, of course, were to accompany him. Now we were well aware that the object of this expedition was partly to make slaves, and that, in our character as messengers of the British government, we ought to endeavor to keep aloof from any thing connected with the infamous subject of slavery; but as we could not hinder it if we kept back, and as, by accompanying the expedition, we might prevent a deal of mischief, and might likewise have a fair opportunity of convincing ourselves whether what was related of the cruelty of the Mohammedans in these expeditions was true or exaggerated, we decided upon accompanying the vizier. At the same time, it was of the utmost importance to visit that very region which was the object of the expedition, as it was the only way to decide upon the relation between the central basin of the Tsád and the great western river, with its eastern branch, while there was no possibility of visiting it by ourselves. We had already convinced ourselves that the country of the Músgu is not, as Major Denham has represented it, a mountainous, inaccessible tract; but we were puzzled at the number of water-courses of which our informants had spoken, and we could not have the least idea how fertile a country it was, and how far remote its inhabitants were from that state of barbarism which had been imputed to them. We therefore, although reluctantly, and not without scruple, at length determined upon accompanying the expedition; and I hope that every considerate person who takes into account all the circumstances in which we were placed will approve of our resolution.

Wednesday, December 17th. At length we proceeded onward, entering new regions never trodden by European foot. Our departure having been delayed in the morning, owing to the separating of the army, we started rather late, leaving the sheikh, with the rest of the "kebú," behind. The country at once presented a new and interesting feature. Already in Bórnu a considerable proportion of our diet had consisted of native rice, and we had been rather astonished at its black color and bad quality. We had heard that it grew wild in the southern provinces of the country, but we had never yet seen it; and it was only this morning, after we had left Díggera, and had traversed extensive stubble-fields of millet intermixed with beans, that we obtained a first view of a "shinkáfaram," or wild rice-field, in the midst of the forest. We were then no longer surprised at the quality of the rice brought to the market in Kúkawa being so bad, as we felt justified in presuming that the elephant would have sense enough to take the best for himself, and leave the rest for the people. As we proceeded, we found the whole wilderness, although not thickly wooded, full of pools of water and dense rice-fields.

The country to-day presented a truly tropical aspect; and our encampment, lying near an extensive pond or small lagoon, surrounded with a luxuriant growth of rice and a dense border of spreading trees, was so full of the footprints of the elephant that scarcely a level spot of two or three feet in diameter could be found. This was by no means pleasant in our present mode of living, as we were without a camp-stool, or any thing to sit or lie upon; for the argillaceous soil is so excessively hard that the borders of these holes, produced by the unwieldy foot of the elephant, cause a great deal of pain to a person lying on the ground with nothing but a mat or carpet.

The most essential instrument on this whole journey was the "láteram," the digging instrument (from "langin," "I dig"), consisting of a large piece of wood about three feet long, with a heavy iron point; for without the láteram it would have been impossible to fix the dáteram (from "dangin," "I fasten, stop"), or the pole to which the horses are fastened during the night.

In general, every horseman digs the hole in which the pole is fastened with his own spear; but this soil was so hard that it was scarcely possible to make the smallest hole in it. Of course, during the rainy season it is just as soft and muddy as it is hard in the dry season, and scarcely passable in consequence.

A giraffe was caught to-day. I had been of opinion that this timorous animal was not found in the thickly inhabited regions near the equator; but I soon learned from experience that it is not at all rare in the wildernesses which alternate with the densely populated regions of these districts. The elephant, however, is the predominant animal of these quarters; and the large market-place, Fátawel, which I have mentioned on my journey to A'damáwa, and the Logón town Jéna, or rather Jínna, seem to be of considerable importance for their ivory-trade.

In the evening I had the misfortune to be stung by a scorpion, which had got into my bernús. As I had not noticed the animal in the dark, and thinking that it was nothing but one of the formidable black ants, the bite of which is very painful, I neglected the wound at first, so that the poison penetrated to the shoulder, and rendered my right arm useless for two days.

Thursday, December 18th. Seeing that we were now entirely in the hands of the vizier, my companion and I used to present ourselves at his tent every morning, and to ride for some time near him. I, however, soon found it pleasanter to keep more in the rear of the army, a little in advance of his female slaves; and in the narrow paths in the midst of the forest, where the crowding became very disagreeable, I used to keep behind his led horses. Of female slaves on horseback and led horses the vizier had with him the moderate number of eight of each kind, while the sheikh had twelve; but this appeared to me a small number when I afterward saw the King of Bagírmi returning from the expedition with a string of forty-five mounted female partners. These black damsels were all clothed in white woolen bernúses, with their faces completely veiled, and were closely watched.

To-day we had a more complete specimen of that peculiar kind of shallow water which I have mentioned above; and the

army, while they were winding around it, on the fresh green meadow-lands, closely hemmed in on their left by a grove of fine trees, presented a highly interesting scene. From thence, passing through a thick covert, we entered the beautiful open district of Wolóje, which comprises several hamlets. Here I was amused at seeing the head man of a village successfully putting to flight, with a large branch of a tree, a troop of pilfering horsemen. A little beyond these hamlets the encampment was chosen, at some little distance from a very extensive "ngáljam."

Our conversation with the vizier in the evening again took a geographical turn, owing to the presence of his spy or scout, who had just returned from delivering his message to the Músgu prince A'dishén. The vizier was as yet undecided in which direction to turn his steps; and we heard a native chief, of the name of Puss or Fuss, mentioned in a manner that assured us our friends were afraid to attack him. A'dishén, the chief just mentioned, was in a certain degree subject to the rulers of Bórnu; but it seemed rather an ironical assertion that this prince would be pleased with the arrival of the expedition. While describing his reception at the court of the chief, the scout indulged in a lively description of the customs prevalent among these people, whose chief had only outwardly adopted Islám. His majesty, he said, used to indulge in amorous intercourse with his female slaves, of whom he had two hundred, before the eyes of his people—an account which was rather confirmed by Kashélla Belál, who had been his host several times. Belál, who was a very jovial old fellow, also stated that this little prince was not jealous of the favors bestowed by his female partners upon his guests, but, on the contrary, that he himself voluntarily gave them up to them. Such a degrading custom may, indeed, be followed by this petty chief, who has betrayed his country in order that, by the influence of his more powerful neighbors, he might rule over his countrymen; but we need not draw a conclusion from him as to the customs of the whole tribe, although, of course, they regard the relation of the sexes in a simpler point of view than we do.

Friday, December 19*th.* The country through which we passed on leaving our encampment in the morning was most charming, and of a most expansive bound, and exactly suited for pastoral tribes like the Shúwa and Fúlbe; but traces of cultivation also, and even of cotton-fields, were not wanting; while further on the dúm-bush appeared, and was after a while succeeded by the tall, fan-shaped dúm-palm itself. The country being open, and without any obstruction whatever, the "kibú," or army, marched in an extended line of battle, "báta," separated into groups of the most varied description in attire and appearance: the heavy cavalry, clad in thick wadded clothing, others in their coats of mail, with their tin helmets glittering in the sun, and mounted on large, heavy chargers, which appeared almost oppressed by the weight of their riders and their own warlike accoutrements; the light Shúwa horsemen, clad only in a loose shirt, and mounted upon their weak, unseemly nags; the self-conceited slaves, decked out gaudily in red bernúses or silken dresses of various colors; the Kánembú spearmen, almost naked, with their large wooden shields, their half-torn aprons round their loins, their barbarous head-dresses, and their bundles of spears; then, in the distance behind, the continuous train of camels and pack-oxen: all the people full of spirits, and in the expectation of rich booty, pressing onward to the unknown regions toward the southeast.

It was an exalted feeling of unrestrained liberty which animated me while, mounted on my noble charger, I rode silently along at the side of this motley host, contemplating now the fine, beautiful country, now the rich scenes of human life, which were illumined by a bright morning sun. As yet no blood had been shed by this army, and neither misery, devastation, nor the horrors of people torn from their homes cried out against it. Every one seemed to think only of sport and amusement. Now and then a stir would be raised in the whole army when a gazelle started forth from the thicket, endeavoring to escape from her pursuers, but soon found herself hemmed in on every side, while Shúwa horsemen and Kánembú spearmen, each endeavoring to possess himself of the prize, cried out to his rivals in

the pursuit, "kólle, kólle!" "leave off, leave off!" as if the prey was already his own, while others animated their companions by shouting out, "góne, góne!" "chase, chase!" the sounds re-echoing from one troop to another; or when a fat Guinea-fowl, "káji," or a partridge, "kwíye," roused from its secure covert, took to its wings, but, trying to fly over those widely-scattered troops of hostile men, and frightened by their cries, was soon obliged to look for a moment's respite, and, after a vain struggle, fell a prey to its pursuers, who often, while they laid hold of it, tore it actually into pieces.

The wide, open country seemed to invite the traveler into the far distance; but to-day our march was only of short duration, and before eight o'clock in the morning a new encampment, upon a fresh spot, was again springing up. This whole country is still included in the extensive district of Wolóje; but the water, which was close to the side of the encampment, has the peculiar name of Kodásalé. The whole of the inhabitants of the district belong to the Shúwa tribe of the Bénesé. To the east of Kodásalé lies the place Lawári, toward the west Súggemé, beyond U'lba, and southwest of the latter Memé, and northwest Momó. All these villages are inhabited by Shúwa and Kanúri in common; beyond is the wilderness or karága.

I, too, had my little daily "nógona" or divan, in which Kashélla Billama, my friend from A'damáwa, and Háj Edrís, formed my principal courtiers, or "kokanáwa," though occasionally other people attended. All these people I kept attached to me by presents of a few needles, with which they supplied their wants in the neighboring villages. Billama informed me to-day that for three needles he had bought sufficient provision for his horse for one day; for two he had bought a wooden bowl, or "búkuru;" and for six more a good supply of meat. Thus this insignificant production of European industry became of the highest value to me; and it obtained still more value and importance, in the course of my journey to Bagírmi, when it constituted my only wealth, and, in consequence, procured me the noble title of "needle-prince," "malaríbra."

We remained here the following day, as the army had to pro-

vide itself with corn, or rather Negro grain, as we were told that we should enter upon a wild, uncultivated tract, the border region between the seats of the Mohammedans and those of the pagan tribes, which, as is generally the case in these parts of the world, has been reduced to desolation.

Each of the surrounding villages had to send two ox-loads of grain, which, however, did not benefit the army in general, but fell entirely to the share of the friends and followers of Lamíno, the remainder of this immense host being thrown upon their own resources. All the grain was carried on asses. It was in this encampment that the vizier made a present to Mr. Overweg of a small lion. He had given him, on a former occasion, a "súmmoli." This is a very ferocious cat, of rather rare occurrence, which is said not only to attack gazelles, but young cattle or calves. It was of a light brown color, the hind part, however, being black, and had very pointed, upright ears, "súmmo," a circumstance from which the name has been derived. The ears, moreover, are ornamented with a black stripe. A great many curious stories are related by the people with regard to the ferocity of this animal, and from what we ourselves had an opportunity of observing, it seems to be a marvelous little creature; for, though still very young and small, it was nevertheless extremely fierce, and was quite master of the young lion. Both animals were fed with boiled milk, of which they were very fond; but the continual swinging motion which they had to endure on the back of the camels in the heat of the day caused their death very soon.

Sunday, December 21*st.* The crowding and thronging was excessive when we started in order to pursue our march. The wilderness at first was tolerably clear, being at times evidently a place of resort for numerous herds of elephants, as the quantity of dung, and the uninterrupted tracks of deep footprints, which gave to the soil the appearance of a colossal chessboard, amply testified. After a march of about six miles the wilderness became more thickly overgrown, and presented a fine forest scenery; but, as is generally the case on such warlike expeditions, there is no leisure to pay attention to special phenomena,

especially as the Bórnu horses are in general very wild and vicious, and in the throng every body was continually liable to come into collision with his neighbor's horse, which, perchance, might be a furious kicker.

The general character of this jungle was this. The ground was covered with dúm-bush, which formed a thick brushwood, and here and there with rank grass, while the forest in general consisted of middle-sized trees, chiefly mimosas and kálgos, though there were other specimens, especially the kókia-tree, which I had first seen on my journey from Gezáwa to Kátsena, the trees of smaller size being separated into groups by large, spreading specimens of the vegetable kingdom, mostly of the ficus kind; for monkey-bread-trees seemed to be wanting entirely, and altogether I saw few specimens of this tree in the Músgu country. Very remarkable nests of birds, suspended from the branches, were observed, not unlike a purse, with a long, narrow neck hanging down and forming the entrance; or, rather, like a chemist's retort suspended from the head, the shank being several inches long, and the whole beautifully fabricated with the most surprising skill. Of the skillful manufacturers of these fine dwellings we did not obtain a sight; but probably it is a species of *loxia*. In this thick covert, several young elephants were hunted down, and even the giraffe seemed frequent.

The place which we chose for our encampment was adorned by numerous fan-palms, which, although in general identical with the species called *Chamærops humilis*, nevertheless by their height appeared to be a distinct variety, and gave to the encampment a very picturesque appearance. The forest was here so dense that only the spot where the vizier encamped together with his own followers was free from brushwood, while all the other people were first obliged to clear the ground with much trouble. This was the first day since our setting out that we made a tolerable march. The whole manner in which the expedition was conducted was an unmistakable proof of an effeminate court, especially if we take into account the principle of carrying on war in these countries, where only sudden inroads can insure any great success. In the evening there arrived a

small complimentary present from A'dishén, the tributary Músgu chief, consisting of five horses and twenty oxen. But while in this manner the more influential men in the army were well supplied with food, the greater part were badly off, and most of them were reduced to the core of the dúm-bush or ngílle, which by the Bórnu people is facetiously called "kúmbu bíllabe," "the food of the country town." But a good sportsman might have obtained better food for himself, and we even got a small ostrich egg from the vizier.

It was a great pity that we had purposely avoided the more frequented and general road, which passes by several settlements of the Fúlbe or Felláta, in order not to give any trouble to the latter; for no doubt that track would have been far more interesting, as well from a natural point of view as with regard to the political state of the country, as it would have given us the clearest insight into the way in which that enterprising and restless people is pushing on every day more and more, and strangling, as it were, the little kingdom of Mándará.

Monday, December 22*d.* Dense forest continued to prevail during the first five miles of our march. It then cleared, and was succeeded by considerable fields of wild rice, most of which was burned down; for, as I have repeatedly had occasion to mention, all these wildernesses of Central Africa are set on fire after the rainy season. The whole ground in this district was one uninterrupted succession of holes made by the foot of the elephant, which obstructed the march of the army very considerably, and was the reason of several horses being lamed. Sálah, a younger brother of the vizier, a very intelligent man, broke his arm. A herd of six elephants was in the neighborhood, and after a great deal of confusion, one animal, which got between the horsemen, was killed. It is no wonder that these regions are so frequented by them, as they find here plenty of the choicest food. The jungles of wild rice were only interrupted for a short time by a tract covered with dúm-bush. Water was plentiful, every now and then a considerable pond appearing, girt by beautiful trees, and at present enlivened by groups of horsemen, who were watering their animals.

After a march of about fifteen miles we encamped close to a larger sheet of water, which was full of fish of the species called "bégeli," and enabled us to give to our food that day more variety, the forest, as well as the water, contributing its share; for, besides the fish, we had roast hare and elephant's flesh, which was very palatable, and much like pork.

Tuesday, December 23d. Three heavy strokes upon the drum, at the dawn of day, set our motley host once more in motion. It was an important day, and many of the principal people had exchanged their common dress for a more splendid attire. We entered the Músgu country, and at the same time came into contact with fragments of that nation who, having spread from the far west over one half of Africa, are restlessly pushing forward and overwhelming the pagan tribes in the interior. These are the Fúlbe or Felláta, the most interesting of all African tribes, who, having been driven from Bórnu, have here laid the foundation of a new empire.

Twice on our march we were obliged to make a halt: the first time owing to the arrival of A'dishén, the Músgu chief, with a troop of naked horsemen mounted on a breed of small, unseemly, but strong ponies, without saddles and bridles, and presenting altogether a most barbarous and savage spectacle. The second halt was caused by the appearance of a Púllo or Felláta chief, with two hundred horsemen of his nation, who, by their shirts and shawls, their saddles and bridles, certainly claimed a higher degree of civilization, but who, nevertheless, were far from exhibiting a grand appearance. This chief was an officer of Khúrsu, the ruler of the town or principality of Fétte or Pétte, which we had left at a short distance to the west. He came to join this expedition, the object of which was to weaken the Músgu tribes, who, behind their natural defenses of rivers and swamps, had hitherto been able to maintain their independence.

Of course, on this occasion the policy of these Fúlbe chiefs went hand in hand with that of the Bórnu people, although it is not a little remarkable, and serves to show the slight political unity existing between the integral parts of these empires, that

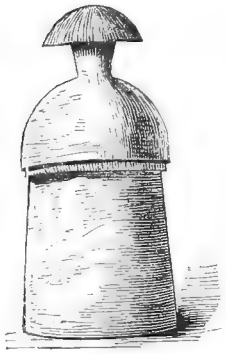
while the Governor of A′damáwa was at present on a hostile footing with the ruler of Bórnu, one of his vassals was allowed to enter into an alliance with the latter.

After these interruptions we pursued our march, and reached, about half an hour before noon, the northernmost of the Músgu villages, which is called Gábari, surrounded by rich fields of native grain; but every thing presented a sad appearance of pillage and desolation. None of the inhabitants were to be seen; for, although subjects of A′dishén, who enjoyed the friendship and protection of the rulers of Bórnu, they had thought it more prudent to take care of their own safety by flight than to trust themselves to the discretion of the undisciplined army of their friends and protectors. The preceding evening the order had been issued through the encampment that all the property in the villages of A′dishén should be respected, and nothing touched, from a cow to a fowl, grain only excepted, which was declared to be at the disposal of every body.

It was rather remarkable that the greatest part of the crops were still standing, although we had been lingering so long on our road, and had given sufficient time to the people to secure them for themselves. All the grain consisted of the red species of holcus, called by the Bórnu people "ngáberi kemé," which grows here to the exclusion of the white species and that of millet. All the people of the army were busy in threshing the grain which they had just gathered at the expense of their friends, and loading their horses with it. Even the fine nutritive grass from the borders of the swamp, which, woven into long festoons, the natives had stored up in the trees as a provision against the dry season, was carried off, and, notwithstanding the express order to the contrary, many a goat, fowl, and even articles of furniture, which had been left behind by the natives, fell a prey to the greedy host.

The spectacle of this pillage was the more saddening, as the village not only presented an appearance of comfort, but exhibited in a certain degree the industry of its inhabitants. In general, each court-yard contained a group of from three to six huts, according to the number of wives of the owner. The

walls of the dwellings, without a single exception, were built of clay, which in the court-yards of the richer people even formed the building material of the fences. The roofs of the cottages were thatched with great care, and at least as well as in any house or village in Bórnu, and far superior to the thatching of the Shúwa. The roofs even exhibited traces of various styles, and perhaps a certain gradation in the scale of society.



Almost every court-yard inclosed a shed, besides the huts, and one granary built of clay, and from twelve to fifteen feet high, with an arched roof, likewise of clay, there being an opening at the top, which was protected by a small cover of thatching, as the accompanying wood-cut shows. The way in which the natives had stored up their supply of hay for the dry season was very remarkable, the rank grass being woven into festoons of about fifteen feet in length, and hung up in the kórna-trees which adorned the fields.

Having roved about at my leisure, I pursued my march, and, emerging from the corn-fields, entered upon open meadow-grounds, partly under water, which spread out to a considerable extent, and which, with their fresh green turf, formed a beautiful contrast to the tall yellow crops which I had just left behind. Ascending a little, we kept straight toward a group of splendid trees which adorned the fields in front of another village. The village was called Kórom, and belonged to a chief under the authority of A'dishén, while Kadé, the residence of the latter, was only at a short distance. In these fields the vizier had dismounted and chosen the place for the encampment; and it was with a sad, sympathetic feeling that I witnessed the lopping of the rich branches of the fine trees, which were, without doubt, the most splendid specimens of the karáge-tree which I had seen in Negroland, not excepting those in the Marghí country. The largest among them measured not less than eighty feet in height, and the diameter of their crown could scarcely be less; but the foliage of this tree is by no means so

dense and so regularly-shaped as that of the fig or tamarind-tree. None of these fine trees which had adorned the landscape escaped destruction, in order to provide fences for the larger tents; but the few monkey-bread-trees which here appeared, owing to the scanty foliage with which their gigantic branches were decked out, escaped unhurt.

Here we remained the two following days, and the encampment became very confined, the more so as the ground was rather uneven. The delay could scarcely be defended in a strategetical point of view, as it could not but serve to put all the neighboring chiefs, who were hostile to A'dishén, on their guard against any sudden inroad. But it was well that they did so, as by a sudden inroad the poor persecuted natives might have been totally annihilated.

In order to employ my leisure hours, I looked about for information respecting the country we had just entered, and was fortunate enough to collect some valuable data.*

The Músgu or Músekú are a division of the great nation of the Mása,† which comprises the Kótoko or Mákari, the people of Logón or Logóne, the Mándará or U'r Wándalá, with the Gámerghú, and the large tribe of the Bátta, and probably even that of the Mbána. Of these tribes, the most intimately related to the Músgu are the people of Logón, who, as we shall soon

* I here give a list of the chief principalities and places of the Músgu country. First, at a short distance east from Kadé, the residence of A'dishén, there is a place called Máyum; then a small place called Mága; then Bárka, at present deserted; Masánafa, residence of the Prince Asánafay, after whom the whole principality is called; Márabná; I'ka; Búlno; Mákalné, probably originally the residence of a Prince Akalnè, but at present the residence of the powerful chief Kábishmé; Surán; Mazaga, the residence of a powerful chief who generally, after the name of the whole principality, is named Fúss, but whose real name seems to be Ngoimáta; Lúggoy; Bárea; Búgunla, with a chief Hyyúm; Mbogtám; Boiboy; Kubásemí, with a Prince Márgo; Kalan; Ngelmóng; Mórom, with a chief Saderánza; Búllum; Bége; Mádalang; Kásway, which on our farther march we left a little to the east; the principality Kákala; Dwán or Adwán, toward the southwest; Gemáy, a large place, southeast; Wúliya; Démmo, A'udege; Agsé. Some of these places are districts, which we shall touch at in the course of the expedition; the position of the others I am not able to fix with certainty.

† The Bagírmi people, even at the present day, call the Músgu by the name Mása Músekú.

have occasion to show, are nothing but a section which has quite recently separated from the parent stock, and constituted itself as a distinct community, owing to its higher state of civilization. Among the various divisions of the Kótoko, Ngála and Klésem seem to be most nearly related to the Músgu.

However insignificant the tribe of the Músgu may appear in the eyes of the European, the dialects of the various communities into which it is split, owing to the hostile manner in which they are opposed to one another, and their entire want of friendly intercourse, differ so much that, as I was assured, the people of Lúggoy have great difficulty in understanding those of Wúliya and Démmo. Unfortunately, I had no opportnnity of collecting specimens of the other dialects besides that spoken by the people of Lúggoy. Their principal "sáfi" or fetish consists in a long, spear-like pole, similar to that of the Marghí; but, nevertheless, there seems to be a considerable difference in their superstitious worship; for while with the Marghí the pole appears to be rather a symbol than an image of the deity, and the real worship is attached to the sacred locality, with the Músgu tribes I did not see a single specimen of the sacred grove. The Músgu call their fetish "kefé."

In the afternoon I attended some time at the vizier's, and here made the acquaintance of an interesting and adventurous old man of the name of M'allem Jémme or Jýmma, who took the principal part in the conversation. The history of this man is highly characteristic, as showing what a large field is open to the ambition of enterprising Mohammedans in the pagan states to the south. Threatened with capital punishment by the old sheikh, that is to say, Mohammed el Amín el Kánemi, on account of his disobedience, this Shúwa chieftain had fled to the pagans, and had there succeeded in establishing gradually, by his own energy and mental superiority, a small principality; but at present, for some reason or other, he had been expelled, and had recourse to the Vizier of Bórnu for assistance to recover his former power. His great knowledge of the country, and the different tribes which inhabited it made him a welcome guest; but as for himself, he did not succeed in his ambitious projects.

In reference to my expedition to A'damáwa, I have already made use of the authority of this man in giving an account of the route which connects the southernmost point on our expedition to Músgu with the places fixed by me along the River Bénuwé.

The m'allem was not very communicative, and, unfortunately, I had no handsome present to make him, or else I might have learned from him an immense deal with regard to the geography and character of these countries, which, I have no doubt, not long hence, will become of considerable importance to Europeans; for while these regions, situated between the Rivers Bénuwé and Shári, seem to be extremely rich and fertile, and capable—on account of the uniform level of their unbroken plains of the highest state of cultivation, they are the most accessible, on account of the extensive water-communication, which, rendered available by the application of a very small degree of art and industry, will open an easy access into the heart of Central Africa. Of course, after the rainy season, when all these countless water-courses, which intersect the country in every direction, and without any apparent inclination, inundate the country, the climate in the plains can not be very healthy; but isolated mountains and hills are scattered by the hand of nature through these luxuriant plains, capable of affording more healthy localities for settlements.

Owing to the presence of the adventurer just mentioned, the conversation that evening was very animated, till at length the courtiers, or "kokanáwa," withdrew behind the curtains of the vizier's tent in order to take a little refreshment. I then took my leave, but I had only gone a short distance when I was called back, being informed that it would no doubt be interesting to me to witness an audience of A'dishén, the Músgu chief, who was just about to pay his respects to the commander-in-chief. I therefore returned to the vizier's tent, where the courtiers had again taken their post, according to their rank and station, on each side of their leader.

After a short time the Músgu chief arrived, accompanied by his three brothers, mounted, as is their custom, upon horses

without saddle or bridle. Great numbers of people had collected in front of the tent, and saluted him with scoffs and importunities; but the pagan chief did not allow himself to be put out of countenance by the insolence of the slaves, but preserved his princely dignity. At length the curtains of the spacious tent were drawn back, and in came the native prince. He was of a short, stout figure, and rather mild, but not very prepossessing features, and apparently between fifty and sixty years of age. He wore a black tobe, but no trowsers, and was bareheaded. Kneeling on the ground, and clapping his hands, while he repeated the complimentary words "Alla ngúbberu degá!" (God give you long life!) according to the custom of the "katí gótsin," he took up sand and sprinkled it upon his head; but as soon as he had gone through this form of abject submission, he assumed his character as a native chief. Thus at once he complained of his western neighbors, the Fúlbe or Felláta, or, as the Músgu people call them, Chógchogo; for they, he said, had anticipated the Vizier of Bórnu, carrying off cattle and other things from his territory. The Bórnu chief assured him that for the future he should not be exposed to such injustice, but that he was entirely under the protection of Bórnu. He then made a sign, and some parcels were opened, and A'dishén was officially installed as a vassal and officer of Bórnu. First, he was dressed in an elephant-shirt—the large black shirt from Núfe—over which a rich silk tobe was thrown, and over all an Egyptian shawl, while the self-conceited courtiers, in their proud consciousness of a higher state of civilization, treated him with contempt and scorn. My cheerful old friend Kashélla Bélal, who had decked him out in this finery, paid him the usual compliments, exclaiming "Ngúbberu degá maína, ngúbberu degá maína!" maína being the title of the governor of a province.

Thus this petty pagan chief had become, in an official style, a kind of officer of Bórnu, and in this manner was alone capable of preserving his unenviable existence, at what sacrifices we shall soon see. The Músgu nation is situated so unfavorably, surrounded by enemies on all sides, that, even if they were link-

ed together by the strictest unity, they would scarcely be able to preserve their independence. How, then, should they be able to withstand their enemies, separated as they are into numerous petty dominions, and having no further object than to enslave and pillage their neighbors and kinsmen? Nothing but the number of swampy water-courses which intersect the country in all directions, and during the greater part of the year render it impassable for hostile armies, while even during the remaining part the principal rivers afford natural lines of defense, behind which the inhabitants may seek refuge, can explain how the country is so well peopled as it is, although the intervening tracts have been already laid waste.

Toward the north there are the Kanúri, powerful by their numerous cavalry and the advantage of fire-arms; toward the west and southwest the restless Fúlbe continually advancing; toward the northeast the people of Logón, originally their near kinsmen, but at present opposed to them by difference of religion; toward the east, the wild Bágrimma people, proud of their supposed pre-eminence in religion, and eager for the profits of the slave-trade. All these people hunting them down from every quarter, and carrying away yearly hundreds, nay, even thousands of slaves, must, in the course of time, exterminate this unfortunate tribe.

To-day was Christmas-day; and my companion and I, in conformity with a custom of our native town, tried in vain to procure some fish for a more luxurious entertainment in the evening. The meat of giraffes, which formed the greatest of our African luxuries, was not to be obtained; and as for elephant's flesh, which we *were* able to get, although we both liked it, we had too sadly experienced its bad effect upon the weak state of our bowels to try it again. Hence, in order to celebrate the evening, we were reduced to coffee and milk, with which we regaled ourselves.

We remained here the following day, under the pretext that the Fúlbe, who had joined us, had not yet had an audience; but, although the effeminate courtiers were averse to any great exertion, the bulk of the army, who had neither pay, nor were allow-

ed to plunder in order to obtain their necessary supplies, were not very well pleased with this delay, and caused a great uproar while marching in battle-order before the tents of their chiefs, and giving vent to their feelings by shaking and beating their shields. On former expeditions, the light troops of the Shúwa and Kánembú had always been allowed to march some distance in advance of the army, in order to supply their wants; but on this occasion a strict order had been issued that no one should go in advance.

In the afternoon Mr. Overweg went to pay a visit to A'dishén, at his residence in Kadé, which was about half an hour's march distant toward the south. He returned in the evening with the present of a goat, but did not seem to be greatly pleased with his excursion; and it could scarcely be otherwise; for, while these pagans, who were obliged to disown all national feeling, could scarcely show themselves in their true character, and unreserved in their national manners, in the presence of such an army, it could not but lower us in the eyes of our companions to have too many dealings with these pagans, as they were apt to confound us with them. To be regarded as a "kerdi" my companion cared little about; but I was not much inclined to be identified as such, and it could certainly reflect no honor on the character of our mission.

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE COUNTRY OF THE SHALLOW RIVERS.—WATER-PARTING BETWEEN THE RIVERS BÉNUWÉ AND SHÁRI.

Friday, December 26th. At length we went onward to pursue our march, turning considerably out of our road toward the east, in order to avoid the residence of A'dishén, and to prevent its being pillaged. The army, proceeding in several large detachments, presented an interesting aspect. Here also green crops of the winter corn, or "másakwá," were still standing in

the fields. Farther on we came to open pasture-grounds, and after a march of about ten miles we reached a village called Bógo, where we encamped. All the inhabitants had made their escape, although their chief, whose name is Bakshámi, was an ally and friend of A'dishén. The cottages were well built, but there was a great scarcity of trees. Among the furniture was a fishing-basket, or, as the Kanúri call it, "káyan;" and some of them were filled with dried paste of the red species of holcus, which, however, the people were afraid to touch, lest it might be poisoned. On a former expedition several people had been poisoned by a pot of honey which had been left behind, on purpose, by the natives in their flight. Already on this day's march we had observed, in the distance toward the west, an isolated rocky mount; and here we saw it in more distinct outlines, while beyond, at a greater distance, the continuous mountain chain of Mándará became slightly visible.

Saturday, December 27th. Our march at first led through a dense forest, after which we emerged upon more open, swampy meadow-lands covered with rank grass, and full of holes caused by the footprints of the elephant. Great quantities of Guinea-fowl were caught. Only here and there an isolated mimosa interrupted the unbroken line of the savanna.

It was after a march of six miles that we obtained a sight of the first deléb-palm in the Músgu country. Already repeatedly in the narrative of my travels I have called the attention of the reader to this beautiful fan-palm; but in all the localities where I had before observed it, it was rather isolated. Even in A'damáwa it is limited to peculiarly favored localities, while in some extensive provinces of that country, such as Búban-jídda, it is wanting entirely. But here we had reached the country where this beautiful and useful tree, probably only a variety of the famous *Borassus flabelliformis*, is the most common and predominant representative of the vegetable kingdom. The Músgu call it in their language "úray." From the Músgu country it seems to spread in an almost uninterrupted and unbroken line through the southern provinces of Bagírmi and Wáday, as far as Kordofán, sending a few scouts and forerunners

to adorn the capital of Bagírmi and the water-course of the Bat-ha.

We chose our encampment in a village called Bárëa, consisting of scattered huts, and surrounded by rich stubble-fields, which were shaded by large, wide-spreading karáge-trees, presenting a most cheerful and comfortable scene. But we soon became aware that the fertility and beauty of this district were due to the neighborhood of a large sheet of water full of crocodiles and river-horses or "ngurútu," and enlivened even by a few small canoes. It had been indicated already on our march by the flight of numerous water-fowl passing over our heads. Beautiful as the country was, however, the place was deserted, the inhabitants having given up their cheerful homes, and left the tombs of their worshiped ancestors to the discretion of the hostile army, in order to seek safety in flight. The village is the residence of a chieftain of the name of Musíkko, who acknowledges Kábishmé, the chief mentioned above, as his sovereign lord.

In the afternoon I received a short visit from a rather shabby sort of man, the chief of a place called Médebé, but who was an object of interest to me, as he had been sent as a messenger to the Prince of Mándará, and had just arrived in the encampment from the capital of that little country. Traveling at a comfortable rate, he had arrived in three days from Morá, sleeping the first night in the place called Mókoshi, the second in Fétte, the place above mentioned, and from thence to-day had reached this place; but the whole journey, in an expeditious march, may easily be accomplished in two days. Difficult as it would be to me to impart to the reader the delight which I felt in tracing my routes from one point to another, and joining two places with which I had become acquainted by new itineraries, he may forgive me for sometimes troubling him with these geographical details.

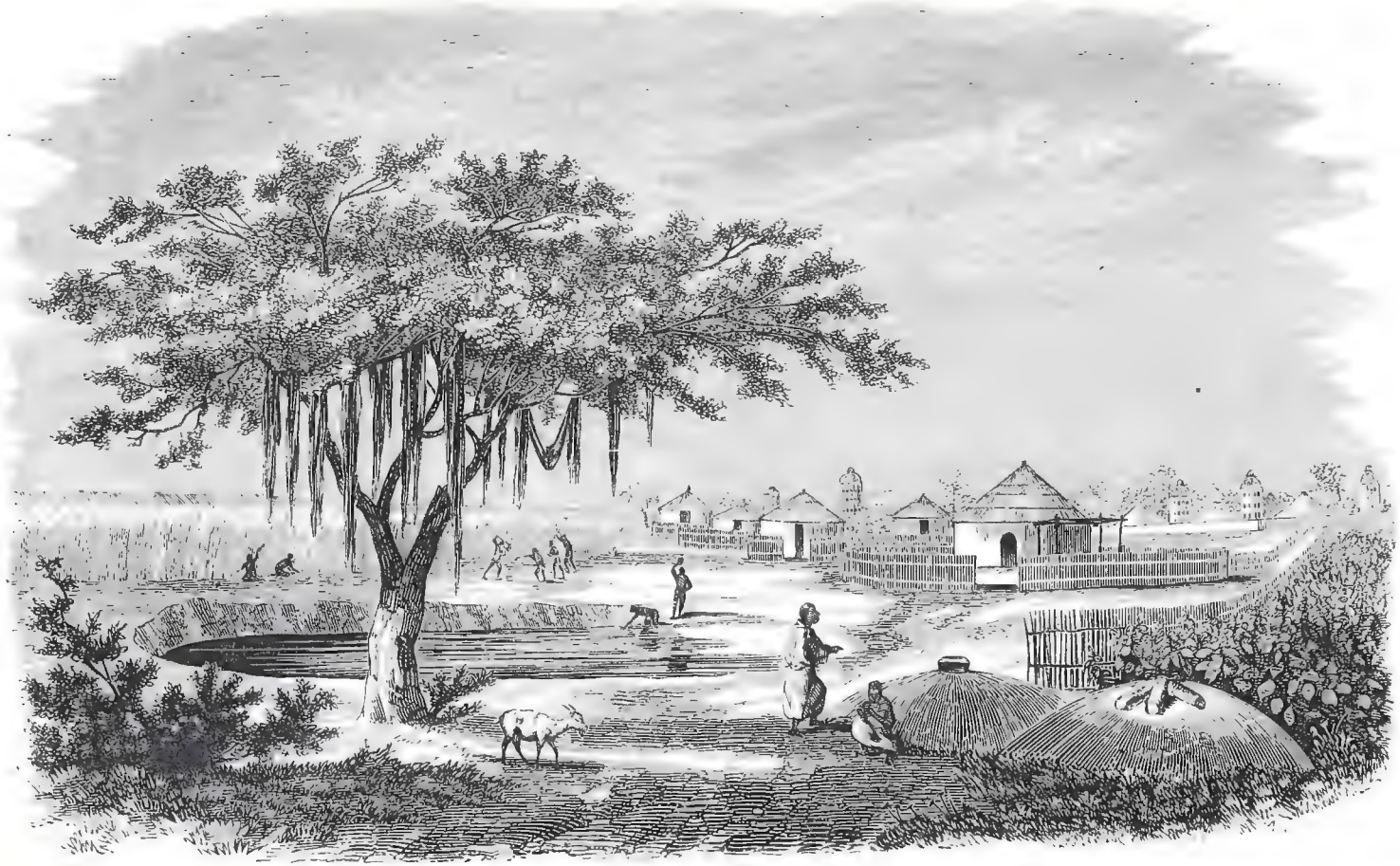
Sunday, December 28th. We did not spend our Sunday in a quiet, contemplative manner; but, nevertheless, we spent it worthily, employing it in a good day's march, which opened out to us new and important features of the character of the new re-

gion we had just entered. It was a pity we were not allowed by circumstances to proceed in our real character of peaceful travelers, anxious to befriend all the people with whom we came in contact, instead of being obliged to join this host of merciless and sanguinary slave-hunters, who, regardless of the beauty of the country and the cheerful happiness of the natives, were only intent upon enriching themselves with the spoil of the inhabitants.

After a march of a little less than five miles, we emerged from the thick forest, and entered upon stubble-fields with numerous groups of huts and wide-spreading trees, whose branches were all used for storing up the ranks of nutritious grass of these swampy grounds for a supply in the dry season. The country was pleasant in the extreme. Several artificial ponds enlivened the hamlet, and called to mind similar scenes in my native country, except that ducks and geese were wanting. The only scenes of active life which were at present to be seen were those of pillage and destruction.

The architecture of the huts and the whole arrangement of the yards was very similar to that of the village we had first seen on entering the country. But the tops of the granaries in general were here provided with a sort of "fennel," covered in by a roof of straw. Broad, well-trodden paths, lined by thick fences of a peculiar bush, called "mágara" in Kanúri, which I have mentioned in another locality,* were winding along through the fields in every direction. But there was one object which attracted my attention in particular, as it testified to a certain degree of civilization, which might have shamed the proud Mohammedan inhabitants of these countries; for, while the latter are extremely negligent in burying their dead, leaving them without any sufficient protection against the wild beasts, so that most of them are devoured in a few days by the hyænas, here

* In the view of this scenery which the artist has made from my sketch, it has been thought fit not to represent the moment of destruction, but a preceding one of the quiet life of the natives, the approaching misfortune being only indicated by the column of smoke in the background. The man sitting on the sepulchre is meant to represent the first glimmer of Islám brought to these people by some wandering m'allem.



LANDSCAPE OF THE MUSGU COUNTRY.

we had regular sepulchres, covered in with large, well-rounded vaults, the tops of which were adorned by a couple of beams cross-laid, or by an earthen urn. The same sort of worship as paid by these pagans to their ancestors prevails in a great part of Africa, and, however greatly the peculiar customs attached to the mode of worship may vary, the principle is the same; but I nowhere more regretted having no one at hand to explain to me the customs of these people than I did on this occasion. The urn most probably contains the head of the deceased, but what is indicated by the cross-laid beams I can not say.

I was so absorbed in contemplating this interesting scene that I entirely forgot my own personal safety; for the vizier, without my becoming aware of it, had pursued the track on his powerful charger at an uncommonly quick rate, and was far in advance. Looking around me, I found only a small number of Shúwa horsemen near me, and, keeping close to them, pursued the path; but when we emerged from the thick forest, and entered another well-cultivated and thickly-peopled district, every trace of a trodden footpath ceased, and I became aware that I was entirely cut off from the main body of the army. A scene of wild disorder here presented itself. Single horsemen were roving about to and fro between the fences of the villages; here a poor native, pursued by sanguinary foes, running for his life in wild despair; there another dragged from his place of refuge; while a third was observed in the thick covert of a ficus, and soon became a mark for numerous arrows and balls. A small troop of Shúwa horsemen were collected under the shade of a tree, trying to keep together a drove of cattle which they had taken. In vain did I address Shúwa and Kanúri, anxiously inquiring what direction the commander-in-chief had taken; nobody was able to give me any information with regard to his whereabouts. I therefore scoured the village in all directions, to see if I could find by myself the track of the army, but the traces ran in every direction.

Here I fell in with several troops of horsemen, in the same state of uncertainty as myself, and joined one of them, where there were some heavy cavalry; neither the attendants of the

vizier nor the man who carried his carpet could tell which direction he had taken. While anxiously looking about, I suddenly heard behind us the beating of a drum or "gánga," and, following the sound, found a considerable number of horsemen of every description collected on an open area; and here I received the exciting news that the pagans had broken through the line of march at the weakest point, and that, while the vizier had pursued his track, the rear had been dispersed. If these poor pagans, who certainly are not wanting in courage, were led on by experienced chieftains, and waited for the proper opportunity, they would be able in these dense forests, where cavalry is scarcely of any use, to do an immense deal of damage to this cowardly host, and might easily disperse them altogether. But the principal reason of the weakness of these Músgu tribes is that they have only spears and the "góliyó," and no arrows, else they would certainly be able to keep these troublesome neighbors at a respectful distance. Of what little use even the firelock is to the latter, I had ample opportunity of judging several musketeers having come to me anxiously entreating me to provide them with flints, as their own had been lost or had proved useless.

At length the motley host moved on without order or array; but their irresolution and fear, owing to a few pagans who were concealed in a thicket, were so great, that after a while we retraced our steps. Having then taken a more easterly direction, we reached, through a thick forest, a large, swampy piece of water in low meadow-grounds, not less than a mile in breadth, covered with rank grass, the dry ground in some places intervening. Here I found a considerable part of the cavalry drawn up in a long line and watering their horses, and I learned that the encampment was near. It would have been very unsatisfactory to be exposed to a serious attack in the company of the disorderly host in which I had lately found myself.

Having watered my horse, I followed the deep sound of the big drum of the vizier, and found the body of the army a few hundred yards from the eastern border of this ngáljam, in rich stubble-fields shaded by beautiful trees; but as yet no tent was

pitched, and a great deal of anxiety prevailed, the first camels having arrived without their loads, which they had thrown off, their drivers having taken to flight; but this circumstance insured the safety of the greater part of the train, as the commander immediately dispatched two officers with their squadrons to bring up the rear. To this circumstance we were indebted for the safety of our own camels, which had been in imminent danger, the pagans having collected again in the rear of the principal body of the army.

The Bórnu camels are half mehára, and, while they surpass in strength the camels of the desert, possess a great deal of their swiftness. Not only does the camel which carries the war-drum always follow close behind the commander, at whatever rate he may pursue his march, but even his other camels generally keep at a very short distance, and the best camels of the courtiers follow close behind.

The village we had just reached was named Kákalá, and is one of the most considerable places in the Músgu country. A large number of slaves had been caught this day, and in the course of the evening, after some skirmishing, in which three Bórnu horsemen were killed, a great many more were brought in; altogether they were said to have taken one thousand, and there were certainly not less than five hundred. To our utmost horror, not less than one hundred and seventy full-grown men were mercilessly slaughtered in cold blood, the greater part of them being allowed to bleed to death, a leg having been severed from the body. Most of them were tall men, with not very pleasing features. Their forehead, instead of shelving backward, was generally very high, and the line of the face straight: but their thick eyelashes, wide, open nostrils, thick lips, high cheek-bones, and coarse, bushy hair, gave them a very wild appearance. The proportions of the legs, with the knee-bone bent inward, were particularly ugly, and, on the whole, they were more bony than the Marghí. They were all of a dirty black color, very far from that glossy lustre which is observed in other tribes. Most of them wore a short beard. The ears of several were adorned with small copper rings, while almost all of

them wore round their necks a thick rope made of the dúm-bush or ngílle, coarsely twisted, as a sort of ornament.

Monday, December 29th. Soon after setting out from the place of encampment we had to cross the ngáljam, which here, also, was thickly overgrown with rank grass, and the passage of which was very difficult, owing to the countless holes caused by the footprints of the elephant. We then entered a dense forest, where I saw again, for the first time, my old Háusa acquaintance, the kókia, a middle-sized tree with large leaves and with a fruit of the size of an apple, which at present was green, but even when ripe is not edible. This tree, in the course of the expedition, I found to be very common in the wilds of this country.

The unwarlike spirit of our large army became more apparent than ever by to-day's proceedings, for a vigorous commander would certainly have accelerated his march through this forest, in order to take the enemy unawares; but long before noon a halt was ordered in the midst of the forest—certainly against the inclination of the majority. There was a great deal of indecision, and, in truth, there seemed to be many who wished rather that the enemy should have time to escape than to incite him to make a desperate struggle for his safety. The neighboring pond (where, on our arrival, a herdsman who had come to water his cattle had been slain), we were told, did not contain a sufficient supply of water for the wants of the whole army; and when at length we had fairly dismounted, the rank grass being burned down in order to clear the ground, and the fire being fed by a strong wind, a terrible conflagration ensued, which threw us into the greatest confusion, and obliged us to seek our safety in a hasty retreat. Nevertheless, after a great deal of hesitation, it was at length determined to encamp here. There was no scarcity of water, for the pond proved to be very spacious and of great depth; but the grass having been burned, the whole ground was covered with a layer of hot ashes, which blackened every thing.

By-and-by the camels arrived, the encampment was formed, and every one had given himself up to repose of mind and body,

ENCAMPMENT IN THE FOREST.

when suddenly the alarm-drums were beaten, and every body hastened to arms and mounted his horse. It seemed incredible that an enemy whose movements were uncombined, and not directed by any good leaders, should attack such an army, of more than 10,000 cavalry and a still greater number of foot, although I am persuaded that a resolute attack of a few hundred brave men would have defeated the whole of this vain and cowardly host. The alarm, as was to be expected, proved unfounded; but it showed the small degree of confidence which the people had in their own strength. Three pagan women had been seen endeavoring to reach the water by stealth, and this gave rise to the conclusion that the enemy was near, for the dense forest all around hemmed in the view entirely.

When at length the encampment had resumed its former state of tranquillity, the Prince A'dishén, with a numerous suite of naked followers, came to my tent, and I requested him to enter; there was, however, nothing attractive or interesting about him, and I was glad to get rid of him with a few presents. The difference between the Marghí and Músgu, notwithstanding the affinity indicated by their language and some of their manners, is indeed great, and is, as I have already intimated above, rather to the disadvantage of the latter, whose forms exhibit less of symmetry, and whose features have a very wild and savage appearance. Neither in these Músgu courtiers nor in the common people had I observed any of those becoming ornaments, especially those iron arm-rings, which I have mentioned in describing the Marghí.

A'dishén had shaved his head in order to give to himself the appearance of a Moslim, and wore a tobe; but of his companions, only one had adopted this foreign garment, all the others having their loins girt with a leather apron. In order to keep themselves on horseback, they have recourse to a most barbarous expedient. They make a broad, open wound on the back of their small sturdy ponies, in order to keep their seat; and when they want to ride at full speed, they often scratch or cut their legs in order to glue themselves to the horse's flanks by means of the blood which oozes from the wounds; for, as I have

stated above, they have neither saddle, stirrups, nor bridle, and they use nothing but a simple rope to guide their animals. They generally carry only one spear, but several "góliyós" or hand-bills, the latter being evidently their best weapon, not only in close fight, but even at a distance, as they are very expert in throwing this sharp and double-pointed iron sideways, and frequently inflict severe wounds on the legs of horses as well as of men. Some of their chiefs protect their persons with a strong doublet made of buffalo's hide, with the hair inside.*

Tuesday, December 30th. This was the last day's march which our expedition was to make toward the south, or rather southeast. For the first ten or eleven miles we kept through dense forest, the thick covert of which rendered it difficult for us to make our way, while the restless and vicious Bórnu horses, crowded together and hemmed in by the thicket, repeatedly came into most unpleasant collision; and here again I was much indebted to my massive stirrups, which bravely kept their ground against bush and man. The whole forest consisted of middle-sized trees, the kókia being predominant, while scarcely a single tree of larger size was to be seen. It seemed very natural that all the wild animals should flee before such a host of people, but I was astonished at the scarcity of ant-hills, notwithstanding the great degree of moisture which prevails in these extensive levels, and which is so favorable to the existence of this insect.

Our march the whole morning had been straight for Dáwa, the village of the Túfuri or Túburi, a section of the great tribe of the Farí or Falí, of which I have spoken in a former part of my narrative.

There had been a great deal of discussion in the last day's council as to the expediency of attacking this place, the subjection, or rather destruction of which was of great importance not only to M'allem Jýmma, but even to the Fúlbe settled in the eastern districts of A'damáwa in general. This party at last had gained the upper hand over the greater part of the cowardly Kanúri courtiers; but at present, when we approached the

* A chief dressed in this manner is represented in the Frontispiece to this volume.

seat of this tribe, who are well known to be warlike, and when the question arose whether we should engage in battle with these people in three or four hours' time, it became rather a serious affair. When, therefore, after a march of four hours, we reached a beautiful fresh meadow-water or "ngáljam" overgrown with rank grass, surrounded by large, spreading ngábbore trees, which pleasantly diversified the monotonous forest, we made a halt, and while the horsemen watered their animals, an animated "nógona," or council, was held in the shade of a beautiful fig-tree. Here it was decided that, at least to-day, we should not march against Dáwa and the Túburi, but were to change our course more to the eastward, in the direction of Démmo. It is probable that the vizier on this occasion promised to his friends that, after he had taken up his head-quarters at Démmo, and deposited safely in the fortified encampment the spoil that he had already made in slaves and cattle, he would march against Dáwa; but, unfortunately, or rather luckily for the inhabitants, it was not our destiny to visit that interesting and important place, as I shall soon have occasion to mention.

During our halt here I contemplated with the most lively and intense interest the rich and animated scene which presented itself before my eyes—a mass of some thousand horsemen, dressed in the most varied manner and in the most glowing colors, with their spirited chargers of every size, description, and color, crowded together along the green margin of a narrow sheet of water, skirted by a dense border of large trees of the finest foliage.

After a halt of about a quarter of an hour we were again in the saddle, and pursued our march, but now in an entirely different direction, keeping almost due east, and crossing the shallow water-course which stretched from north to south a little below our halting-place, the place where we crossed it being quite dry and full of holes caused by the footsteps of the elephant. The wilderness for a while was clearer; but after a march of about two miles we reached a very thick covert, where it was found necessary to send out scouts in order to see if the enemy was lying in ambush. It is a great pity that these poor

natives do not know how to avail themselves, against their cruel and cowardly enemies, of the fastnesses with which nature has endowed these regions. Of course, these immense forests, which separate one principality, and I might say one village from another, are themselves a consequence of the want of intelligence and of the barbarous blindness of these pagan tribes, who, destitute of any common bond of national unity, live entirely separated from, and even carry on war against each other.

Scarcely had we made ourselves a path through the thicket when we reached another meadow-water, which at present, however, looked rather like a bog, and offered some difficulties to the passage of the horses. Having then for some time kept upon dry ground, about noon we had to cross another swamp, but beyond this the country became open.

Having now reached the place of our destination, the banners were unfolded, the drums beaten, and the greater part of the cavalry hurried on in advance ready for fighting, or rather for pillage, for no enemy was to be seen. Immediately afterward we reached the village of Démmo, and marched slowly along, looking out for the best place for encamping. Numerous delèb-palms became visible behind the shady acacias, when suddenly we obtained sight of a broad, shallow water-course, larger than any we had yet seen in this country—more than two miles in width, with a considerable sheet of open water, where two pagan canoes were seen moving about.

Greatly interested in the scene, we closely approached the edge of the water, which seemed to be of considerable depth, although a number of hungry Kánembú had passed the first open sheet, and were fishing in its more shallow part, which divided the open water into two branches. From beyond the opposite shore a whole forest of delèb-palms were towering over the other vegetation of lower growth, as if enticing us to come and enjoy their picturesque shade. The direction of the water-course at this spot was from S.W. to N.E.; and, according to the unanimous statement of those who had any knowledge of these regions, it joins the Serbéwuel—that is to say, the upper course of the river or "éré" of Logón.

THE NGALIAM AT DEMMO.

Here we stood a while, and looked with longing eyes toward the opposite shore; it was a most interesting and peculiar scenery, highly characteristic of these level equatorial regions of Africa. What an erroneous idea had been entertained of these regions in former times! Instead of the massive mountain range of the Moon, we had discovered only a few isolated mounts; instead of a dry, desolate plateau, we had found wide and extremely fertile plains, less than one thousand feet above the level of the sea, and intersected by innumerable broad water-courses with scarcely any inclination. Only toward the southwest, at the distance of about sixteen miles, the low, rocky mount of the Túburi was seen.

But not less interesting than the scenery of the landscape was the aspect of the host of our companions, who were here crowded together at the border of the water. Only very few of them had penetrated as far before, and they looked with curiosity and astonishment upon this landscape, while most of them were rather disappointed that the water prevented them from pursuing the poor pagans, the full-grown among whom, with few exceptions, had just had time to escape. But a considerable number of female slaves and young children were captured; for the men did not take to flight till they became aware, from the thick clouds of dust which were raised by the army, that it was not one of the small expeditions which they were accustomed to resist that was coming to attack them. Besides the spoil in human beings, a considerable number of colts and cattle were brought in.

Having indulged in the aspect of this rich scene, which formed such a contrast to the monotonous neighborhood of Kúkawa, we retraced our steps, in order to encamp at some distance from the water, which of course gives life to millions of musquitoes, and encamped among the smouldering ruins of the huts. The whole village, which only a few moments before had been the abode of comfort and happiness, was destroyed by fire and made desolate. Slaughtered men, with their limbs severed from their bodies, were lying about in all directions, and made the passer-by shudder with horror. Such is the course of

human affairs in these regions. Small troops of light cavalry tried to pursue the enemy, and there was some fighting in the course of the afternoon, when a few men of the Bórnu army were killed.

Wednesday, December 31*st.* We remained here this and the following day, it being the intention of the Bórnu people, according to their own statement, to reduce this country to subjection; and I deeply regretted that the circumstances under which we visited this region did not allow me to collect all the information I wished; but, roving about the encampment, I endeavored to pick up what I could.

All the huts had clay walls, which were from four to six inches thick, and had resisted the conflagration, the roofs, consisting of beams and reed, having fallen in. The diameter of the huts varied from eight to twelve feet. Each hut contained a large jar for holding water, and some had a peculiar fireplace, inclosed by separate walls, and not unlike an oven; but, although in general the arrangement of the huts was comfortable, I found the dwellings in other villages of this country far superior, nor did I observe here such large court-yards as I had seen elsewhere. In the centre of the village there were some extensive tanks or pools of water, which seemed to be made by the hand of man.

The whole encampment, or "ngáufate," was surrounded with a strong fence of thorny bushes, rather for the purpose of preventing the slaves from escaping than to defend the encampment against an enemy. Having wandered about amid this scene of destruction, I went in the afternoon to the border of the "ngáljam," which was enlivened by horses and cattle grazing, and people quietly reclining here and there or bathing in the water.* I then wandered along the bank to some distance, where the sheet of open water on this side was entirely interrupted, while on the other shore a considerable strip of water stretched out before the view.

Here, in Démmo, the year 1852 opened to me, in the course

* It was here that I made the sketch from which the artist has taken the interesting view of this locality.

of which I at that time entertained a hope of returning homeward, not fancying that I was to remain three years more in these barbarous countries, amid constantly varying impressions of discovery, of disappointment, of friendly and hostile treatment, and under all sorts of affliction, distress, and sickness.

Our stay here was varied by a few interesting incidents, one of which I will relate. The intriguing Shúwa chief M'allem Jýmma, whose ambitious designs did not allow him any rest, had not only persuaded the head man of Démmo, who had made his escape, but even the chief of the nearest village on the other side of the ngáljam, to make his subjection publicly, and to seek the protection of Bórnu. They were therefore introduced this day into the nógona or council, and threw dust upon their heads. But when they had to confirm their subjection by an oath, the pagan prince of Démmo indeed took an oath, raising a handful of earth and allowing it to glide through his fingers, but the chief from the other side of the ngáljam refused to take the oath, under the pretext that this earth was not fit for his vow, not being his own soil; he said he must first bring a handful of earth from his own country. An oath taken upon earth that belonged to their native soil was also common among the ancients.

Both chiefs had made their appearance in their native attire, that is to say, quite naked, with the exception of a narrow leather strip round their loins; and it caused great merriment to the courtiers, that when, in consequence of their subjection, they were officially dressed in black tobes as a sort of investiture, the chief of Démmo drew his shirt over his head, reckless whether the lower parts were covered or not. In order to amuse the assemblage, they also blew their little horn, an instrument which every Músgu grandee carries with him, and which bears great resemblance to a bugle; but in this accomplishment a priest who accompanied them was more clever than themselves, producing melodious and sonorous sounds from this simple and uncouth instrument.

This was the first and only time that I became aware that these pagan tribes had separate priests; and I felt greatly dis-

appointed that I did not come into closer contact with them, nor was able to learn from other people what were their peculiar duties. But, in general, I think I am not mistaken in supposing that the sacerdotal functions with these tribes of the interior are less developed than those on the coast; for as yet I had seen very little of real fetishism. In general, the office of priest seems to be connected with that of chief.

This man also received a shirt as a present; but it was only a white one of inferior quality, and I do not think he kept it very long after he had left the assemblage of these civilized people.

As the price of the benevolent reception which the prince of Démmo had experienced, he, as is generally the case in these distracted communities, betrayed the interests of his countrymen, promising that he would lead the army to a large walled town (so, at least, he was understood to say), where they were to find plenty of booty and spoil. Accordingly, an expedition on a large scale, which was to be led by the vizier in person, was fixed for the next day.

Friday, January 2d. Having remained quiet for some hours in the morning, probably to make the neighboring chieftains believe that we had no intention of moving, we suddenly set out, with almost the whole of the cavalry and a portion of the Kánembú spearmen, led on by our new ally the chief of Démmo, who, mounted on a little pony, clad in his new black garment, presented a very awkward and ridiculous appearance.

The first village which we reached, after about an hour's march through a clear forest, was quite deserted; and it was but natural that all the people around should be upon their guard. The landscape was exceedingly beautiful, richly irrigated and finely wooded, while, to our great astonishment, the ground was so carefully cultivated that even manure had been put upon the fields in a regular manner, being spread over the ground to a great extent—the first example of such careful tillage that I had as yet observed in Central Africa, both among Mohammedans and pagans. The inhabitants had so much leisure to make their escape that they had left very little behind

to satisfy the greediness of the enemy, and we therefore continued our march without delay in a northeasterly direction. This whole fertile district bears the name of Wúliya, but I did not learn the peculiar name of this village.

After a march of about four miles we crossed another water-course, at present only from ten to fifteen inches deep, and surrounded by beautiful pasture-grounds, which during part of the year are inundated, and must then present the appearance of an extensive lake. This fresh green basin was adorned all around by luxuriant fig and "karáge" trees, and slender detached dúm-palms towered picturesquely above the green foliage, but no deléb-palms were to be seen. Then followed another village, likewise deserted by its unfortunate inhabitants, and then again open meadow-lands, intersected by a narrow, channel-like water-course, in a direction from S.W. to N.E.

The water-course was from sixty to seventy yards broad, and inclosed so regularly between its banks, which were about ten feet high, that it had quite the appearance of an artificial canal —a peculiarity which in the course of time I frequently observed, not only here, but also in the similar water-courses along the Niger. At the point where we crossed it, the sheet of water was entirely broken by a small sand-bank, so that we went over without wetting our feet. However, I conjectured that this was an artificial dike thrown up by the persecuted natives, in order to keep open an easy connection with the river, on which alone their safety depended. Without any delay the expedition pushed on, in the hope of overtaking the fugitives before they had crossed the river; for here we were quite close to the western shore of the river of Logón, which is generally, but erroneously, called Shári, while this name, which belongs to the language of the Kótokó, and means "river" in general, applies more properly to the larger eastern branch below Klésem, which is inhabited by Kótokó, and to the united stream lower down below the junction of the two branches. In this place the river, or "ére," is called Serbéwuel, I think, in the Músgu language; higher up, where we shall make its acquaintance in the course of our further researches, it is called Bá-Gun and Bá-Bay, "bá"

being the general name for river in the language of Bagírmi and the native tribes of the Sóm-ray, as well as in the language of the Manding or Mandingoes.

After a short time we stood on the banks of the stream. It was a considerable river even at the present moment, although it was greatly below its highest level, and probably represented the mean depth of the whole year. At present it was about four hundred yards wide, and so deep that six Shúwa horsemen, who, in their eager desire for spoil, had ventured to enter it, were carried away by the stream, and fell an easy prey to about a dozen courageous pagans, who, in a couple of canoes, were gliding up and down the river to see what they could lay their hands upon. They felt that we were unable to follow them without canoes, although for any active body of men it would have been an easy affair to construct a few rafts for crossing over, there being a plentiful supply of timber.

The banks of the river on this side were at present about twenty-five feet high. The opposite shore was not so steep, and from its rich vegetation had a very inviting appearance; but I was glad, for the sake of the poor natives, that we were unable to reach it, and I think even our friend the Háj Beshír looked at this interesting landscape rather with a degree of scientific interest than with anger and disappointment. Unfortunately, on this occasion I had not taken my telescope with me, but I was so fortunate as still to get a sight of this river a little lower down.

Having stood here for a few minutes on the steep bank, looking down into the stream, which rolled unceasingly along, cutting off our further progress, we turned our horses' heads in the direction from which we had come, while our friends endeavored to soothe their disappointment by saying that, if the pagans had escaped from their hands, they would certainly not fail to fall into the power of their enemies, viz., the pagans who lived on the other side of the river, under the protection of Bagírmi.

We thus turned our backs upon the river, my European companion and I greatly satisfied with our day's work, which had afforded us a sight of this fine stream, but our companions in

sullen silence and disappointment, on account of the expected spoil having escaped from their hands. Indeed, where they had expected to find that "El Dorado," that walled town full of male and female slaves, I never succeeded in ascertaining. The whole day's spoil was limited to a handful of slaves—unfortunate creatures, whom sickness or ill-advised courage prevented from leaving their native villages—besides a couple of cattle, a few goats, fowls, and a little corn, but principally ground-nuts, of which large quantities were carried off by the hungry Kánembú spearmen.

The whole army was in such a mood as to be glad to find any object on which to vent its anger; and such a one soon presented itself; for, when we again reached that channel-like water-course which I have mentioned above, and were watering our horses, four natives were seen, who, evidently confiding in their courage and their skill in swimming, had here taken refuge in the deepest part of the water, in order to give information to their countrymen of the retreat of the enemy. As soon as our friends caught sight of this little troop of heroes, they determined to sacrifice them to their vengeance. With this view, the whole of the cavalry arranged themselves in close lines on each side of the water. But the task was not so easy as it appeared at first, and all the firing of the bad marksmen was in vain, the Músgu diving with remarkable agility. When the vizier saw that in this way these heroes could not be overpowered, he ordered some Kánembú to enter the water; and a very singular kind of combat arose, the like of which I had never seen before, and which required an immense deal of energy; for, while these people had to sustain themselves above the water with the help of their feet, they had, at the same time, to jump up, throw the spear, and parry the thrusts of their adversaries. The poor Músgu people, on their side, were not only fighting for their lives, but even, as it were, for their national honor. They were of large and muscular frame, single-handed far superior to the Kánembú; but at length, after a protracted struggle, the superior numbers of the Kánembú got the upper hand, and the corpses of three of the Músgu were seen swimming on

the surface of the water. But the fourth and last appeared to be invincible, and the Kánembú, who had lost two of their companions, gave him up in despair.

After this inglorious victory we pursued our march homeward, keeping a little more to the north than when we came. This part of the country exhibited the same fertile and pleasant character as that we had seen before. It was densely inhabited and well cultivated, even tobacco being grown to a great extent. As for the villages themselves, they afforded the same appearance of comfort and cheerfulness which we had observed in the others. But all these abodes of human happiness were destroyed by fire.

After having accomplished these great deeds, we returned to our encampment. Here we remained during the two following days, while the most important business was transacted. This was the partition of the slaves who had been taken during the expedition; and the proceeding was accompanied by the most heart-rending scenes, caused by the number of young children, and even infants, who were to be distributed, many of these poor creatures being mercilessly torn away from their mothers, never to see them again. There were scarcely any full-grown men.

More interesting to me than this horrible affair was the sending of a messenger to Kúkawa; and it was doubly so on account of the roundabout way which this man had to pursue, the track by which we had come being at present greatly infested by the desperate pagans, who very recently had massacred a whole troop of horse and foot who had come from Kúkawa, with the exception of one, who had succeeded in making his escape. The messengers, therefore, who were now sent, were obliged to take the road leading past the villages of the Fúlbe, going from Démmo to Káfta, the place mentioned above, and from thence to Bógo, whence they were to follow the general track, which I have described on a former occasion. An escort of fifteen Kanúri and two Fúlbe accompanied the two messengers, as their first day's march was very dangerous.

For the last few days there had been a great talk of an expedition, on a large scale, against the Túburi, whither it was said

we were to transfer the whole encampment; and I and my companion already anticipated a great deal of delight, as the isolated rocky mount which we had seen on the day of our arrival seemed to be well worthy of notice. But, as I have already stated, the Bórnu people were greatly afraid of this place, the real reason probably being that they apprehended the pagans might retire upon the top of the mountain, and, having abundance of water in the neighborhood, offer a successful resistance, although we were told that on a former occasion a single kashélla, 'Alí Fugomámi, had extended his expedition as far as that place.

The Fúlbe, by whom this free pagan community was regarded with great hatred, urged the expedition with the greatest energy; but the cunning vizier pretended afterward, in a conversation which he had with Overweg and me, that it was purposely, from motives of policy, that he did not accede to this scheme, as he did not want to exterminate this tribe, being unwilling to pull down with his own hands this last barrier to the restless spirit of conquest which the Fúlbe or Felláta displayed. The usurper 'Abd e' Rahmán, evidently from a motive of ambition, in order to be enabled to say that he had penetrated farther than his late rival the vizier, whom he had successfully crushed, in the beginning of the rainy season of 1854 pushed on into the very country of the Túburi, and thus enabled Dr. Vogel to lay down that most interesting point by astronomical observation, although the great lake which my friend thought to find there was apparently nothing but a widening of that stagnant water-course which forms the northeastern branch of the Bénuwé, namely, the máyo Kébbi, and was laid down by me in the map of Central Africa which I sent home from Kúkawa.

January 5th, 1852. It was at a very early hour on Monday morning, a little after midnight, when the guide of the expedition came to my tent, and, while I was just dreaming of the rocky mountain of the Túburi, whispered in my ear that a distant expedition was to be undertaken that very day, but not into the country of the Túburi, and that the baggage was to remain here. Although I should rather have preferred visiting

the latter tract, situated at the northeastern branch of the basin of the Niger, I nevertheless was determined not to let any opportunity pass by of extending my geographical knowledge as much as possible, and therefore ordered my horse to be saddled. Mr. Overweg, meanwhile, when he heard that the vizier was not to lead the expedition in person, but that the young Bú-Bakr, son of the sheikh, was to take the command, remained behind; and as I had no mounted servant, and could not expect that a man on foot would accompany me to a great distance, I was obliged to go quite alone.

Meanwhile the bugles of Bú-Bakr called the warriors together with a soft, subdued sound, in order not to allow treachery to spread the news of their plan beforehand. Having passed with some difficulty the narrow gate of the stockade, the expeditionary army formed outside, when we pushed on in a northeasterly direction. But nature has provided so well for the defense of these poor pagans that they are not easily taken by surprise.

We succeeded, with the dawn of day, in passing the first broad sheet of water of the wide "ngáljam" of Wúliya, but found great difficulty in passing another water with a deep, argillaceous soil of so boggy a nature that several of the horses fell, even those whose riders had dismounted; and I felt not a little anxiety on account of my own restless and fiery horse, which was snorting like a hippopotamus. At length we left also this morass behind us, and indulged in the hope of having overcome every difficulty, when suddenly we had before us another and far deeper water, which delayed us for a long time. But bad as was our situation while we were thus sticking fast in the mud, I could scarcely help laughing heartily, as this very delay enabled the poor pagans to escape with their wives and property to a place of safety. As for most of the horses, the water went over their backs, while I, on my stately charger, had the water three inches above my knee. A courageous enemy, led on by a clever commander, might at this moment have easily captured most of the horses, and put all the host to flight.

At length, after two hours' exertion, we emerged from this

broad sheet of water, which, when full, must present the appearance of an extensive central lake three or four miles in breadth, and many more in length, and now entered upon green pasture-ground, which, however, during the highest state of the inundation, is itself under water. Here the army divided into three bodies, and pushed on vigorously, although a great many had retraced their steps upon seeing the deep water.

Proceeding in this way, we reached the first hamlets, and here formed a regular line of battle, while the greater part of the army rushed on in advance, at the sound of the drum and the horns of the kashéllas, to see if there was any thing left for them; but all the inhabitants had made their escape. Another delay occurred, owing to one of the followers of Bú-Bakr falling into a ditch or hollow twelve feet in depth and the same in breadth, from which he was extricated with some difficulty, while the horse died on the spot. But there was plenty of leisure, the pagans having long ago had sufficient time to make their escape beyond the river. If those simple people had followed the same stratagem which the Bórnu people employ against the Tawárek, digging a quantity of holes and covering them over with bushes, they might have done a great deal of mischief to the cavalry.

This whole tract of country still belongs to the extensive district of Wúliya, but the villages have separate names, which, owing to the unfortunate circumstances under which I visited the country, I was not able to learn. Having passed a considerable village, we reached, a little before eleven o'clock, the farthermost line which the waters of the River Serbéwuel attain during its highest state of inundation, while when they recede they leave extensive ponds of stagnant water behind, which nourish a rich supply of the most succulent herbage. The shore was here about eight feet high, while at the other point, where we had visited the river a few days previously, it was not so well marked. Of course, where the inner shore consists of steeper banks, so that the river does not rise over the higher level to a considerable height, the outward shore can not be marked so distinctly.

About thirteen hundred yards beyond this grassy outward shore we reached the inner bank of the river, which consisted of sand, and was here only ten feet high. The river at present was confined to this bank, running at this spot from S. 25° E.; but a little lower down it changed its direction, running W. by N. Higher up, the opposite shore was richly overgrown with trees, among which deléb- and dúm-palms were conspicuous; but no villages were to be seen, although a place named Kár is said to lie on the eastern shore. The reason we had directed our march to this point seemed to be, that the river is here rather broad, being about eight hundred yards across, and forming a large sand-bank, so that my friends had entertained the hope that they would be enabled to ford it, which in some years, when the rains have not been very considerable, may be possible at this season, and even this year might probably be effected in two months' time. But at present this was not the case, and the rapacious Shúwa Arabs were hurrying about in despair to and fro between the island and the western shore.

I too took the direction of the island, as the most interesting point, although I became aware that it was not possible to penetrate farther on. The first branch of the river on this side of the island, which was the broader of the two, was not more than from eighteen to nineteen inches deep, and could not but become dry in a short time, when the island, or rather sand-bank, should form the knee of the bend of the river; but the eastern branch, though apparently only about 120 or 130 yards broad, seemed to be of considerable depth, running along with a strong current, and my old friend Abú Dáúd, one of the principal Shúwa chiefs, whom I encountered at the southern point of the sand-bank, with a sad countenance, indicated the whole nature of this stream with the laconic and significant expression "Yákul" (it eats)—that is to say, it is not fordable.

It would have been the more dangerous to attempt to force the passage, as the opposite shore, which was so near, and only four feet high, was occupied by a number of stalwart pagans, who mocked at our inability to cross the river, and seemed to be quite ready to receive in a satisfactory manner any body

who should make the attempt. It would have been easy to have blown away these people, and thus to clear the place of descent; but for such an undertaking my friends had not sufficient courage or energy. I did not see a single Kanúri on the island, but only Shúwa, who always expose themselves to the greatest risk, and push farthest. The pagans had not only occupied the opposite bank, but even kept afloat four canoes at some distance above the island, in order to run down, with the assistance of the current, any one who should dare to cross the river. Three of these canoes were small, but the fourth was of a larger size, and manned by ten Músgu.

These canoes were the only craft visible on the river, and probably constituted the whole naval force of these pagans. Of course, in a country politically rent into so many petty principalities, where every little community, as in ancient times in Latium and Greece, forms a separate little state in opposition to its neighbors, no considerable intercourse is possible, and those natural high roads with which nature has provided these countries, and the immense field, therefore, which is open in these regions to human industry and activity, must remain unproductive under such circumstances; but it will be turned to account as soon as the restless spirit of the European shall bring these countries within the sphere of his activity. This period must come. Indeed, I am persuaded that in less than fifty years European boats will keep up a regular annual intercourse between the great basin of the Tsád and the Bay of Biyáfra.

An almost uninterrupted communication has been opened by Nature herself; for, from the mouth of the Kwára to the confluence of the River Bénuwé with the máyo Kébbi, there is a natural passage navigable without further obstruction for boats of about four feet in depth, and the Máyo Kébbi itself, in its present shallow state, seems to be navigable for canoes or flat-bottomed boats like those of the natives, which I have no doubt may, during the highest state of the inundatian, go as far as Dáwa in the Túburi country, where Dr. Vogel was struck by that large sheet of water which, to him, seemed to be an inde-

pendent central lake, but which is in reality nothing but a widening of the upper part of the máyo Kébbi.

It is very probable that from this place there may be some other shallow water-course, proceeding to join the large ngáljam of Démmo, so that there would exist a real bifurcation between the basin of the Niger and that of the Tsád. But even if this should not be the case, the breadth of the water-parting between these two basins, at the utmost, can not exceed twenty miles, consisting of an entirely level flat, and probably of alluvial soil, while the granitic region attached to that isolated, rocky mountain which I have mentioned above may, most probably, be turned without difficulty. The level of the Tsád and that of the River Bénuwé near Géwe, where it is joined by the máyo Kébbi, seem to be almost identical; at least, according to all appearance, the Bénuwé at the place mentioned is not more than 850 or 900 feet above the level of the sea. All this bounty of nature will, I trust, one day be turned to account, though many changes must take place in this country before a regular and peaceful intercourse can be established. The very scenes which I witnessed are an unmistakable proof of the misery into which these regions are plunged.

But, as I have carried away the reader's attention from the thread of the narrative, so I myself had almost forgotten where I was, and it required an admonition from my friend Abú Dáúd to induce me to look after my own safety; for already the greater part of the Shúwa had returned to the western shore, and threatened to leave us alone, and it did not seem very agreeable to be taken in the rear by the pagans, and perhaps even to be cut off by the boats. I therefore returned to the western shore, where the army was scattered about, not knowing what to do, being rather disinclined to retrace their steps without having enriched themselves with booty of some kind.

Following the course of the river, I witnessed an interesting and animated scene—a dozen courageous natives occupying a small elevated island, with steep banks, separated from the shore by a narrow but deep channel, setting at defiance a countless host of enemies, many of whom were armed with fire-arms.

But African muskets are not exactly like Minié rifles, and a musketeer very often misses his aim at a distance of thirty or forty yards. It was astonishing to see that none of this small band of heroes was wounded, notwithstanding the repeated firing of a number of Kanúri people. Either the balls missed their aim entirely, or else, striking upon the shields of these poor pagans, which consisted of nothing but wicker-work, were unable to pierce this slight defense; for not only was the powder of a bad quality, making a great deal of noise without possessing any strength, but even the balls were of extremely light weight, consisting of pewter, as is generally the case here.

However, it was not prudent for me to witness this scene (which was so little flattering to my friends) for too long a time: for, when they saw that I had my gun with me, they called upon me urgently to fire at these scoffers, and when I refused to do so, reproached me in terms which very often fell to my lot—"'Abd el Kerím fáida nsé bágo"—meaning that I was a useless sort of person.

It is a remarkable fact that in almost the whole of the Músgu country, except near a few isolated granite mountains, there is not a single stone, else it would have been almost more profitable to have thrown stones at these people than to fire at them with the pewter balls. With regard to those peculiar shields of wicker-work with which these courageous Músgu people managed to protect themselves so adroitly, I had afterward an opportunity of examining them, and found them to be about sixteen inches broad at the top, twenty-two at the bottom, and about forty in length, but hollow. The material consists of the same kind of reed with which their huts are thatched.

About noon the army began its march homeward. Certainly it was not overburdened with spoil, for scarcely fifteen slaves had been taken, mostly decrepit old women, who either could not or would not leave their comfortable cottages. The anger and disappointment of the army was vented upon the habitations of these people, and all the cheerful dwellings which we passed were destroyed by fire. This certainly was a heavy loss to the inhabitants, not so much on account of the huts, which

they might easily rebuild, as on account of the granaries, the grain having been harvested some time previously; and, as far as I became aware, there being no subterranean magazines or catamores, as I had observed with the Marghí, and the fugitives, in the hurry of their escape, most probably having only been able to save a small portion of their store. In estimating, therefore, the miseries of these slave-hunts, we ought not only to take into account the prisoners led into slavery, and the full-grown men who are slaughtered, but also the famine and distress consequent upon these expeditions, although nature has provided this peculiar tribe with innumerable shallow water-courses swarming with fish, which must tend greatly to alleviate their sufferings under such circumstances.

The forest intervening between these villages consisted almost exclusively of "kindín" or talha-trees, which were just in flower, diffusing a very pleasant fragrance, while here and there they were overshadowed by isolated dúm-palms. As for délebpalms, I did not observe a single specimen in the whole of this district; but beyond the river to the southeast, as I have mentioned above, I had seen several in the distance.

After a march of four hours we again reached the broad ngáljam of Démmo, but at a different point from where we had crossed it in the morning with so much delay. It seemed almost providential that we had not taken this route in the morning, as the poor Músgu people would have had less time to make their escape. Leaving the main body of the cavalry behind me, I pursued my march toward my homely tent without delay; for, having been on horseback for more than twelve hours without any thing to eat, I was quite ready for some repose and refreshment. But it took me full an hour and a half to cross this peculiar basin, which at present was dry in most places, and overgrown with tall, rank grass, but swampy in some parts, and intersected by holes caused by the footprints of the elephant. A mile farther along the northwestern border of this swamp brought me to my tent and to the several dishes which awaited me; and this was one of those rare occasions, during my travels in Negroland, on which I dined with a truly European appetite.

The vizier was very gracious, and praised my courage in having accompanied this distant expedition quite by myself; but the Kanúri, who had taken part in it, detracted from my praise, using the very terms which I have mentioned above—"fáida nsé bágo." Indeed, this became one of my nicknames during my stay in Bórnu, and was the reason why I was less popular with most of the people than my companion. It is very natural that the motto "afí fáida nsé" ("of what use is he?") should be the guiding principle, not only of Europeans, but barbarians and semi-barbarians.

The following day we remained on the same spot, probably for no other purpose than to give some repose to the people who had accompanied the expedition the preceding day; and the vizier, who was fully aware of my ardent desire to push farther southward, at least as far as the equator, took occasion to make merry at my expense, and, to the great horror of the effeminate courtiers, suddenly proclaimed that it was his firm intention to lead the expedition into those unknown regions in the interior. At times, indeed, he could be exceedingly amiable; and he was clever enough to conceive how Europeans could be induced to undertake such hazardous journeys, although he was scarcely able to appreciate the amount of courage which such an undertaking is able to inspire. He had often spoken with me concerning my project of pushing on toward the east coast, and he thought that a troop of ten Europeans would be able to accomplish it, although he anticipated great obstructions from the quantity of water-courses in those equatorial regions, and there can be no doubt that this would be one of the greatest obstacles to such an undertaking.

In order to console me, and soothe my disappointment on finding that this was to be the farthest point of the expedition, and that we should retrace our steps from hence without even visiting the country of the Túburi, he ordered M'allem Jýmma to be called, in order to inform me how far the enterprising Púllo conqueror Búba had penetrated beyond Búbanjídda; but he found that I was already fully acquainted with this fact from other sources. The very interesting route of the M'allem Jým-

ma from Démmo, by the village of the Túburi to Láka and Láme, I have already communicated on a former occasion.* It is to be hoped that these regions will soon become better known, when English steamers shall go annually up the River Bénuwé, and enable travelers to start afresh from thence for those inland regions.

CHAPTER XLV.

RETURN TO BÓRNU.

January 7th, 1852. This was the day when we were to bid farewell to all projects of penetrating farther toward the south or southeast. It was rather remarkable that, early in the morning, at the very moment when the drum was beating, the moon was eclipsed; but our commander-in-chief was too much enlightened to be frightened at such a phenomenon, like the Athenian general before Syracuse. He requested Mr. Overweg to explain it to him, but otherwise he was not much concerned about it.

We this time kept a little more toward the east than on our outward march, approaching closer to the River of Logón. Only a short tract of clear forest separated the cultivated grounds of Démmo from another village, where, besides Negro corn, we found tobacco and cotton in friendly community on the same piece of ground. We had already seen much cultivation of tobacco in this country, and were impressed with the opinion, however strange it may seem, that it was an indigenous plant, and not introduced at a recent period; we had, moreover, been informed that not only the men, but even the women in this country, are passionately fond of smoking. But as for cotton,

* I will here observe with what exactitude I have laid down, on my map which was published by Mr. Petermann, the district of the Túburi, which exactly corresponds with the latitude ascertained by Dr. Vogel. As to the longitude assigned by me to this place, it is dependent on the meridian of Kúkawa.

we had not yet seen any in the whole tract of the Músgu country which we had traveled over, and its appearance here seemed to be a step in advance toward civilization, caused, probably, by the influence of the neighboring town of Logón.

After a short interruption there followed another village, which was succeeded by forest, and then another swamp, at present dry, and overgrown with tall, rank grass, but difficult to pass on account of innumerable holes. Shortly afterward the country on our right assumed an open and very pleasant appearance, a river with a clear sheet of water, but apparently without a current, winding through it in tortuous meanderings, and closely approaching the higher ground along which the numerous host was pursuing its march. The slope was adorned with wild fig-trees and acacias, which were overshadowed by two fine deléb-palms. This open country was succeeded by the well-cultivated and shaded fields, which lay stretched out between the scattered court-yards of another village; and here we encamped, my companion and I pitching our tents near a beautiful sort of fig-tree, of the species called "báure" by the Háusa, and "kágo" by the Kanúri, or at least the Mánga.

The whole village was deserted; only a few neglected members of the poultry tribe were running about, endeavoring to escape from the hands of their greedy pursuers.

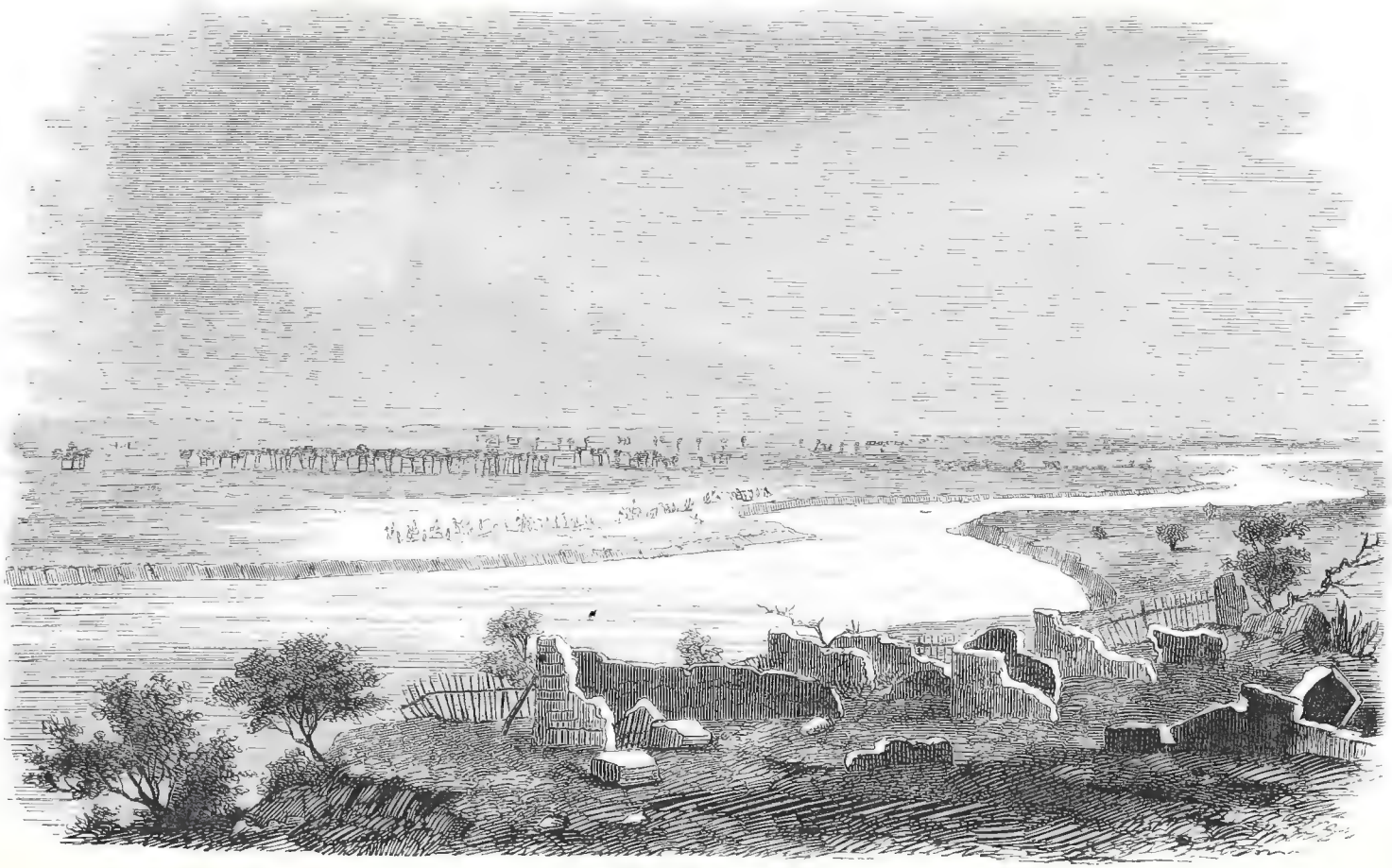
It was a very hot day, the hottest we had on this expedition, the thermometer at half past one in the afternoon indicating 100° in the cool shade of our fine fig-tree.

The encampment was cheerful and pleasant; but in the evening a frightful alarm arose, the rumor being spread that the pagans were attacking the "ngáufate," the great drum of the commander-in-chief keeping up a tremendous din, and all the people hurrying along in every direction. The alarm was so great that my companion gave up his tent, and retreated with his people to that of the vizier, and I found myself obliged to allow my two servants to follow him also. As for myself, I remained where I was, for I felt little inclination to have my tent once more plundered, as had been the case on our expedition to Kánem. It soon proved to be nothing but a false alarm.

In these predatory incursions, the rapacious Shúwa suffer the greatest loss, as it is they who always push on furthest and run the greatest risk; but, on the other hand, they also succeed in carrying off secretly a good deal of spoil to their native villages without its becoming subject to the general partition. None of them have firelocks, being only armed with missiles, usually consisting of one large spear or kasákka, and four small javelins or bállem; very few of them have shields.

Thursday, January 8th. The country through which we passed was extremely fertile and beautiful, the scenery during the first part of our march preserving in general the same features which it exhibited on the preceding day. We ourselves kept along the high ground, at the foot of which a clear, open sheet of water was meandering along, while beyond, toward the east, an unbounded grassy plain stretched out, with a scanty growth of trees in the background, and only broken toward the southeast by a low chain of hills, as represented in the plate opposite. At the distance of a mile we reached some hamlets where dúm- and deléb-palms were grouped together in a remarkable manner, starting forth from, and illuminated by the sea of flames which was devouring the village, the whole forming a very picturesque spectacle.

Further on we made a halt on the slope of the rising ground, the various troops, distinguished by the diversity of colors of their dresses, grouping themselves around some buildings which were almost consumed by the flames, while I found leisure to sketch the fertile country before us. The people themselves were struck with its beauty; and when we continued our march, I took an opportunity to enter into a conversation with our friend the vizier with regard to the policy which they pursued with these people, and the way in which they desolated these regions; and I asked him whether they would not act more prudently in allowing the natives to cultivate their fertile country in tranquillity, only levying a considerable tribute upon them. But the vizier answered me that it was only by the most violent means that they were able to crush these pagans, who cherished their independence and liberty above every thing, and



LANDSCAPE IN WILLYA.

that this was the reason why he burned all the granaries, in order to subdue them by famine; and he added that even of famine they were less sensible than he could wish, as the water in this region afforded them an unlimited supply of fish.

Slaves are the only articles which the conquerors want from the subjected tribes; by carrying into slavery great numbers of them they force them into subjection, and even the tribute which they levy, after having subdued them, consists of slaves. All this will be changed as soon as a regular and legitimate intercourse has been opened along the River Bénuwé into the heart of these regions, when the natural produce of the soil will be in constant request—such as cotton, indigo, vegetable butter, ground-nuts, ivory, rhinoceros' horns, wax, hides, and many other articles. The vizier himself, although a strict Moslim, was too enlightened to lay much stress upon the spreading of Islám; but nevertheless the idea that these unfortunate creatures fully deserve such treatment, in their character as pagans (kofár or "kérdi"), blunted his feelings to their sufferings.

Further on we crossed the water where it was shallower, and, a little beyond, another meadow-water of greater breadth but not so deep, and then entered a fine undulating country, while an arm of the water remained on our left. The whole country was extremely well cultivated and densely inhabited, village succeeding village, while large trees, mostly of the ngábbore and karáge kind, enveloped the whole in the finest vegetation. Some of the huts were distinguished by a natural ornamental network or covering, formed by that kind of *Cucurbitacea* which I have mentioned before as named "ságade" by the natives, and which is probably identical with the species called *Melopepo*. The aspect of the country was the more pleasing, and left the impression of a certain degree of industry, owing to the tobacco-plants just standing in flower.

Amid such scenery, we took up our encampment at an early hour in the morning, a beautifully-winding water-course, which was bordered by a fine grassy slope about twenty feet high, closely approaching on our right. The water-course was about sixty yards broad, but of considerable depth, at least in this

place, and full of clear fresh water, which was gently gliding along, and disappeared further down in the plain. Here I lay down for an hour in the cool shade of a large karáge-tree, and allowed myself to be carried away by the recollections caused by the ever-varying impressions of such a wandering life, which repays the traveler fully for all the hardships and privations which he has to endure, and endows him with renewed energy to encounter fresh dangers.

I have before observed what trouble the hard alluvial soil caused us in pitching our tents; but here the argillaceous soil was succeeded by loose sand, which forms the border of the river. The light troops, soon after our arrival to-day, had dispersed in all directions, and brought a considerable quantity of cattle from the neighboring villages; the cattle, however, hereabouts are only of middle size, and the cows yield little milk, and that of very poor quality.

It seems remarkable that the Músgu, as well as the Marghí, and several divisions of the kindred Kótokó, call the cattle by a name which closely approaches that given to it by the Háusa people, while the Bátta call it by a name which is certainly derived from the Fulfúlde, or the language of the Fúlbe. Such linguistic relations are not without interest, as they afford some little insight into the history of the civilization of these regions.

A little variety was given to the monotonous proceedings of our rather inglorious expedition by the fact of one of the Shúwa, who was supposed to have been killed a few days previously, being found under a tree in the forest severely wounded, but still alive, after having undergone great hardships and privations.

January 9th. The whole district in which we had been roving about since the 30th of December belongs to Wúliya, which is decidedly one of the most fertile and best-irrigated regions in the world.

A desolate border district, consisting at times of green swampy ground uprooted by the footprints of the elephant, and on this account affording a very difficult passage for cavalry, at others of dense forest, the one following the other in rapid succession,

BÁRËA AND THE DELEB PALM.

separated Wúliya from another principality of the name of Bárea, and inhabited by a tribe of the Músgu of the name of A'bare. It was characteristic of the little peaceful intercourse which exists among these various petty tribes that the A'bare did not seem to have had the slightest information of the approach of the expedition till we suddenly came upon them through the dense forest, so that they had scarcely time to escape with their families from the village, and endeavor to hide themselves in the dense covert of the forest toward the east. They were pursued and overpowered, after a short resistance, by the continually increasing numbers of the enemy, and the booty of that day, chiefly in cattle, was rather considerable. Slaves were also brought in in considerable numbers, principally young boys and girls. The distance of the field of battle spared us the sight of the slaughter of the full-grown men.

We chose our camping-ground on the stubble-fields between the straggling groups of the village, which were beautifully adorned by some fine specimens of the deléb-palm, and I took the opportunity of making a sketch of this scene of natural fertility and wanton destruction of human happiness. The huts in general were of the same construction and arrangement as those described above; but in one of them I found a kind of three-pointed harpoon or spear, very similar to a hay-fork, with this difference, that the middle point was rather longer. The handle also was rather long, measuring about eight feet. It probably was used for catching fish rather than as a weapon, otherwise it would scarcely have been left behind; but it may easily have served both purposes.

Thus by very short marches we again approached Bórnu, keeping mostly at a short distance eastward from our former route, and encamped the following day in the midst of another straggling village, the fields of which were especially shaded by fine bíto-trees (*Balanites Ægyptiaca*), the soil being as hard as iron. I had scarcely pitched my tent when Hámed, the son of Ibrahím Wádáy, one of the courtiers with whom I was on friendly terms, sent to me, begging I would pay him a visit;

and on complying with his wish, he introduced into my presence a female slave who had been taken the day before, telling me that I might make a drawing of her, for he knew that I was making strict inquiries after the origin and customs of these tribes, and that I was making occasional sketches. This female slave was certainly worthy of a sketch, as she was one of the most stately women I saw here. But I entertained some suspicion that she was not of Músgu origin, but belonged to the Marghí; for in the whole of the Músgu country I had not observed a single individual of red color, but all were of the same dirty black, approaching to what the French call *café au lait*, while this woman was of a red complexion. She certainly wore in her under lip the large bone, the national emblem of the Músgu females, but this custom she might have adopted. As for herself, she would neither give me any information with respect to her origin, nor sit still in order to allow me to finish my sketch. She was tall and well-grown, with the exception of the legs, which were rather crooked; and being still a young woman, her breasts had not yet attained that bag-like shape which is so disgusting in the elder females of this country. Her features were only a little disfigured by the bone in the under lip. Her neck was richly ornamented with strings of beads, but these were as little peculiar to her as the cotton cloth round her loins, having been given her by the new master into whose hands she had fallen. The national dress of the Músgu females consists of nothing but a narrow bandage, formed of bast, twisted like a rope, which is fastened between the legs and round the waist like a T bandage.

A circumstance happened here which caused a great sensation, particularly among the courtiers. The last messengers who had been sent from Kúkawa with dispatches for the commander-in-chief, as I have observed, had been destroyed by the pagans; and it was on this day and in this place that, while all the cottages were being pillaged and ransacked, three of the letters of which those messengers had been the bearers were found in the pocket of a shirt which had been hid in a clay jar. This was evidently the shirt of the messenger himself, and the blood

with which it had been stained had been washed out without taking the letters out of the pocket. Devoid as the expedition was of feats of valor and interest, the greatest importance was attached to this little incident.

Sunday, January 11th. When we left this place our friends just barely escaped punishment for their barbarous proceeding of burning the villages in which we had encamped as soon as we left them, for the conflagration spread before we had gained the open country, and a most horrible crushing took place among the burning huts. Had there been any wind, great part of the army might have been severely scorched.

The country which we passed to-day was intersected by numerous water-courses, and we had to cross and recross them several times. Here we passed a place where the poor natives, in the consciousness of their weakness, seemed to have been aroused to new and unwonted energy for building a large fortification, but had been obliged to leave it half finished. Our march was extremely short, and scarcely extended to three miles, when we encamped in a village which seemed to have been ransacked at a former period. It lay straggling over a wide extent of ground, in separate groups of cottages, which were surrounded by stubble-fields shaded by karáge-trees of a richness and exuberance which I had not seen before, and surpassing even those fine trees of the same species which I have described near the village Kadé.

Of course, every one was desirous of having his tent pitched in the shade of one of these beautiful trees, when suddenly the intruders were attacked by swarms of large bees, which, settling behind their ears, tormented them to their utmost, as if they wanted to take revenge for the mischief that had been done to their masters, and to defend their favorite resting-places against these cruel intruders. It is well known that swarms of bees had almost caused the destruction of Mungo Park's, as well as Major Gray's expedition; but here a whole army was running away from these little creatures. Even those who had encamped at a greater distance were only able to protect themselves by the large volumes of smoke which issued from the fires they had

lighted. Before this we had not observed the rearing of bees in this country; but here the larger trees were full of bee-hives, made of large-sized blocks. Even flocks of turtle-doves were not wanting in this fertile region, so rich in water and vegetation.

In this pleasant spot we remained encamped the following day, while part of the army was sent out in a southerly direction toward our former encampment, Kákalá, which was only at a few miles' distance, in order to try their fortune thereabouts; but the pagans being upon their guard, they returned empty-handed in the evening. Our food to-day was varied, to our great satisfaction, by an excellent fish of considerable size, which we obtained from the neighboring pond.

Fish seems to be plentiful in this quarter, but whether the number of small ridges and channels which we observed on our march the following day were intended for catching fish, which might enter them at the highest level of the inundation, or for preparing the fields for cultivation, I am not quite sure; but the former seemed to be the case, there being no signs whatever of the fields being brought under labor. Dense forest and open pasture-ground alternated, the forest, consisting of middle-sized acacias, interrupted now and then by the kálgo-tree, with its ash-colored leaves and its dark red pods, or by the kókia.

The country, however, became exceedingly interesting and pleasant when we reached one of the numerous water-courses of these African Netherlands, an open and clear river about seventy yards broad, which being fringed on each bank with a border of slender deléb-palms or kamelútu, in the clear, magnificent morning sky afforded a most picturesque view. We here crossed this water, and passed a village on our left, and, keeping along the fresh turf of the western bank a mile further on, reached a spot where another branch, running eastward apparently, though no current is visible, and fringed likewise by palms of the same description, joins the main channel. The country being without any perceptible inclination, it is extremely difficult, nay, almost impossible, to decide about the direction of these water-courses, except during the period of their

highest inundation. But the fertile and picturesque landscape beyond this narrow sheet of water, which stretched along in a regular line like an artificial canal, did not seem at all to be deserted, natives being seen in every direction. The commander of the expedition, therefore, ordered a short halt, the army presenting their front to the enemy, and preventing the stragglers from crossing the river, which, owing to their greediness for spoil, they seemed to have not a little inclination to do.

But the great men of Bórnu at the present day do not like any unusual exertion, and it was decided to await the arrival of the camels, to encamp at ease, and to take luncheon. We then turned off a little to the westward, entered a village, and encamped in the stubble-fields.

Suddenly, just about noon, without my having any previous knowledge of it, the vizier and his officers mounted on horseback, in order to attack the pagans on the other side of the water; but these poor people, to whom had been given full opportunity of estimating the strength of the army, had thought it prudent to make use of the leisure thus afforded them, not by the mercy, but by the cowardly disposition of their enemies, to convey their families and property into a place of safety; for the River of Logón passed at a distance of only four miles from this place, and in its present state was capable of affording perfect security to the persecuted natives, their pursuers having no boats. But, although the army did not go to a great distance, and returned after an absence of three hours, I was rather sorry for having neglected this opportunity of obtaining a sight of the River of Logón again at another place, and likewise of visiting once more that picturesque district, so rich in deléb-palms, which was evidently one of the finest in the whole country. Mr. Overweg, who had received previous information of the intention of the vizier, was this time more fortunate than myself, and afterward informed me that they had been obliged to keep first along the smaller river, in order to reach the ford where we had crossed in the morning. The great river, which they reached about three miles beyond, exhibited a single bed, and was not fordable.

While remaining behind in the empty encampment, I lamented the misery of accompanying such an expedition; for nothing can be more disheartening to the feelings of a traveler who is desirous of knowledge than to visit these beautiful countries under such circumstances, when the original inhabitants are either exterminated, or obliged to seek their safety in flight; when all traces of their cheerful life are destroyed, and the abodes of human happiness converted into desolation; when no one is left to acquaint him with all the significant names which the various characteristic features of the country must necessarily bear, especially those numberless creeks, swamps, and rivers which intersect this country in all directions. The stranger who intrudes upon the natives in this hostile manner is scarcely able to make out a few dry names of the principal dwelling-places, and, being placed under such disadvantageous circumstances, is at least justified in speaking more emphatically of the endless misery into which the finest and most populous regions of this continent are plunged by these slave-hunting expeditions of their merciless Mohammedan neighbors. This fertile district, which is inclosed by the River of Logón on the east, and by the narrow, channel-like water-course on the west side, seems to be that very dominion of "Fúss," the power of which, as I have related before, was greatly dreaded by our friends.

This was the coolest day we had as yet experienced on our expedition, the thermometer, in the cool shade of a tree, at half past one o'clock in the afternoon, indicating only 84°. This was probably attributable to the fresh northerly breeze which sprung up about noon; for during the night it was not so cold as we felt it afterward, the thermometer during this time indicating, at sunrise, between 56° and 59°, and at sunset between 74° and 77°.

Wednesday, January 14th. We made a longer march than usual, while the character of the country changed entirely, and not, as it seemed, to its advantage; for, instead of a fertile landscape, clothed with rich verdure, we entered upon bleak alluvial plains, scantily overgrown with stunted mimosas, and, to all appearance, almost unfit for producing grain. It was one of those

remarkable days in January which, in the whole of Central Africa, form a distinct season by themselves. A thick fog enveloped the whole country, and excluded any distant view, and, while subsequently it helped to increase the dismal character of the country, in the beginning of our march it prevented us from enjoying once more the rich scenery of the preceding day; for we had first to return to the bank of that beautiful clear sheet of water along which our march had led the day before. Its banks here also were quite flat, but the sheet of water was wider than at the place where we had seen it before. Proceeding a little in advance of the army, I obtained a sight of a river-horse just at the moment when it raised its immense head above the surface of the watery element.

But as soon as we left this fine, clear sheet of water, the character of the country changed entirely, assuming an exceedingly sombre aspect, and we passed a hamlet more cheerless and miserable than any I had seen in the whole of this country. Not a single trace of cultivation was seen on the bleak, black argillaceous soil, and it was evident that the inhabitants of this hamlet subsisted solely on the fish which they were able to catch; and these may be abundant, as the whole configuration of the ground shows that this entire tract is reached by the inundation during the rainy season.

The country preserved the same aspect as we proceeded onward, and the hamlets which we passed were not of a more inviting appearance than the first. Only now and then an isolated deléb-palm, or kamelútu, raised its magnificent tuft into the air, and served, by the contrast it afforded, to make this spot appear more gloomy. A large piece of ground was entirely covered with aghúl (*Hedysarus alhajji*), which seemed to me not a little remarkable, as I did not remember to have seen this plant, which is so much liked by the camel, since I had left Taganáma.

The country assumed more and more the appearance of a swamp at present dry; and we were even obliged to change our direction frequently, in order to avoid spots where the bog had not dried up, while every where we observed the same kind of small ridges which I have mentioned before. Farther on, the

ground became a little drier, but presented only a monotonous waste, with detached bunches of rank grass, overshadowed now and then by scanty and stunted karáge-trees scarcely fifteen feet high, while we had been accustomed in the Músgu country to see this kind of tree assume the size of the most magnificent specimens of the vegetable kingdom, with an elevation of from seventy to eighty feet, and a crown of not less diameter. As far as the eye could reach, the character of the country presented the same poor appearance; but, as I have mentioned before, the sky was not very clear, and the view was therefore rather limited. The bush of the fan-palm seemed to be quite solitary, without there being a full-grown specimen to be seen.

At length this swampy ground seemed to have an end; but nothing but poor stubble-fields, where the crop had failed, took its place, with here and there a few detached poor-looking huts, the few trees which were visible exhibiting the same scanty growth that we had observed in the district through which we had just passed. At last the eye, fatigued by the length of this gloomy tract, was refreshed by the sight of a field with a fresh crop of másakuwá or *Holcus cernuus*, though it was far from being a rich one. Already here, besides the huts common in this country, others, of a remarkable and peculiar style, became visible, such as I shall describe further on, and as only the most excellent clay soil can enable the natives to build.

Entering for a while a grassy plain, we reached an open water, such as the Kanúri people call komádugu, about thirty yards broad, but apparently of considerable depth, being inclosed by banks ten feet high, and winding through the plain in a fine meandering course. The water at present had no current, and we found a spot where it was totally broken, and were enabled to cross it with dry feet.

A few hundred yards on the other side of this water-course were the ruins of Bága, the residence of the chief Kábishmé (or, as the Kanúri call him, Kabshimé), which had been ransacked last year by Kashélla ʿAlí Fúgomámi. Among these ruins the vizier, by the advice of A′dishén, who wanted to keep the undisciplined host from his own fertile territory, had chosen

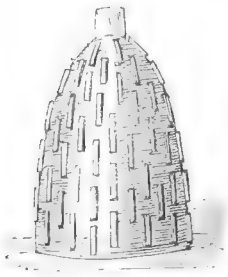
the encampment. Thither I directed my steps, while the main body of the cavalry were scattered about the corn-fields, in order to gather the half-ripe ears of grain for themselves and their half-starved horses; and he was lucky who arrived first, those who came afterward either finding nothing at all, or only green, unwholesome corn.

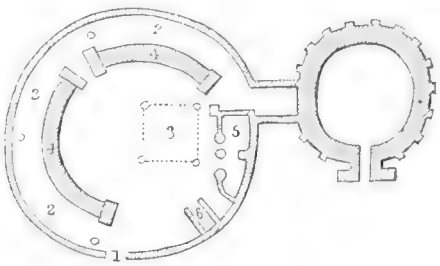
The whole district where the encampment was chosen was bare and desolate in the extreme, especially on the eastern side, where it was only bordered by stunted mimosas a considerable distance off. But the village itself, and particularly the dwelling of the chief Kábishmé, was calculated to create a great deal of interest, as well on account of the finished and careful execution of the buildings as owing to a certain degree of comfort and homeliness in the whole arrangement; and in this respect it was very fortunate that, immediately after our arrival, before the train came up, I directed my attention toward these buildings, for afterward the deserted palace of the Músgu chief became a harím, or prohibited spot, the vizier finding its architectural arrangements very useful and convenient for domestic purposes.

The palace must have afforded a very different spectacle in former times, when it was inhabited, it being at present in such a state of ruin that several features in its arrangement could not be distinctly made out, almost every thing that was liable to take fire having been destroyed, and especially the sheds and inner court-yards, which are so characteristic of the domestic life of these people. At present it was an empty court-yard of a tolerably round shape, and of large circumference, surrounded by huts more or less destroyed, and adorned at the four corners, if we may speak of corners in a building of almost round shape, by buildings of a very peculiar and remarkable character, which at once attracted my attention, as they bore testimony to a degree of order, and even of art, which I had not expected to find among these tribes.

They were small round rumbú, about eight feet in diameter, and at least twelve feet high to the apex of the cupola, the clay walls of which were very neatly polished; the entrance formed

a projecting portal about six feet high, four feet deep, and not more than fourteen inches wide. The exterior, to the very top of the cupola, was ornamented in a very peculiar manner by regular lines of projecting ribs running round the building in the way represented in the wood-cut. These very remarkable rooms, although at present empty, from their analogy with several buildings described above, and according to the statements of the people, were nothing but well-protected granaries, although they might have served occasionally in the cold season as bed-rooms or sleeping-rooms. They were exactly the same at each of the four corners; but the northeast corner of the yard claimed particular attention, owing to another very remarkable apartment being there joined to the granary, which, as it is best adapted to give a clear idea of the homely comfort of these people, however low the scale of their civilization may be, has been made use of to represent, in the plate opposite, a scene of the domestic life of these people, besides that its ground-plan is given in the accompanying wood-cut.





It was a round, uncovered apartment of about twenty-four feet in diameter, inclosed by a clay wall of about seven feet high and a foot in thickness, and carefully polished at the corners. The doorway was about four feet high by about two feet wide; entering through this, you had on your left a bank of clay running parallel with the wall, and inclosing a space of about two and a half feet in breadth. It was a foot and a quarter high, and one foot broad, and ran round more than half the circumference of the room, but, in order to afford easy access to the

INTERIOR OF DWELLING.

narrow space between it and the wall, had an opening in the centre, both ends of the banks thus formed having a regularly-shaped projection. The space included between the bank and the wall formed a sort of stable, as was evident from three stakes placed in the ground at equal distances from each other. Probably it was the place for three head of cattle or goats. The clay bank, therefore, served two purposes, partly as a separation of the stable from the inner apartment, and partly as a seat. The centre of the apartment was formed by a shed about eight feet by six, and consisting of a roof of reeds and grass, supported by four stakes, and furnishing an evident proof that the apartment had never been covered in, but formed an open little court-yard *sub dio*.

On the right of this shed was the cooking-place or kitchen, inclosed by two very low clay walls, and formed by four projections of clay in the shape of large round stones, which in a very simple manner formed two fireplaces, each of which, if detached, would have required three stones. Between the kitchen, the shed, and one end of the clay bank, and divided from the former by a separate wall, appeared a broad entrance to the adjoining building, which we have recognized as a granary; but at present it was walled up, and formed a recess for some purpose or other. Between the kitchen and the gateway was another place inclosed between two thin clay walls, which was most probably destined to contain the water-jar.

The four well-built and well-secluded rooms, which had been intended originally as granaries, seemed very desirable to the vizier in cold weather, as he was able to lodge there very comfortably, himself and his female slaves; for the cold in this open spot, which was not protected either by vegetation or by any rising of the ground, was so severe that not only the whole black world, but the two whites also—that is to say, Mr. Overweg and myself, natives of the north of Europe—suffered severely from its intensity. Indeed, it was most distressing during the night to hear the shrieks of the poor naked Músgu slaves, who had been torn from their warm huts, and it was not till about noon that they seemed to revive a little. Neverthe-

less, the thermometer, at six o'clock in the morning of the 15th, indicated as much as 51°, which was the greatest amount of cold we had during this expedition, and at noon it even rose to 87°.

We were obliged to remain in this uncomfortable place several days, owing to the circumstance that the whole of the spoil was to be divided here before we left the hostile territory; for an undisciplined host like this, of course, can not be controlled except by fear; and if the people were allowed to regain their own territory with what they had taken in slaves and cattle, they would go to their own homes without contributing any thing to the common share of the army. This is also the custom in Wádáy as well as in Dár-Fúr, the spoil being divided before the expedition re-enters the friendly territory. Although on the present occasion the expedition had not been eminently successful in the different places, nevertheless the whole booty, besides about 10,000 head of cattle, amounted to a considerable number of slaves. The leaders boasted that they had taken not less than 10,000 slaves; and, although I was glad to find that this number was exaggerated, I convinced myself that they numbered not less than 3000.

By far the largest proportion of this number consisted of aged women, who had not been able to join in the hasty flight, and of children under eight years of age. There were some women so decrepit that they were scarcely able to walk—mere skeletons, who, in their almost total nakedness, presented a horrible sight. All the full-grown men who had been taken prisoners, with the exception of a few cowards who had not made any resistance, had been slaughtered; but their number scarcely exceeded 300, almost the whole full-grown male population of the country having had time to escape. Of these 3000 slaves the commander-in-chief received a third part, but he also claimed for himself the whole amount of the slave-hunt which was made into the territory of A'dishén, and which constituted a sort of tribute.

In the afternoon of the 17th two officers had left the encampment under the pretext of gathering fodder from the neighbor-

ing villages, but in the evening returned with about 800 slaves and a considerable number of cattle; and we were given to understand that this foray was executed with the consent of the chief himself, to such degrading means did this despicable chief resort in order to preserve his authority, however precarious it was. Of course, he selects as a sacrifice such of his subjects as are not his zealous followers; but it is almost incredible how such a government can exist, as his dominion scarcely extends over a tract of country more than fifteen miles in every direction. At any rate, his subjects seem to be fully justified in taking care of themselves, and they had succeeded, in the darkness, in getting back part of the spoil which had been taken from them.

The vizier himself pretended to behave in a very gracious manner toward the submissive vassal, returning to him about 200 of the oldest and most decrepit women, who, he most probably thought, would succumb to the fatigues of the march, observing, in a tone of friendly irony, that they were to cultivate the country, and that when he should return he would eat of the produce of their labor. On other occasions the vizier had expressed himself to me to the effect that he wished A'dishén strong and powerful, in order that, as a faithful vassal, he might oppose the progress of the Felláta in these regions; for in his heart he was the most inveterate enemy of that enterprising nation, and certainly he had ample reason to be so. It was on this occasion I heard that this renegade Músgu chief had never been rebellious to his Bórnu sovereign (which, from information I had received previously, I concluded to have been the case), but that occasionally he was obliged to make reprisals against the Shúwa, who were making plundering expeditions into his territory.

We have already noticed the peculiar situation of this Músgu chief, separated from the interests of his countrymen, and opposed to them in a hostile manner. He has to defend his position against all the people around him, while his rear is very badly protected by his very friends, the Bórnu people, even the Shúwa Arabs, who are subjected to the former, infesting his ter-

ritory. Only with his kinsmen, the people of Logón, he seemed to be at the time on friendly terms.

Monday, January 19th. We at length set out on our return to Kúkawa. We at first returned to the ford of shallow water, and then continued through a fine grassy plain, passing one or two hamlets and a few fields of native corn. We then encamped, after a march of about ten miles. Already this day, in the distance toward the west, we had observed some small elevations; but, proceeding at a slow rate, and making very short days' marches, we did not reach the district of Wáza, which is distinguished by its rocky mounts, till the 22d, when, after a march of about fifteen miles, we encamped between those two rocky eminences which form the most characteristic feature of this locality.

It gave us extraordinary pleasure, after having traversed the flat alluvial plains of Bórnu and Músgu, to find ourselves once more opposite to some elevation of even a moderate altitude. These eminences assumed a very picturesque appearance. The valley between the two rocky mountains where we encamped was rather bare of trees, but there were some beautiful wild fig-trees at the northeastern foot of the western eminence, where a pond was formed in a deep hollow. To this spot I turned my steps immediately after our arrival, before the camels had joined us, and spent here a delightful hour, all the horses belonging to the army being brought here to be watered, and forming a varied and highly interesting scene, with the rich verdure of the trees around, and the steep, rocky cliffs above them, while fresh parties were continually arriving from the camp.

Having made a sketch of this locality, which is represented in the accompanying plate, I went to join my companion, and we decided upon ascending the more elevated of the two eminences; but, having attained to the height of some hundred feet, I felt quite exhausted, especially as I had a severe cold, and gave it up; but Mr. Overweg ascended to the top, which rises to about 700 feet above the plain.* These rocky mounts abound

* Mr. Vogel, who likewise visited this spot in 1854, found the plain elevated 920 feet above the level of the sea, while the two mounts attained the respective heights of 1300 and 1600 feet.

ENCAMPMENT AT WAZA.

with a species of black monkey, while even beasts of prey have their haunts here. The crevices formed by the granite blocks are adorned with small trees and shrubs. The view from here over the immense plain toward the south, girt as it was by a continuous band of middle-sized timber, was very characteristic, the uniform line being relieved in the foreground by the other rocky mount.

This place belongs already to the territory of Logón, and consists of several small hamlets, inhabited by Shúwa, but governed by a chief, or "lawán, who belongs to the tribe of the Fúlbe.

It was here that we received the news that a courier had arrived from Fezzán, but that he had been plundered by the Tawárek of the letters and articles which he was carrying for us. This, of course, was sad news, although we did not expect to receive money or any thing of great value at the time.

January 22*d*. After a long delay, caused by the straying of the vizier's favorite horse, which he rode every day, and which had most mysteriously disappeared during the night from the midst of the encampment, we left this interesting spot, and, after a good ride over a very rich though insufficiently cultivated tract of country, encamped at a short distance from a broad, shallow water adorned with the finest trees; it is called Zéngiri. From here we reached Díggera, and took up our quarters in our old camp, pitching our tents on the very spot where they had stood two months previously; and from this point onward we stopped each day at the same place where we had encamped on our outward journey.

February 1*st*. On our re-entering the capital there was a good deal of ceremony and etiquette observed, when the whole army,* at least that part which had not yet been disbanded, was formed into one compact line of battle, in order to receive in a suitable manner the military salutes which were paid to the commander-in-chief on his successful return. Distinguished above all those who came to meet us and pay their compliments

* For a list of the several detachments which constituted the army, at least the cavalry, on this expedition, see Appendix IV.

to the commander was Ghêt, the chief of the Welád Slimán, who a few days previously had arrived from Kánem, where we left him, and from whence he had made a successful expedition against the Kúnkuna in Kárká. Galloping up with the utmost speed at the head of his little band of from twenty to thirty horsemen, clad in their picturesque attire, this petty Arab chief exhibited an interesting and animated specimen of horsemanship, which presented a remarkable contrast to the unwieldy movements of the clumsy and sluggish figures of the negroes. Returning to our old quarters in the town, we were treated with a peculiar dainty of the Kanúri, consisting of the fresh seeds of the grain called masr (*Zea maïs*), which are roasted in a peculiar way.

Thus ended this expedition, which opened to us a slight glimpse into the richly-watered zone of the equatorial regions, which had been supposed to form an insurmountable barrier of a high mountain chain, and brought us into contact with tribes whose character had been represented as almost approaching to that of wild beasts. We had certainly not entered those regions under such circumstances as were most desirable to us, but, on the contrary, we had been obliged to associate ourselves with an army whose only purpose was to spread devastation and misery over them. Nevertheless, situated as we were, while we could not prevent this mischief, we were glad that we had been enabled to see so much. We were without any means, no further supplies having arrived; but I did not despair, and in order still to be able to try my fortune once more in another direction before I returned home, besides other articles, I even sold my large tent, and employed part of the proceeds to line my small tent, which was fast wearing out, and neither excluded rain nor sun.

CHAPTER XLVI.

SETTING OUT FOR BAGÍRMI.—THE COUNTRY OF KÓTOKÓ.

I HAD returned to the town on the 1st of February, 1852; on the 4th of March I again set out on a journey to Bagírmi. However, I did not feel very confident as to the success of my enterprise. The Sultan of Bagírmi was reported as being absent from his capital on an expedition to the southeast of his dominions, but I was given to understand that there would be no great difficulty in addressing myself to the lieutenant governor, whom he had left to represent him in his absence, in order to be allowed to join him, and to be thus enabled to explore those more southern regions which by myself I had no prospect of visiting. I introduced myself, accordingly, to the agent of that prince, who resides in Kúkawa. This man is a eunuch, who was made prisoner by the Kanúri in the second battle of Ngála, and had risen to the dignity of mestréma or first eunuch of the Sultan of Bórnu. But, although I made him a small present, he received me rather coolly, and did not inspire me with much confidence as to my ultimate success.

I had exhausted my means entirely, having been obliged to purchase at high prices, for credit, even the very small supply of presents which I was able to take with me. I had only two very indifferent servants, Mohammed ben Habíb and Mohammed ben A'hmed, both young lads from Fezzán, as limited in their intelligence as they were conceited in their pretensions as Moslemín, and not possessing the least knowledge of the country which we were about to visit.

The only animals I had for my conveyance were a horse and a she-camel. Hence I did not set out with that spirit of confidence which insures success; but, having determined to return to Europe if new supplies did not very soon arrive, I resolved

to make a last desperate attempt to accomplish something before I finally left the country.

Mr. Overweg accompanied me as far as Ngórnu, where we took up our quarters with my friend the Kashélla Kótokó. Here, in my present destitute condition, I was greatly delighted at receiving, by private message from the vizier, a small parcel of coffee, and from the M'allem Mohammed a loaf of sugar. Such tokens of disinterested friendship are very gratifying to the traveler in a foreign land.

Friday, March 5th. At the beginning of the cotton-plantation I took leave of my European companion. He was to make an excursion, accompanied by Kótokó, along the shores of the lake toward Máduwári—the very place where, in the course of a few months, he was destined to succumb.

I had received from the mestréma a trooper as escort, but he was not the kind of man I should have liked. If phrenologists had taken his features as the general type of the Negro race, they would have felt themselves authorized in assigning to them a more intimate connection with monkeys than with men; and his cheerless but self-conceited disposition was in perfect harmony with his exterior.

The waters of the lagoon had already considerably decreased, laying bare fine fresh pasture-grounds, on which numerous herds of cattle were grazing, while small pools of stagnant water, left behind by the retiring inundation, afforded some relief to the monotony of the plain. A great deal of cotton is cultivated on these fertile grounds, and an immense deal more might be cultivated. The people were busy in all directions in the labors of the field, while on those grounds which were not cultivated the luxuriant weed of the *Asclepias* was reassuming its ordinary domain. Scarcely a single tree was to be seen, and only as we proceeded onward a few specimens gradually appeared.

Thus we passed the village of Kúkiya, where we had taken up our first night's quarters on the expedition to Músgu. Here the deep sandy soil was at times enlivened by isolated clusters of the dúm-bush, and people were digging here and there for

the rush-nut ("hab el 'azíz" or "nefú," *Cyperus esculentus*), which I have mentioned on former occasions. A tract of indifferent cultivation was relieved by a fine field of wheat, belonging to several of the great men or kokanáwa of Kúkawa. Having here watered our horses, we wanted to make a halt during the heat of the day at a hamlet belonging to Háj Ibrahím; but we were rather inhospitably received, and stretched ourselves, therefore, under the shade of a caoutchouc-tree at some distance from the village. The tree was remarkable on account of a peculiar "sáfi" or charm, which testified to the many remains of pagan rites still lingering in these countries. It consisted of two earthen pots, placed one upon the other, and filled with a peculiar substance, and was supposed to guarantee prolificness to the mares of the village. The ground, being an ordinary resting-place for travelers, swarmed with insects, principally that large kind of "karí" common to the cattle in this country.

When we started again in the afternoon we met a caravan, consisting of camels and pack-oxen laden with Guinea-corn, which one of our friend Lamíno's people was taking to town from his master's plantation. At an early hour we reached Yédi, which we had also touched at on our expedition to Músgu. I intended to have taken up my quarters inside the town, but the streets were so narrow that I preferred encamping outside. A young Shúwa lad here offered his services to me. At the well where we had watered our horses he had rendered us gratuitous assistance, and I had given him a few needles in return. Being in want of a servant, I accepted his offer, and had strong reason in the course of my travels to be glad of having done so; for although in the beginning he caused me some trouble, and behaved at times rather awkwardly, he proved, on the whole, a very useful servant.

I was hospitably treated in the evening by a young man of the name of Degéji, who had accompanied Mr. Overweg on his voyage on the lake. He was a barber and a musician, and rather a gay sort of person.

Saturday, March 6th. We followed the direct route for

Ngála. The country, open at the commencement, became gradually covered by the dúm-bush, and further on by middle-sized trees of various kinds. Besides the wife of my escort trooper, who was to pay a visit to her father in Bagírmi, and who was at least a degree better than her husband, a very cheerful man of the name of Kágo had attached himself to our little troop. He had been acquainted with the members of the former expedition, and was anxious to give me all possible information with regard to the qualities of the various trees and bushes which adorned the wilderness, especially the kári, karáwa, and látram; and on this occasion I learned that a kind of disease, which would seem to be the stigma of a closely-packed civilization, is not at all rare in these countries: it is here called "dun." Every thing testifies to the richness of this country, which is now left to utter neglect. The population of the small villages which dot the landscape is mixed, consisting one half of Kanúri and the other of Shúwa; and I was not a little surprised to find in one of them, which belongs to a man named M'allem Tálbay Sámi, Felláta or Fúlbe mixed with the Kanúri. Most of the Shúwa had already deserted their villages for temporary residences in other quarters.

At an early hour we halted in the village Kostári, the inhabitants of which had seen me on a former occasion. They seem to be very poor, which may, however, be attributed to their laziness. According to their own account, they were living almost entirely upon the water-fowl which frequent the shores of the lagoon in countless numbers; and, indeed, the whole village was full of wild geese and ducks. However, I succeeded in getting a little milk, some honey, and kréb or kashá—a kind of seed, probably identical with the *Poa Abyssinica*, but of which there are different species: here in Bórnu there are principally two species, called "kashá ngórgo" and "kashá magáya," while in Wáday there are three or four, called "denáng," "liliyák," "shorók," and tanfáfanáng, besides a collateral species called "felé."

It is very remarkable that, while the waters of the lake are fresh, most of the water which is obtained hereabouts, at a very

short distance from its shore, is full of natron. The water of this place was so impregnated with that mineral that it was scarcely drinkable, which was felt the more as the air was oppressive in the extreme; and I felt so exhausted at the commencement of my journey, and after a long stay in the town, that I was obliged to recruit my strength with a small remnant of *mastico* which I had with me. The heat was so intense that I felt very grateful when, later in the afternoon, a slight breeze sprung up. My poor animals, however, fared still worse than myself, being tormented by a large blood-sucking fly.

Major Denham traveled, on this route, along the south side of the lake; but the road which he took is now entirely given up on account of the insecurity of the country, and the place or rather district Keskári mentioned by him, lying from three to four hours' march northeast from this place, is entirely deserted; we therefore followed a more southerly road.

The first object which attracted our attention here was a herd of wild hogs, an animal which I had very rarely seen in these regions, but which I afterward found frequenting in great numbers the country bordering on the River Shári; it even seems to form a substantial part of the food of the natives, not excepting the Mohammedans.

While we were winding along the narrow path leading through the forest, the vegetation all at once exhibited an entirely new and very remarkable feature; for here, all on a sudden, I saw a group of perhaps ten or twelve large trees of arborescent *Euphorbiaceæ*. I have mentioned small specimens of euphorbia on my journey through Dámerghú, and even in Háusa; but I had afterward almost entirely lost sight of it in Negroland. Here, however, this plant grows to a height of certainly not less than from thirty to thirty-five feet, its succulent, luxuriant, cactus-like leaves contrasting in a very remarkable manner with the monotonous and dry vegetation of the mimosas around. There must be something very peculiar in the soil in this tract; for I never afterward, in the whole of my travels, beheld the euphorbia attain to such an altitude, the greatest height which I saw it reach being twenty feet. This was in the country of

Músgu, in an entirely isolated instance; and even on the journey to Bagírmi I did not meet with a single specimen of this plant, however small.

Proceeding through a part of the forest which exhibited a fresher appearance, and which was enlivened by a troop of horsemen whom we met, we reached the village of Dábuwa at five o'clock in the afternoon. Here we were hospitably received, in consequence of the persuasive manners of my cheerful companion Kágo, while the apish grimaces of the trooper who formed my official escort were quite disregarded. Poultry, milk, and Negro corn were given to us for our supper in the evening. In this place people are not so badly off for water, the well measuring not more than five fathoms.

Sunday, March 7th. When we started, we entered a very dense part of the forest "karága tsílim," as the Kanúri say), with a rich variety of trees, but all of middle size, and not a single tamarind or monkey-bread-tree was to be seen. As we proceeded, however, the country became a little more open, the "karága tsílim" giving way to the "dírridé," or clear forest, and signs of cultivation were seen. Here I observed that the clayey soil, or "ánge," was intersected by small ridges, in order to retain the water, during the rainy season, for the cultivation of the másakuwá. Cotton also seemed to be cultivated to some extent. In this district, too, the villages contained a mixed population of Shúwa and Kanúri. The village Gujári, which we passed farther on, was distinguished by an extensive pottery. Here the road was enlivened by a numerous caravan of pack-oxen laden with grain, on their way to Díkowa, the town described on my expedition to the Músgu country; for, as I have there stated, the cultivation of that place is almost entirely limited to cotton, while all the corn which is required for the consumption of the inhabitants is imported. The cotton is not carried by beasts of burden, but on the heads of the natives; and a little farther on we met a numerous train of these people, whose appearance imparted some idea of industry. Passing on our road many patches of that black boggy soil called "fírki" or "ánge," which I have described on a former occasion, we

reached the small village of Hókkum at about half past eight in the morning.

We had expressly chosen this road in order to avoid the wells of bitter water in the village Jémage, which lies on the southern road; but here we fared worse, for there was no water at all in the village, and we had to send to a great distance to get a small supply, the quality of which was any thing but agreeable. This scarcity of water, however, seemed to arise only from the laziness of the inhabitants; for the wells are not more than three fathoms deep, and the floods of the lake themselves occasionally approach so near that it has been found necessary to protect the village on its north side by a dike. Here we passed the heat of the day in the shade of a kórna-tree, the fruit of which, being just ripe, in want of some better indulgence, we did not despise.

I was greatly surprised to observe here that salt is obtained by burning the dung of cattle. It is indeed very remarkable how the poorer people in Negroland endeavor to supply their want of this article, which in every stage of society has become such an essential ingredient of common diet.

About half an hour after starting in the afternoon we reached a considerable water-course, which, bordered by fine-spreading trees, had a very pleasant appearance. It is called Komádugu I'mbulú, or Mbulú. This water-course was asserted by my companion Kágo to be entirely distinct from the Yálowe, or komádugu of Díkowa; and from the experience I had on my return-journey I think he was correct. The banks of the water-course were twelve feet high; its breadth was from twenty to twenty-five yards; but the depth of the water was only a foot and a half. No current was then perceptible. The trees of the forest, after we left this water-course, were of a greater variety, but all of rather stunted growth. We observed here great quantities of the grass called kréb or kashá, which I have before mentioned, and which constitutes a considerable part of the food of the poorer inhabitants. We passed several towns in a state of the utmost decay and entirely deserted, and, traversing a dense underwood, which we scarcely expected to see in

the neighborhood of a large town, reached at five o'clock the clay walls of Ngála.

The interior of this town has a very peculiar character, and nothing similar to it is seen in any part of Negroland, although the place at present is in a great state of decay; for all the ancient quarter of the town consists of clay houses, built on an imposing and elevated terrace. The palace of the governor is indeed something quite stupendous for these regions, having, with its immense substructure, and its large and towering walls, the appearance of a large citadel. We were quartered in the extensive mansion of the gedádo or delátu, in which Mr. Tully died; but it, as well as the whole of the town, was in the utmost state of decay. The times of Méram, the beloved wife of the Sheikh Mohammed el Amín el Kánemy, had gone by; and the wealth of Ngála had been consumed by the slaves of the present sheikh and his vizier. The once magnificent palace of Méram itself is nothing but a large, desolate heap of ruins.

The quarters, however, which were assigned to me were in a tolerable state of repair, consisting, as they did, of an upper story, which afforded me sufficient protection against the numbers of musquitoes which infest the place. We remained here the following day, when I went to pay a visit to the governor at his residence; but I felt rather sorry for it, as the good impression which the imposing exterior of the palace had made upon me was destroyed by the ruinous and desolate state of the interior. The whole province is now in a very neglected condition, such as would indicate that the ruler of the country himself acknowledged his incapability of defending his subjects against another inroad of the Wádáy.

The governor was not a very intelligent man, but it was he who first called my attention to the fact that the town of Ngála has its own peculiar idiom, quite distinct from the Kanúri, and I afterward found that it is even different from the dialects of the other principal places in the province of Kótokó, though it is very closely related to the idioms spoken by the islanders of the Tsád (the so-called Búdduma, but whose real name is Yédiná) on the one side, and to that of the Músgu on the other.

At some distance from Ngála is the town of Ndíffu or Ndifú, which is said to have been one of the latest strongholds of the tribe of the Soy or Só, whom I have repeatedly mentioned in my historical sketch of the empire of Bórnu; and sundry remarkable ornaments are said to be dug up frequently in that place.

Tuesday, March 9th. I had seen scarcely any traces of cultivation on the western side of the town, and when we set out again I found as little on the other sides. Nevertheless, the environs of Ngála, especially the northeast side, are of great interest in the eyes of the Bórnu people, as having been the scene of two important battles fought with the Bagírmi, in the first of which, in the year of the Hejra 1233, the Sultan Dúnama was slain; and my companions, who remembered all the incidents of that struggle, pointed out, with patriotic enthusiasm, the various positions which each body of the combatants had occupied.

The country, however, became very monotonous, extending in an almost unbounded plain of black argillaceous soil of the description mentioned above, although after the rainy season, when the whole ground has become inundated, it is changed into one vast field of cultivation, producing that peculiar variety of sorghum or holcus which is called másakuwá; but at that season the whole of this country is scarcely passable for horses, and still less so for camels. Several small villages, inhabited by Shúwa, were to be seen at some distance to the south. We lost a great deal of time through having missed our way in a forest of small mimosas which surrounds this plain, till we at length reached a village called Síttahe, where we rested during the heat of the day. The village consists of two separate groups, one of which contains large conical huts for the rainy season, while the other is formed of light oblong dwellings adapted for the dry season, constructed entirely of mats. Here we were entertained by a m'allem who had formerly possessed considerable property, but who had suffered greatly from the contributions levied upon him by the slaves of his liege lord. It is these impudent slaves of the court who, having no interest

in the welfare of the inhabitants, inflict so much evil on the country. With regard to the settlements of the Arabs in this district of Kótokó, I think that they are not more than two hundred years old. Most of these Arabs belong to the numerous tribe of the Sálamát.

In the afternoon, after traveling about four miles, we reached the town of Rén. This was formerly a considerable place, but it is now almost deserted, and the wall has fallen to ruins; the aspect of the place, however, is very picturesque, beautiful and wide-spreading fig-trees shading the ruins of high, well-built clay houses. My quarters were better than I had expected—an excellently-built hut, provided with all the comfort which such a building is capable of affording; but the comfortable repose which the neat appearance of my hut promised me was sadly disturbed by swarms of musquitoes, that owe their existence to a large swamp at the northern side of the wall. The town of Rén was formerly the centre of a petty kingdom, but it is at present reduced to utter ruin. Its inhabitants have a peculiar dialect of their own. But, although the governor was very eloquent in his description of the misery to which his people were at present reduced, yet he treated me very hospitably.

March 10*th*. Leaving the swamp above mentioned on one side, we pursued our march through a fertile and well-inhabited district full of open hamlets, while the corn-fields were enlivened with numbers of kórna-trees, at present laden with fruit. I was pleased to see that the inhabitants of this district follow the same custom as the Músgu people, storing their provision of herbage for the dry season on the branches of the trees. All the inhabitants are Arabs, and belong to the tribe called Welád Megébel, whose chief is called I′sa A′she; the name of the district is Ránganá. At a considerable distance toward the south there is a walled town called Déma, belonging to the Sheikh Abba. The Arabs are either cattle-breeders or corn-growers; but farther on we saw some cotton under cultivation, after which we again entered upon fírki ground, where my companion called my attention to a new variety of grass called "útutú," the

seeds of which, besides the kréb above mentioned, constitute a great part of the food of the poorer people of this district.

Dense rows of fine tamarind-trees indicated the neighborhood of a water-course, which even at present was of some importance, being about 35 yards broad, and 3 feet 9 inches in depth, but without a perceptible current; a small canoe, however, lying on its border, justified the opinion that occasionally it is not fordable, of which I myself received a proof on my return-journey, when I crossed it lower down, near Legári. This water-course, which in the rainy season conveys toward the lake a considerable quantity of water, is called Komádugu Lebé. There was formerly a considerable town, called Suló, on the other side of the water-course; but this at present is deserted, and its ruins are overgrown by thick forest. A little distance farther on, the site of another ancient town testified to the former importance of this district. We were now approaching the largest town of Kótokó; but scarcely any signs of industry were to be seen, with the exception of a young plantation of cotton, and thick forest approached close to the wall of the town, which is very extensive, but fast falling to ruins.

The whole interior of the town of A'fadé is one vast heap of rubbish, from which only here and there a building in tolerable repair starts forth, the greatest ornament of the place at present being a most magnificent fig-tree of the species called "búske," identical, I think, with the tree called duwé by the Arabs near Timbúktu. I scarcely remember ever to have seen such a noble and luxuriant specimen of this family of the vegetable kingdom. Spreading its vast impenetrable canopy of the freshest and most beautiful green over a great part of the square in front of the lofty ruins of the governor's palace, it formed the chief lounging-place or "fagé" for the idle loiterers in this once industrious and wealthy town.

My quarters, in the upper story of a house, were very tolerable, and, besides being airy, afforded me a view over the nearest part of the town, from whence I had an opportunity of admiring the excellent quality of the clay with which these houses are built. Clay, indeed, seems to have entirely excluded, in

ancient times, from the country of Kótokó, the lighter buildings of reed and straw; and I observed that even many of the round huts were of considerable elevation, being furnished with a roof of clay, which formed a neat terrace surrounded by a low parapet.

There seems to have been a considerable degree of civilization in former times in this little kingdom of Kótokó, or, rather, in this group of distinct principalities, the independent character of which is shown by the great diversity of its dialects, which vary with every large town, viz., Klésem, Gulfé and Kúsuri, Mákari and Máfaté, A'fadé, Rén, and Ngála. When we consider that this country is not mentioned among the list of the Negro countries by E'bn S'aíd (A.D. 1283) which is preserved by E'bn Khaldún,* where even the Kúrí are not forgotten, while it is evidently mentioned by Makrízi,† it appears that it rose into importance in the course of the 14th century. Although we are not able to explain fully the circumstances under which this happened, we may conclude that it was due in some degree to the struggle between the two powerful dynasties of Bórnu and Bulála.

As for the dialect of A'fadé, of which I made a short vocabulary, it appears to form a link between the idiom of the Yédiná,‡ the islanders of the Tsád, on the one side, and the Músgu people on the other.

In the province of A'fadé a great proportion of the population consists of Shúwa, principally of the tribes E' Nejaíme and Welád Abú Khodhaír. The governor was absent just at the time on a small expedition to chastise some of these people, who are very unsettled in their habits, and often refractory. Notwithstanding his absence, however, we were very hospitably treated, our supper consisting, besides a sheep and numerous bowls of Indian corn, of a dish of well-dressed fish, very palata-

* E'bn Khaldún, texte Arabe, vol. i., p. 200; trad. S. Macguckin de Slane, vol. ii., p. 116.

† Makrízi, in Hamaker, Spec. Catal., p. 206, كاتكوا.

‡ I repeat here what I have stated, I think, in another place, that in my opinion the Yédiná are meant by Makrízi's اتعنا.

able, from the River Lebé; there was likewise no scarcity of milk.

March 11*th*. It would certainly have been very interesting to have made a few days' stay here, in order to obtain a clearer insight into the peculiar characteristics of this province; but as the more distant object of my enterprise did not allow of a longer delay, I pursued my march. All these towns are very inconvenient for travelers, their gates not being large enough for loaded camels to pass through. When we had reached the great road, where the forest is interrupted by a little cultivation of cotton, I saw two beautiful specimens of that species of antelope which is here called "tigdim," of gray color, and very low in body: I think it is identical with, or nearly related to the *Antilope annulipes*.

This was the only time I observed this species of antelope during my travels in Negroland. Great numbers of Guinea-fowl, such I had never observed before, enlivened the underwood farther on, the ground consisting of a hard soil called by the natives kabé, and covered with only a scanty growth of stunted mimosas. I was much interested in observing here the red species of Negro corn, which seems not to be cultivated by the more civilized tribes of Negroland, but which forms the principal food of the pagan races toward the south. Having passed a Shúwa hamlet—berí Shúwabe—the country became more diversified. A considerable pond, at present dry, and bordered by beautiful trees, spread out on our left, while our right was bordered by the ruins of a large town called Sú, a name which seems to be a remnant of the ancient tribe of the Só or Soy, which formerly ruled over the whole of this region as far as Kála. A poor old woman, incapacitated by age from reaching the market-town, was sitting in front of the ruined wall, offering to the passers-by the little cotton which she had been able to clean. The country is at present in such a state, principally owing to the turbulent spirit of the Shúwa Arabs, that even this road is regarded as unsafe; and we were therefore obliged to keep together, several inhabitants of Logón having attached themselves to my little caravan. The road divides

here, the more considerable path leading to the town of Kúsuri, and the smaller southern one, which we followed, leading to Logón bírni, or Kárnak Lógone.

We passed two villages called Debábe Gezáwa and Debábe Ngáya, but the latter of which still bears the very remarkable name of Krénik, and is stated by the inhabitants of the neighborhood to have been the capital, or one of the capitals, of the once powerful tribe of the Soy. The exact period when this town was destroyed I could not ascertain; but probably it happened during the reign of the great Kanúri king Edrís Alawóma, about the beginning of the seventeenth century. More recently this neighborhood was saturated with the blood of numbers of Bórnu people, in the sanguinary struggle with their neighbors, the Bagírmi or Bágrimma; and it was in one of these conflicts, near the walled town of Míltam, about forty years ago (A.H. 1232), that the Sheikh Mohammed el Kánemi lost his eldest and most beloved son.

Having watered our animals at a shallow stream, spreading out in the meadow-ground, we continued our march, and about half an hour before noon had to cross a very difficult swamp, with boggy ground, where several of our people stuck fast. The whole of this region is subject to partial inundations; but it seems very remarkable that they do not attain their greatest height in or at the end of the rainy season, but several months later; and I found afterward, when I traversed this country again toward the end of August, in the very height of the rainy season, that not only this, but the other swamps, were considerably lower than they were in March. This circumstance depends on the peculiar nature of the Tsád, which reaches its highest level in November, when all the waters carried down by the several rivers and torrents have spread over the whole surface of the lagoon, while the loss from evaporation is then much less than during the hot months.

Continuing through a very thick forest full of herds of wild hogs, which seem greatly to delight in these low, swampy, and densely overgrown grounds on either side of the (river) Shárí, and having passed another swamp, and the forest at length

clearing, we obtained a sight of the high clay walls of the town of Kála, starting forth from a beautiful grove of fig-trees, and overtowered by a very lofty but slightly inclined solitary palm-tree.

CHAPTER XLVII.

PROVINCE OF LOGÓN.—LOGÓN BÍRNI.

KÁLA is the first town of the territory of Logón or Lógone, the boundary of which we had crossed a short time before. Having entered the town through an extremely narrow gate, which scarcely allowed my bare and slender she-camel to pass through after having taken from her back the whole load, I was struck with the very different aspect it exhibited from the regions we had just left; for, while the dwellings testified to a certain degree of civilization, the inhabitants themselves seemed to approach nearer to the pagans than to the Mohammedans. We had scarcely entered the town when we were surrounded by a troop of boys and young lads from seven to twelve years of age, tall and well built, and in a state of entire nudity, a thing hardly ever seen in the country of Bórnu, even with slaves. The type of their features, however, was very different from the general type observed in the Bórnu people, and seemed to indicate more intelligence and cunning. I have already observed, in the country of Músgu, how the state of the dwellings contrasts with the apparel, or rather the want of apparel, of the people themselves; but here it seemed more remarkable, for the dwellings in general did not consist of round conical huts, but of spacious oblong houses of clay of considerable elevation. I was quartered in one of these structures, but found it rather close and full of dust.

The town presented an appearance of the utmost decay, only a few dwellings remaining in the centre of it; and the only remarkable objects were two palm-trees, one of which I had already observed from without; and I now assured myself that

they were not date-trees, but belonged to the fan-shaped group of palms. But they were not bifurcated, and seemed not to belong to the *Cucifera Thebaïca*, nor were they identical with the deléb-palm. At any rate, they were the tallest specimens which I ever remember to have seen of the fan-shaped tribe, their height appearing more extraordinary on account of the small tuft of leaves, which was confined to the very top. The town itself presenting no very interesting features, I went out in the afternoon, and lay down for an hour or two in the shade of one of those beautiful fig-trees which, fed by a large and deep swamp, surround the town on all sides; but, the more pleasant was my day's repose, the more disagreeable was my night's rest; for, owing to these stagnant pools, the town is full of musquitoes, and neither I myself nor any of my companions were able to get any sleep the whole of the ensuing night.

We therefore rose very early in the following morning, long before daybreak, and at four o'clock had already left the gate of the town behind us. There is still a great deal of cultivation of cotton to be seen, even in the present state of decay to which this province is reduced, but an immense deal more might be cultivated. Then followed fields of sorghum; and farther on, the lowing of cattle and the cackling of hens indicated the presence of a Shúwa village at some distance on our left. Cultivated ground and forest alternately succeeded each other, the wild hog being seen in every direction, while numerous villages were lying about here and there, but at present all deserted, the inhabitants, who belong to the Shúwa, migrating during the dry season toward a large, shallow water-course in the southwest, where they find fresher pasture-grounds for their cattle. This water-course or ngáljam is famous under several names, being called Bawísh, Madéf, and Burbéde. We then passed on our left the town U'lluf, Húlluf, or Hélib, surrounded by a high clay wall, and almost hidden behind wide-spreading fig-trees, just as is the case with Kála. This town, the name of which is pronounced "Elf" by the Arabs, and of the origin of which they give very absurd accounts, is ill-famed for the presumed witchcraft and sorcery of its inhabitants; and this was the only

reason which prevented my companions from staying here during the heat of the day.

We therefore continued our march, and, having passed another swamp, entered a well-cultivated district, where a great deal of sorghum was grown. I was, however, surprised at seeing the stacks of grain, or, as they are called in Kanúri, bágga argúmbe, still standing in the fields.

We encamped a little beyond the temporary village of Sheikh el Khasés, close to an extensive sheet of water, under the shade of a beautiful tamarind-tree. This piece of water, as the people assured me, only dries up annually for a short time, when the rainy season again fills it. All these native Arabs, as I have already had occasion to remark, are very inhospitable, and the people here, where we had encamped, did not offer us any refreshment. However, I succeeded in buying from them a little honey for a few needles.

When we started again in the afternoon we had great difficulty in avoiding the swamps. The country at times was well cultivated, producing, besides sorghum, a quantity of beans of the speckled kind; but I was not a little astonished to see, in the midst of the stubble-fields, young crops of that variety of sorghum called "másakuwá." This is a very rare sight in these countries in the month of March, as in general this winter-corn is got in during December or January. We then entered a forest, and, following a winding path, reached the rather considerable village of Múke, which belongs to Logón, but is inhabited chiefly by Kanúri. Here I pitched my tent in the market-place, and was not a little pestered by numbers of inquisitive people.

Saturday, March 13th. The country through which we passed as we drew nearer the capital of Logón was of a rich and fertile character, but insufficiently cultivated. Besides grain, there was a great deal of cotton, and numbers of trees of various species gave it a charming appearance, the beautifully rich foliage of several of them relieving entirely the monotony which is usual in these Central African forests. Among the underwood the dúm-bush was predominant; gradually, however, the "ha-

rás" or "karáge"-tree began to prevail. The pods of this tree, which contain the seeds, are not only much liked by camels, but also by monkeys and hogs, both of which seemed to be very numerous, and lived together in the greatest harmony. Numerous holes of the earth-hog (*Orycteropus Æthiopiensis*) were likewise to be seen.

We met a number of native travelers and people going to market, who saluted us in a cheerful manner, and bore testimony to the fact that we were drawing near a larger place; and the neighborhood of the town was still further indicated by women who had come out to gather wood for the supply of the market. Here I was agreeably surprised to see again my noble old acquaintance of the Músgu country, the deléb-palm or "uray." At first a single specimen appeared towering with its proud, fan-like foliage over the numerous karáge-trees that still continued to retain their predominant position in the vegetable kingdom; but when the clayey soil gave way to sand, a large group met the eye, in close array and full of fruit. It was, however, entirely limited to this locality, and I did not meet another specimen between this place and the town.

When we arrived in sight of the wall, my horseman changed his dress, and put on a new, glittering black Núpe tobe, in order to make his entrance with greater *éclat*, while I was not a little pleased to meet again here some traveling companions of mine, in whose company I had crossed the Bénuwé on my journey to A'damáwa, and who were once more on their way to the east. We then entered the capital of Logón—Logón Bírni, or Kárnak Lóggon, as it is called by the Shúwa, or Kárnak Lógone or Lóggene, as it is called by the Kanúri. The town on this side (the northwestern) has only one gate; and it was so narrow that we were obliged to unload the camel before we were able to pass through. The energy and activity of this place is naturally concentrated on the eastern side toward the river, where it has seven gates.

The interior of the town, where we entered it, had not a very animated appearance. The cottages, belonging evidently to the poorer classes of people, are in a wretched condition, and the

only animation which the scenery presented was due to a group of dúm-palms, towering over this poor quarter from the north side. The character of the place improved, however, as we advanced; the streets were tolerably large, and I was struck with the appearance of the principal street or déndal, which is formed by the palace of the sultan or míyara, toward the south, and the house of the Keghámma or Ibálaghwán, toward the north.

The entrance to the palace of the sultan—the "raána míyará" in the kélakú Logón or language of Logón—is toward the east, where there is an open square, shaded by a few trees; here I was obliged to wait a long time on horseback while my quarters were getting ready, for etiquette did not allow me to dismount. The sun was very powerful, and my situation not exactly pleasant; but it afforded me some amusement to observe the flights of falcons and other birds who were nestling in the top of a group of tall dúm-palms which towered above the walls of the mosque opposite the palace.

I had also the pleasure of recognizing an old friend of Major Denham's, namely, Belál, the man who accompanied him as well on his expedition to the Shárí as to Kánem. This man, whose real name was M'adi, and who was an extremely amiable and good-humored personage, with a disposition akin to the character of Europeans, continued my friend during the remainder of my stay in Bórnu. His errand here at present was to collect the annual tribute which the ruler of the country of Logón has to pay to the Sheikh of Bórnu.

The quarters assigned to me were situated in the upper story of the palace of the Ibálaghwán, which surprised me not a little by the superior and even grand style of its architecture. This very spacious palace consists of a number of wings inclosing small quadrangular court-yards, and having an upper story of extensive apartments. The only part which did not correspond with the magnificence of the rest of the building was the staircase, which was rather dark and inconvenient. My own apartment was not less than thirty-five feet long by fifteen wide, and as many high, and received sufficient light from two semicircu-

lar windows, which, of course, had no glass, but could be closed by means of a shutter of reed. The ceiling was gable-shaped, rather a remarkable phenomenon in these countries: it was filled out with thatchwork.

But not only were my quarters excellent, but the treatment I received also was hospitable in the extreme, for I had scarcely taken possession of my lodgings when a bowl of very excellent pudding made its appearance. The thievish propensities of the people of Logón are very remarkable, and the first intimation which I received of it was an official caution given to me to beware of the slaves of my house.

Having recruited my strength a little, I went with Kashélla M'adi to pay my compliments to the Ibálaghwán or Keghámma. We found him in the apartment marked *a* in the ground-plan. At first he was invisible, sitting behind his matting curtain, "parpar" or "farfar," which the Háusa people, in humorous mood, call by the name of "munáfekí" (the sinner), and which is made of a fine species of reed-grass; but he soon allowed me to approach him. He was a tall, elderly man, of a cheerful disposition and smiling countenance, with nothing in his behavior to intimate that he was not a free-born man; and certainly his position was an eminent one, as he was the second person in this little kingdom, and held an office corresponding to that of a prime minister or vizier. His name is Herdége. Having made him a small present for himself, which was rather insignificant, but which, as it consisted of a quantity of articles, seemed to satisfy him, I showed him the present I intended to make to his master. Poor as I was at the time, and destitute of means, I had determined to give away my Turkish trowsers, of very fine brown cloth, which I had scarcely ever worn, in order to pave my way in advance; for, besides this article, I had only some small trifles to give, such as shawls, knives, scissors, frankincense, and a few spices. The keghámma having approved of my present, I immediately went with M'adi Belál to pay my respects to the sultan, or rather Míyará himself.

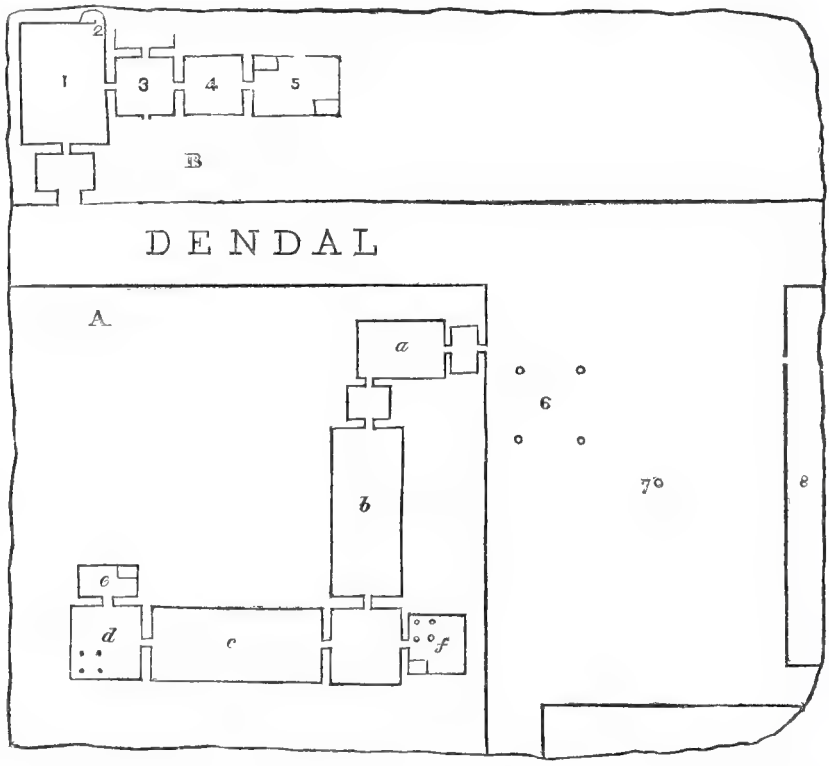
The palace of the sultan is a very extensive building, sur-

rounded by a wall fourteen feet in height, and corresponding to the height of the house of the keghámma.

The public part of the building consists of very large court-yards, separated from each other by covered apartments. In the first court-yard, marked *a* on the ground-plan, in a sort of shed, the eunuchs (or, as the people of Logón say, the "bille-melágem") were assembled. I was not a little surprised to find here two cannons of iron, certainly of not very good workmanship, and very old, but furnished with frames. Having waited here some time, till my arrival was announced, I proceeded to another antechamber, marked *b*, the whole of the building looking very neat and orderly. The court-yard probably measured not less than one hundred feet in length by about thirty feet in width. Having then traversed another antechamber and court-yard of about the same dimensions, we reached the public court of audience, furnished with a raised platform, on which stood the royal throne, a rough kind of seat covered with a baldachin of planks, and painted red. The sultan, however, at present was not here, but was sitting in his private room, *e*, behind a matting curtain, and I was desired to address him without seeing him. I therefore paid him my compliments, addressing Kashélla M'adi in Kanúri, and he interpreting what I said into the language of the country. I begged to inform the Míyará that the Sultan Inglíz, who, during the reign of the former chief of Logón (the Míyará Sále), had sent Khalílu (Major Denham), had now instructed me to pay my respects to him. He was greatly delighted at this compliment, and inquired repeatedly after the health of the sultan of the nasára Inglíz. Having made use of the opportunity afforded by the matting of observing me without being himself observed, and seeing that I was something like a human being, and evidently of an innoxious kind, and the present having been carried into his presence, he called me inside his room, saluted me in a very friendly manner, and shook hands with me. He then begged me to explain to him the presents, taking extreme delight in the articles of English manufacture, including even the large darning-needles; for, small and insignificant as these articles

were, he had never seen their like. He even counted the needles one by one, and assigned them their respective owners in the harím. The principal favor which I had to beg of him was to allow me to navigate the river to some distance, and having granted my request, he dismissed me very graciously.

Here are ground plans of the houses of the sultan and keghámma.



A. House of Sultan.—*a*. Great Court-yard. *b*. Second Court-yard, about 100 feet long by 30 wide. *c*. Third Court-yard. *d*. Inner Court-yard, with shed and throne. *e*. Room of Sultan. *f*. Stabling.

B. House of Keghámma.—1. Large Court. 2. Staircase leading to the upper apartments. 3. Court-yard. 4. Second Court-yard. 5. Room of Keghámma, with two couches, that in the background being raised above the floor.

6. Shed built of mats and poles in front of the palace.

7. Caoutchouc-tree.

8. Mosque or "Dabáldemá," shaded by some fan-palms, or, as the people of Logón say, "gurúru."

Yúsuf, or, as the people of Logón say, Y'suf (this is the name of the present sultan), is a tall, stout, and well-built man, appar-

ently about forty years of age, with large features and a rather melancholy expression of countenance, which I attribute to his peculiar and precarious political situation, being the ruler of a small kingdom placed between two predominant neighbors, who harass him incessantly. He has been sultan about nineteen years, and was a young man at the time of Denham's visit, when his father Sále and his elder brother 'Abd el Kerím shared or rather disputed the government with each other. He had two more elder brothers of the names of Chiróma and Marúfi, both of whom died before him. Just at or shortly before the beginning of his reign, as it would seem, owing to an expedition into the country by Dáúd, one of the war-slaves of the sheikh Mohammed el Kánemí, Logón became a tributary province of Bórnu, being subjected to an annual tribute of one hundred slaves, and the same number of shirts or tobes. Previous to that time, the ruler of this little country is said to have made an annual present of only two slaves.

Our treatment was hospitable in the extreme, and it seemed almost as if our host had a mind to kill us with excess of kindness, for in the evening he sent us four enormous bowls of well-prepared pudding of sorghum, together with meat and broth, and early the next morning a large bowl of gruel seasoned with honey, and a few moments afterward three or four bowls of hasty-pudding. Fortunately, there were people enough to consume this plenteous supply of food; for there was a large party of Bagírmi people returning to their country from Kúkawa, and to them I gave up these luxuries, but afterward they repaid my kindness with ingratitude. Being desirous of having a look at the town, I sallied forth in the afternoon with a well-mounted trooper, who was attached to my friend Kashélla M'adi, by the western gate, and then turning round toward the east, proceeded in the direction of the river.

At this corner the river bends away from the wall to the distance of about an English mile, being from 350 to 400 yards across; the western shore was low at this point, but on the opposite side it rose to the height of from twelve to fifteen feet. It was enlivened by about forty or fifty boats, most of them about

four feet at the bottom and six feet at the top, and remarkable for their formidable prows. All these boats are built in the same way as those of the Búdduma, with this exception, that the planks consist of stronger wood, mostly bírgim, and are generally of larger size, while those of the Búdduma consist of the frailest material, viz., the wood of the fógo. The joints of the planks are provided with holes through which ropes are passed, overlaid with bands of reed, and are tightly fastened upon them by smaller ropes, which are again passed through small holes stuffed with grass. Their elevated prow seems to indicate the shallowness of the water as well as the vehemence of the current which, in certain seasons of the year, sweeps down the river, and which I experienced on my return when it was full. At present the water was rather shallow, and several sand-banks were to be seen. My principal attention was attracted by the fishing-boats, which were furnished with large nets suspended from the poop by two immensely long poles, called "the two hands," "músko ndí," by the Kanúri people, and "sémi" by the people of Logón.

We then continued along the shore, which becomes gradually more and more compressed between the wall and the river. Where the latter approaches nearest the wall there are corn-fields, which are continually irrigated from the river. The stalks of the corn at present were one and a half feet high. As I have observed in another place, wheat has only recently been introduced into Negroland, and wherever a little is grown it is only known by the Arabic name "el kámeh." The generality of the inhabitants do not relish it, but it is esteemed a princely food. Of course, corn is also dearer where it does not grow spontaneously, the tropical rains being too powerful for the tender plant, so that it can only be grown in the dry or rather the cold season, near the rivers or swamps, by artificial irrigation.

Delighted with the view which the scenery of the river exhibited, we reached the most eastern gate on the south side of the town, when suddenly an old man with an imperious air forbade me to survey the river, and ordered me to retrace my steps directly. I was rather startled and confounded, as, having the

permission of the sultan, I could not imagine who besides himself had such authority in the place, and could forbid me to do what he had allowed me; but my companion informed me that he was the king of the waters, the "maráleghá," and that he had full command over the river or "lagham." I had heard and read a great deal of the authority of the king of the waters, the "serkí-n-rúwa," in the countries on the Niger, but I was not aware that a similar custom prevailed here. Confused and rather ashamed, I re-entered the town through the next gate.

Close to this gate was the house of the Ghaladíma, or Malághwán, and I was induced to pay him a visit. He seemed to be rather an effeminate person, living in a dark and well-perfumed room. The visit was of no other interest than that it gave me some further insight into the ceremonial of the court of this little kingdom, the very existence of which was denied by so eminent a man as M. Fresnel a few years ago.*

The first thing I did on returning to my quarters was to expostulate with the keghámma on the authority exercised by his colleague, the king of the waters, and he promised me that the next day I should visit the river, and even navigate it without the least hinderance. However, there was so much talk in the town about my surveying the stream, that I was obliged in the course of the afternoon to pay the vizier another visit. He was very anxious to know whether, if once embarked in a boat upon the water, I might not jump out in order to search for gold, when I told him I was rather afraid of the crocodiles. This expression of my fear contributed a great deal to alleviate his suspicions, for it seemed that until then he had supposed Europeans to be a sort of supernatural beings, and exempt from every kind of fear.

Our treatment was hospitable in the extreme—so much so that two hundred persons might have feasted upon the dishes that were sent to me. But, besides all these dishes of native food, my hospitable host sent for my own private consumption

* Bulletin de la Société de Géogr. de Paris, s. iii., vol. xi., p. 20; vol. xiv., p. 159.

a large fat sheep and an enormous jar of milk. This very splendid treatment, however, created a great deal of jealous and envious feeling in the breasts of those Bagírmi people whom I have before mentioned, although they themselves reaped the greatest benefit from the liberality of the sultan toward me. From what I observed, I think I may draw the conclusion that it is the general policy of the ruler of this little tributary kingdom to treat his guests well, and certainly it is a wise one; but I dare say I was especially favored by the sultan.

March 15th. With extreme delight I had cherished the plan of navigating the river, although, of course, from the very beginning I could not expect to achieve great things, for the means which were at my disposal at the time did not allow me to overcome any serious obstacles which might be thrown in my way; but, besides this, the authority of this little prince of Logón extends only a short distance along the shores of the river.

At eight o'clock I was aboard of my little boat or "wöam."* I thought that I should have got one of the largest size, but none was to be obtained. The boat, however, which was finally assigned to me, though measuring only twenty-five feet in length by about four feet in the middle, was tolerably strong, the planks of which it consisted being recently sewn and stuffed in the way above described; but, of course, this method of ship-building is far from rendering the vessel water-tight. The boats being without seats, large bundles of reeds are placed at the bottom for the passengers to sit upon, with nothing to prevent them from being drenched with water.

While we crossed to the other side of the river, passing numerous sand-banks, which at present had been laid bare, the town presented quite an interesting prospect, the wall being overtopped by dúm-palms or "gurúru," a pair of deléb-palms, "murgúm," and an isolated date-tree, "díffino,"† these three

* This word is only another form of the name which the Yédiná give to the boat, viz., "pum."

† It is very remarkable and interesting that the date-palm, in all these countries as far as Bagírmi, goes by the Háusa name "debíno," from which circumstance it is plain that it was first introduced into that part of Negroland. Even the Fúlbe of Sókotó have no other name for it, while those of A'damáwa call it

species of palms growing together in this place in a very remarkable manner; for it is a rare thing to find them in one and the same spot.

The river, while skirting the town, forms a bend, and changes its course from a northeasterly to a northerly direction. While gliding along the eastern shore my companions called my attention to a species of very tall reed, which they call korókoró, but which is nothing else than the papyrus, which, as I have observed, grows on the shores of the Tsád, and which we shall find in several smaller lakes. But it was highly interesting to me to hear that the natives in this country prepare a peculiar sort of cloth or "gábagá" from it, which I think must be identical with the cloth mentioned by Arab writers under the name "wórzi" or "berdí," being the Egyptian name for papyrus. However, I did not observe here several other species of the reed which grows on the Tsád, principally the bolé; and on inquiring for that beautiful variety from which the fine matting, "kasár" or "farfar," is made, and for which the people of Logón are so celebrated, I was informed by my companions that it only grows near the large market-town Jínna, of which I shall have occasion to say something more farther on. I was very anxious to know how the natives called this river, to which, by Major Denham, the name of Shárí or Sháry has been given, and I was confirmed in the opinion which I had previously formed that this river is not the Shárí, but a small branch of it; Major Denham, during the short stay which he made here, not being able to ascertain that this river, which he saw at the town of Logón, was not the same as that which he saw at Kúsuri, but only a branch of it, and the smaller one. However, all the names given to rivers by the various tribes of Negroland have no other signification than the general one of "water," "river," from the western great "Bá," of the Mandingoes by the I'sa of the Sónghay, Eghírrëu of the Imóshagh, "Máyo" of the Fúlbe, Gulbí of the Háusa, Kwára of the Yóruba, Bénuwé of the Bát-

after the tree of the native date, viz., the addwa or *Balanites Ægyptiaca*. But the Sónghay and Máby or Wáday languages have quite independent names for this palm.

ta, Komádugu of the Kanúri, the eastern "Bá" of the Bagírmi, the Fittrí of the Kúka, the Bat-há of the Arabs of Wádáy. Thus the name "Shárí" also signifies nothing more than "the river," that is to say, the river of the Kótokó, to whose language this word belongs, and the word "tsáde," or rather "tsádhe," seems nothing but a different pronunciation of the same name, the original form of which is probably "sáre" or "sághe."

This smaller western branch of the Shárí the natives of Logón call "Lághame na Lógone" — that is to say, the river ("lágham") of Logón; but higher up it has different names, according to the places which it passes by, being called by the Músgu people in their own language "E'ré" or "Arré," a name which itself means nothing else but river; while in another place, where I reached it on my expedition to the Músgu country, it bears the peculiar name "Serbéwuël," I do not know exactly for what reason. Meanwhile we were passing by the village Hónkel, which lies on the western side of the river, and which, as I shall soon have occasion to observe, was of great importance in the former history of this country. The river changing its direction here, we again approached the western shore, and saw that at least half the inhabitants of the town had come out to see what the Christian was doing on the river, for they could scarcely imagine that I had embarked for any other purpose than to search for gold. In the midst of the crowd some horsemen in a very showy dress were observed, and I was informed that they were people from A'dishén, the Músgu chief, just arrived with a message; and I soon observed that they were priding themselves on a dress which they had received from their oppressors, on the expedition in which I and Mr. Overweg accompanied the latter.

Seeing a crocodile raising its head just above the water close to the other side of the river, I could not resist firing at it, when the crowd burst out in loud cheers of acclamation. The servants of the sultan, however, who had accompanied me in the boat, had been for some time uneasy, and wished me to return; and on reaching a beautiful solitary deléb-palm, or "margúm," as they are called by the people of Logón, I could no longer re-

sist the pleadings of my companions to abstain from proceeding further. We had here an extensive view over the river, its principal direction being from south 20° east. All these large and splendid streams with which nature has endowed these regions are now scarcely of any use to the people living on their banks, and no traffic, except between the nearest places, is kept up.* A wide field for improvement is here open to the energy of man when these regions have been brought under the notice and the influence of Europe.

Turning our boat, we allowed it to go along with the current. The surface of the water was so smooth and pleasant that I was tempted to take a bath, and there was a great shouting among the crowd on the shore when they saw the white man jump overboard; but their surprise was great when, after having splashed about for some time in the river, the current of which was too strong for my weakened frame, they saw me come out empty-handed, and they cried out that they had been cheated, the people having told them that I was searching for gold. However, when I disembarked, the crowd of spectators was so immense, that my companions could only open me a passage with their whips; and I was really glad when I again reached the house of the Keghámma or Ibálaghwán.

This little excursion, however, cost me dear; for those people of Bagírmi whom I have mentioned before, the principal among whom was called Háj A'hmed, seeing me creating such an uproar, felt inclined to suppose that, if I should enter their own country in the absence of the ruler, I might create a disturbance in the kingdom. The Prince of Logón, likewise, had formed far too high an idea of my capacity, and begged me most earnestly to stay some time with him, thinking that he might derive some profit by making himself more independent of his neighbors. Among other things, he wanted me to fire off those two guns which I have mentioned before; but their whole appearance inspired me with too little confidence to do so.

As it was, I had a great deal of trouble in persuading the sul-

* I have, however, to observe that the Kúrí sometimes bring native corn as far as Bugoman.

tan to allow me to pursue my journey eastward; but seeing that if I were to stay here a few days longer I should spend the little I had left, I was firm in my purpose of extending my discoveries beyond my predecessors, Major Denham having already succeeded in reaching this place, although he has only very insufficiently described it, and entirely failed in fixing its right position. I therefore proceeded to take leave of Míyará Y'suf the next morning, when I found him in the court-yard numbered *f* in the wood-cut, which he seemed to use as stables. His whole stud, however, appeared to consist of only three or four horses of tolerable appearance. He himself was sitting on a raised platform of clay (segáge), dressed very simply, and wearing a red woolen shawl round his head. He was very kind and friendly, and begged me most urgently not to make a long stay in Bagírmi, but to return as soon as possible. Our conversation this time, as well as on the former occasion, was in Kanúri, which he understood perfectly well.

Logón is, it seems, not a national, but a political name, although I have not been able to make out its exact meaning.* The inhabitants belong to that great race of the Másа whom I have mentioned on a former occasion, being the brethren of the Músgu, and the kinsmen of the inhabitants of Mándará (the Urwándalá) and the Kótokó. Their political existence as people of Logón (or, as they call themselves, Lógodé Logón) is quite recent,† and their Islám is of still more recent origin. Their country also, like that of the Músgu, was formerly split into a number of small principalities, the chief of the Hónkel being the most powerful among them till about a century and a half ago, when Bruwá, the predecessor of Míyará Másа, is said to have founded the town of Logón, and to have removed the seat of his principality to the present capital ("bírni" or "kárnak") of the country. But this ruler, as well as his immediate successors, was a pagan, and probably at that time there were only a few Mohammedans in the place; and Míyará Sále, the old prince

* I think it has no connection with the river or lágham, else they could not call it "lághame Lógone."

† The name is not mentioned in the annals of Edrís Alawóma.

whom Denham visited, the father of the present ruler Yúsuf, is said to have been the first among the petty princes of this country who were converted to Islám. Others assert that an older king, Mógha Jénna, was the first Moslim; and this is not at all improbable, as the names of some of the kings who preceded Sále evidently show that the influence of Islamism, at least the outward appearance, was felt at a much earlier date.

With regard to the order of succession from Mása down to Sále, it seems that Mása was succeeded by a prince of the name of U'ngo Aná-smadú, who was followed by U'ngo Aná-logón, the prince to whom, possibly, the present name of the country Logón is to be referred; he was succeeded by Mógha 'Alí, then followed Mógha Káder, and then the predecessor of Sále, namely, Má Sálikwá. Hence, at the very utmost, the Mohammedan religion is not above sixty years old in this country; and many of the younger inhabitants of the place are well aware that their fathers were pagans by birth, and afterward turned Mohammedans. Of course their Islám, even at present, is of a poor character; and the whole knowledge of religious matters which they possess, with the exception of a few elevated persons, consists of a few phrases which they learn by heart without understanding their meaning, and the practice of circumcision. In the country towns, however, even at present, most of the people are pagans.

The inhabitants of Logón fought repeatedly with their neighbors and kindred of Mándará, and seem to have been successful in that direction. They are also said to have once destroyed the town of Mélé, which lies on the eastern side of the River Shárí, and to have killed all the male inhabitants. The former sultans of Bórnu seem to have left the people of Logón in enjoyment of tolerable tranquillity, being content with a small tribute which they made them pay as a mark of subjection. But at present the tribute is considerable, considering the small extent of the country; and, moreover, the unfortunate petty prince of this small kingdom is compelled to pay another tribute to the Sultan of Bagírmi, whose people harass him continually.

The name which the people of Logón give to their western

neighbors is interesting, as its origin seems to go back into a remote age; for they call them Billangáre, or, rather, "bílle Ngáre," a name which was probably derived from Ngarú, the ancient capital of the Gháladí, or the western provinces of the Bórnu empire, which I have mentioned on a former occasion; "bílle" means people in general. As for their eastern neighbors, the Bagírmi people, they call them by the name of Mókkode, which might seem to have some connection with Makada, a name often applied to the country west of Abyssinia, and which I think is erroneously stated to mean Christian.

From the southwest the Fúlbe or Felláta press heavily upon them; and, as we have seen on the expedition to Músgu, the elderman in the village of Wáze, which belongs to the territory of Logón, is himself a Púllo or Felláta.

The people of Logón, in former times, seem to have made frequent inroads into the country of their neighbors and kinsmen, the Músgu, in order to supply their want of slaves; but about eight years previous to my visit they seem to have suffered so severe a check in that quarter as to make them desist from undertaking any further expeditions. Upon that occasion they lost their commander-in-chief, Keghámma or Ibálaghwán Yáhia,* the same who built the really imposing palace where I was lodged. This commander undertook the expedition into the Músgu country, not, as usual, by land, but by water, and, having gone on shore near a village called Gúmmel, was taken by surprise, and, together with the most valiant of his companions, was slain by the natives of the country.

The government seems to be a limited monarchy, the sovereign being surrounded by a number of high functionaries, who form the divan or "tálubá," identical with the nógoná of the Bórnu people. The first of these high functionaries is the Ibálaghwán, next follows the Málaghwán or Gháladíma, then the Mairáy, then the Madám, the Marú-leghá, or king of the water, the Wulanghay or Chiróma (the claimant to the succession), the

* I will here give a list of the Ibálaghwáns, as far as they came to my knowledge. Iba-Gáre, Iba-Kyári, Iba-'Othmán, Iba-Káder, Iba-Abú, Iba-A'dem, Iba-S'aíde, Iba-Yáhia, Iba-Herdége.

Maraymarbá, the Madamátiyá, the Madám ukhsám, the Intháwa, the Mághawén akhthám, the Másaghé akhthám, and the Mághalé-muté.

The territory of Logón is most advantageously situated near the point of junction of two considerable rivers—the River of Logón, the Lágham or E'ré, toward the west, and the Shárí or Bá toward the east; and it might be a most happy little kingdom if it were not overwhelmed and oppressed by its more powerful neighbors, who, as we have just seen, encroach upon it on all sides. But while the Bórnn people levy a more regular tribute, the people of Bagírmi seem to treat the poor inhabitants of the districts nearest their borders with the greatest injustice, subjecting them, in a very anomalous manner, to all sorts of contributions. Nevertheless, from the list of the places which I shall subjoin in the Appendix,* it will be seen that the country is still tolerably well inhabited, though certainly it can not now be said to be in a very flourishing condition.

As for the food of the natives, fish ("kíyi"), in which the river is extremely rich, constitutes a great proportion of their livestock; but cattle ("nthá"), as well as sheep ("wúfu"), seem to be extremely rare, and it has the appearance as if their neighbors had deprived them entirely of this article of wealth and comfort. The native Arabs, however, are tolerably well supplied with both. Poultry also seems not to be very numerous; but the hog ("sése") abounds in immense quantities, and seems to be often resorted to by the natives as an article of food. Besides sorghum, or, as they call it, "mákalá," and millet, "víyo" (the "fíyo" of the Kótokó and Yédiná—rice I did not observe), a great deal of cotton, "mpátakí," is grown in the country; and weaving constitutes one of the principal employments of the people. Indeed, their shirts ("labú") are of very excellent manufacture; but their indigo ("mógoné") is not very good, nor are they expert in dyeing.†

* Appendix IV., No. II.

† The reader will see that my judgment in this respect is very different from that which Denham passed on them (*Travels and Discoveries*, i., p. 237); but Denham never visited Kanó, and had no standard for judging what was good and what was not.

In addition to their cotton, which ought to be cultivated to an unbounded extent in these low and richly-irrigated regions, the beautiful lattice-work of cane before mentioned, the common sort being called "parpar" or "farfar," while a better kind is called "móman," constitutes one of their most famous manufactures; their wooden bowls ("dalgwam") likewise, and the round straw covers ("killé"), are remarkable; for the bowls are of very good workmanship, much better than they are seen in Kúkawa, although they do not attain to that excellency which is observed in the manufactures of Dár-Fúr.

Altogether the inhabitants of this country seem to be a clever race, and are in general handsomer than the Bórnu people, the women in particular. It is remarkable that they use almost the same sort of tattooing as the Kanúri, consisting of sundry curved lines along the cheek, generally six, running from the outer angle of the eye down to the mouth; it is also curious that they have the same word for it* as the Kanúri, although their languages are so entirely different in other respects.

My stay in the country, of course, was too short to allow me to speak more decidedly respecting their moral qualities. The currency of pieces of iron as money, which Denham observed in his time,† has long been abolished, and at present the standard money of the place is cotton-strips of from two to three inches in width.

With regard to the language of the people of Logón, Denham has committed a great mistake in supposing that it was identical with the language of Bagírmi; for though what he heard was really the language of Bagírmi, which is spoken to a great extent by the natives, yet their original language, which is spoken exclusively among the people themselves, is quite distinct, being nearly related to that of the people of Músgu. They call their language kélakú Lógone. As far as I became acquainted with it, the pronunciation is very difficult, on account of the many aspirated sounds, especially that of "kh" or "th;" and in this respect it has some resemblance to the English.

* The Kanúri call it "béli," the lógodé Lógone "bél."

† Denham, i., p. 238.

LOGON BIRNI

CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE TWO RIVERS.—ENTRANCE INTO BAGÍRMI.

March 16*th*. It was ten o'clock in the morning when I left Kárnak Logón in order to penetrate into unknown regions, never before trodden by European foot; and a short time afterward I was sitting in the boat, while our horses, the camel, and the bullock were partly swimming across and partly fording the river. The water was in general shallow, though in the deepest place it measured eight feet and a half. The current was about three miles an hour. The country at that period had a very different appearance from what it presented on my return from Bagírmi. At present all those low grounds, which later in the season are entirely inundated, had a swampy, cheerless aspect, and I hastened onward in order to escape from the unhealthy locality, heated by the rays of the midday sun. Only now and then a small patch of cotton-ground was seen between the tall jungle. Close to the river there is scarcely a single tree; but, farther on, where the country becomes more cultivated, isolated karáge-trees, together with straggling groups of cottages, were seen here and there. Not having exposed myself to the midday sun during the last few days, and the heat being very great, I looked for a place to pass the hottest hours of the day, and, to the disappointment of my companions, who were anxious for a good dinner, I dismounted under the cool shade of a beautiful wide-spreading fig-tree, "ngábbere" or "zérra," as the people of Logón call it, at some distance from a little village called Sóso, situated toward the north, while on our right there was a water-course winding along through a shallow depression in the green meadow-grounds, without any visible inclination. These shallow water-courses are, as I have already had occasion to mention on my journey to Músgu, one of the most characteristic

features in this part of Central Africa, which formerly was thought to be a dry, elevated waste. Naked young lads were splashing and playing about in the water, together with wild hogs, in the greatest harmony; never in any part of Negroland have I seen this animal in such numbers as here about the Shárí. Calves and goats were pasturing in the fields, with wild hogs in the midst of them.

When we pursued our march at two o'clock in the afternoon, I was greatly pleased to see numbers of fine horses round the groups of Shúwa villages which bordered the water-course, while the whole scenery was enlivened by the rich foliage of wide-spreading trees. Onions likewise were cultivated here in considerable quantities. On the right of our path were very extensive fields of a peculiar kind of winter-corn, called "sáffarâ" by the people of Logón, and "kérirám" by the Kanúri. This belongs to the ruler of the country; but, in general, very little grain is raised in this part of Logón, the inhabitants being afraid of the people of Bagírmi, who used to gather the harvest of what they themselves have sown. But small cotton grounds are occasionally observed.

After a march of about nine miles we reached a place called Báta, half deserted, and surrounded by a clay wall in a very decayed state. Nevertheless, the few cottages that remained, simple and unpretending though they were, testified to some degree of industry and cleanliness. Of hospitality, however, we received no proof, and the authority of the Míyará Y'suf seemed to be naught indeed, these poor people affirming, with some show of reason, that as the ruler did not protect them against the unjust exactions of their neighbors, they need not respect his commands. There was, therefore, little necessity for the servant of the sultan accompanying me any farther, for if they did not respect his orders here they would certainly not do so farther on.

Wednesday, March 17*th.* We continued our march alone. On the east side of the town a little cultivation was to be seen, the country here being very swampy, and inundated during the rainy season. It is covered with a dense jungle, and wild beasts

in great numbers. Water is close under the surface of the ground, and the well that we passed, near a Shúwa village, was only three fathoms deep. Near the village of Atmarchári, which we left on our right, there were traces of cultivation, trees being cut down and the ground cleared to make room for corn-fields; the village is inhabited by Kanúri people. Soon after, the forest became denser than before, climbing plants running up the trees, and hanging down in festoons from the branches. Here it was that I first saw the footprints of the rhinoceros, an animal which is unheard of in all the western parts of Negroland. The people of this part of Logón call the animal "bírní," the name usual in Bagírmi, while the real name in the language of the country is "ngirmé." The Kanúri call it "kárgadán" or "barkaján"—the very name mentioned already by El Edrísi.* It is greatly feared by the inhabitants, who sometimes encounter these ferocious animals on the narrow footpaths which wind through the thick forests of their country.

I had gone on a little in advance, when suddenly I beheld through the branches of the trees the splendid sheet of a large river, far larger than that of Logón. All was silence, and the pellucid surface of the water undisturbed by the slightest breeze; no vestiges of human or animal life were to be seen, with the exception of two river-horses (called "niyé" by the people of Logón), which, having been basking in the sun on the shore, plunged into the water at our approach. This, then, was the real Shárí, that is to say, the great river of the Kótokó (for Shárí, as I have said before, means nothing else but river), which, augmented by the smaller but very considerable River of Logón, forms that large basin which gives to this part of Negroland its characteristic feature. The river at this spot runs from S. 30° W. to N. 30° E., but its general course is rather winding, coming farther upward from the south, and beyond forming a reach from E. 38° N.

The shore where I stood enjoying the tranquil but beautiful scenery is close approached by the forest, and has an elevation

* Sherif el Edrísi, trad. Jaubert, vol. i., p. 72. كركدان.

of about fifteen feet. No human habitation was to be seen, with the exception of a small village on the other side. The surface of the water was undisturbed, except now and then by a fish leaping up; no water-fowl enlivened the banks; not a single boat was to be seen, till at length we observed the ferrymen on the opposite shore, where it formed a flat and sandy beach, making us a sign that we were to proceed a little higher up the river, in order not to miss the landing-place when carried down by the current. We therefore went about 800 yards further up; and I made myself comfortable under the shade of a tree, awaiting the boat, and indulging in the thought that I was soon to enter a new country, never before trodden by European foot.

At length the boat came, but the ferrymen, as soon as they saw who we were, behaved in a strange and mysterious manner, and told us they could not take us across the river before they had informed their master. However uncommon such a precaution seemed to be, I had as yet no idea of the real state of affairs. We therefore sat down patiently to await the answer, which we thought a mere matter of form. The atmosphere was very sultry, and the sky overcast; clouds were hanging over the river as forerunners of the rainy season. In order to keep off the deadly stings of the blood-flies from our horses, we made a large fire. The sting of this fly is almost as fatal as that of the "tsetse" in the southern parts of this continent, and many travelers lose all their horses on the shore of this river.

I was suddenly aroused from my tranquil repose by the arrival of a numerous troop of pilgrims on their way to Mekka: all of them belonged to the tribe of the Fúlbe or Felláta, mostly from the western parts of Negroland, and some from Góttokó, the little-known country between Bámbara and Kong. Among them were also the people who had accompanied me on my journey to A'damáwa, and whom I had again met a second time near the town of Logón. I made them a present of needles in order to assist them in their praiseworthy undertaking. While we were chatting together the boatmen returned, bringing with them the astounding answer that the chief of the village, A'su, would not allow me to cross the river.

We could at first scarcely imagine what was the reason of this unforeseen obstacle, when the boatmen informed us that Háj A'hmed, the head man of those Bagírmi people whom I have mentioned as returning from Kúkawa to their native country, had assured them that I was a most dangerous person, and that the Vizier of Bórnu himself had told them there was great danger that, if I should enter the country of Bagírmi in the absence of the sultan, I might upset his throne and ruin his kingdom. As there were some of the chief men of the village in the boat, we used every means to convince them of the absurdity of such calumnies; but all was in vain, and it became evident that we should certainly not be allowed to cross the river at this spot.

For a moment I hesitated whether I should retrace my steps to Logón bírni, there to await the return of a messenger whom I might send to the Sultan of Bagírmi, or whether I should try my fortune at some other point of the river. I could not well perceive from whence the obstacle proceeded; whether it was really the Vizier of Bórnu who was the cause of these intrigues, as he knew that it was my earnest desire, if possible, to penetrate into Wádáy; or whether it was the Sultan of Logón, who, by compelling me in this way to retrace my steps, might think to persuade me to stay longer in his company. The Bagírmi man I had, as far as I knew, never offended in my life; on the contrary, in the town of Logón I had treated his whole troop, and given, besides, some small presents to himself; but he might have been jealous of me, seeing that the Sultan of Logón honored me in so remarkable a manner. He had been to Kúkawa, in order to purchase there some articles of manufacture which were not to be had in Bagírmi, and which he hoped to sell to advantage to the sultan of his country. Perhaps he thought that I was also a merchant, and might spoil his market. Considering, therefore, all these points, I at length decided upon trying to cross the river at another place.

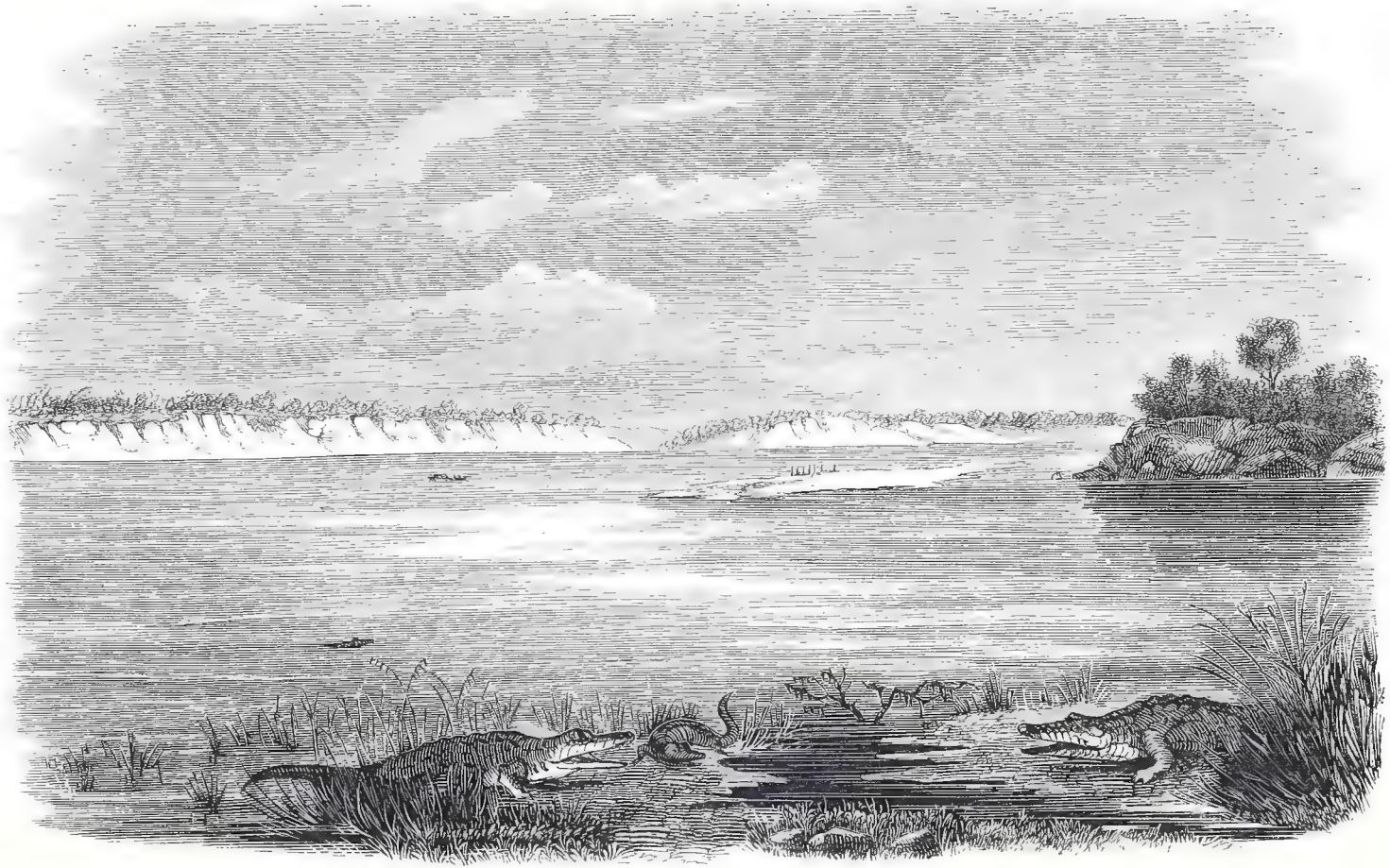
Having, in consequence, retraced our steps a little more than two miles along the path we had come, in order to make the people believe that we were returning to Logón, we turned off

from our track to the northward, and winding along in a north-easterly direction, at times through a dense forest, at others passing small villages or hamlets, where scarcely any corn was cultivated, though cotton was grown to some extent, and evidently employed the activity of the inhabitants in weaving and dyeing, we reached the larger village Búgarí. Here the inhabitants, who, like those of most of the villages hereabouts, belong to the Kanúri race, received us with great kindness and hospitality, and without delay assigned us quarters in a large court-yard. My companions told the people that we had missed the direct road to Mélé, and tried even to pass me off as a "sherif;" but, unfortunately, there was a person who had seen me at the ferry of A'su, so that the hope of crossing the river at some other place without further obstacle was not very great.

Nevertheless, I was resolved to try every means in my power in order not to miss the opportunity of exploring a new country; and for a dóra, or small shirt, I was promised by the "billama" of the village a guide, who early the next morning should conduct me to the ferry of Mélé.

Thursday, March 18th. Before daybreak we began our stealthy enterprise, and entered the woods, led on by a tall, well-made, muscular, and half-naked lad, well armed with bow and battle-axe. Passing through a district where, besides cotton, a great deal of native corn was cultivated, all belonging to the inhabitants of the village where we had passed the night, and following our narrow, unbeaten footpath, we at length emerged upon the direct, well-trodden track which leads straight from Logón to Mélé, although it is very winding. At first underwood was greatly intermixed with dúm-bush or ngílle; but after a while the aspect of the country suddenly changed, the lower ground on our left expanding in fine meadow-lands interspersed with pools of stagnant water, the deposit of the last year's inundation, while on our right we had the site of a former town, called Yesínekí, densely overgrown with forest.

Here we came again in sight of that fine river which forms the western boundary of the kingdom of Bagírmi, and which intriguing men wished to prevent me from crossing. The slope



THE SHARI AT MELE

of the bank is here broken, forming a small terrace before it descends to the edge of the water, the upper slope being at present covered with a green turf, while the lower one, which rose fifteen feet above the surface of the river, consists of loose sand. Here again we disturbed some crocodiles which had been quietly basking in the sun, and lost no time in making signs to the ferrymen opposite that we wished to cross, while I hastened to the rear of the rushes growing on the shore to make a slight sketch of the interesting scenery of the river, with the village on the other side. We were delighted when, after a short delay, we saw a boat leaving the village, going round the sand-bank which stretched out in the middle of the river, and coming toward us. All our success now depended on a few minutes; and as soon as the ferrymen touched the shore, we satisfied their claims and entered the boat, which was large and commodious.

It was with very satisfactory feelings, although mingled with some degree of uneasiness, that I found myself floating on this noble river, which was here certainly not less than 600 yards across. The sand-bank is a little nearer to the eastern shore, and the whole current ("ngáda" in Kanúri, "ámma-wá" in Lógone) keeps along that side, while on the western shore the river sweeps slowly along, and in general appears not to be very deep. In the channel, the poles of the ferrymen indicated a depth of fifteen feet. Our camel, horses, and bullock had to cross the river by swimming alongside the boat, till we reached the northern end of the sand-bank, when they walked along the sandy beach, the sand-bank being at present about 250 yards in length. The current between the sand-bank and the eastern shore was very strong, and the water deep, though fortunately the distance was only about 200 yards.

Having crossed this imposing stream, we entered the small harbor of Mélé, and as soon as we reached the shore were saluted by a "chiróma," or squirrel, which, running about freely, and wagging its tail, seemed to offer a good omen for a happy arrival in this country. The inhabitants also, who were employed in various ways at a small wharf used for building the common

craft of the river, received us in a friendly way, more especially as I made a small present to a sort of official personage who has the title of "Kashélla," and added a few needles in addition to the fare paid to the boatmen. I was agreeably struck by the fine figures of the females, their comely appearance and very becoming head-dress distinguishing them most advantageously not only from the Kanúri, but even from the people of Logón.

Having here spent a few minutes reloading our camel and exchanging compliments, we hastened on, ascending the higher bank, which here rises to about twenty-five feet, and leaving the village to the left, close to the steep slope overhanging the river. But we had only proceeded about a mile, delighted at the idea that, notwithstanding the obstacles thrown in our way, we had succeeded in entering this country, when we saw a person advancing toward us whom my horseman recognized as a servant of the chief of A'su. This incident could not but fail to lessen our hopes of success considerably. Had the chief of A'su been more careful in discharging his duty, and sent a messenger the evening before, or early the same morning, I should never have entered Bagírmi.

As it was, having allowed the man to proceed on his mischievous errand, we consulted together a moment, and thought it best to leave the path, and strike across into the stubble-fields; for there is much cultivated ground belonging to Mélé, which, although lying close to the river, is more of a farming than a fishing village. New ground was being cleared. Trees were being cut down, nothing but the trunks being left, in order to protect the dresses of the laborers from the ants. The whole country was well cultivated, and, being shaded by numerous trees, presented a very interesting appearance. After about half an hour's march across the stubble-fields, without any direct track, we reached a well-trodden path coming from Klésem, a considerable village lying lower down the river, and still belonging to Kótokó, with a peculiar idiom of its own. Following then this track, we reached a shallow water-course of the same nature as those mentioned on former occasions. The Bagírmi people call them "kámané" or "gúgulí." It was enli-

vened by a settlement of Shúwa cattle-breeders of the tribe of the 'Agaífe, and stretched out in great length from S.S.W. to N.N.E., forming a very peculiar feature in this part of the country; it is called "Ambusáda" or Mbusáda. Where we crossed it the water was only a foot deep, the whole of the bottom of the shallow bed being covered with the richest verdure.

We then kept close along its eastern side, having a rising ground on our left, with a most splendid border of beautiful trees, chiefly of the fig kind. It was a scenery which reminded me of the Músgu country, with this exception, that the water-course was not so broad, and the rich foliage of the trees was not occasionally broken and diversified by the delèb-palm. An almost uninterrupted line of hamlets skirted this narrow strip of verdant fertility, and now and then groups of people were seen issuing from the thick foliage, while numerous herds of cattle were spread over the green, swampy meadow-lands, some half immersed in the water, and nipping off the fresh shoots of the young grass, while others were roaming about on the dry herbage near the border. Among the cattle, birds of the most beautiful plumage, and of every description and size, were sporting and playing about: there was the gigantic pelican dashing down occasionally from some neighboring tree; the maraboo (*Ciconia M.*), standing like an old man, its head between its shoulders; the large-sized, azure-feathered "dédegamí," strutting proudly along after its prey, the plotus, with its long, snake-like neck; the white ibis, eagerly searching for its food, with various species of ducks (geddégabú or "dabá"), and numerous other lesser birds in larger or smaller flights. Now and then a wild hog suddenly started forth from the covert of the forest, accompanied by a litter of young ones, and plunged eagerly into the water. There was here a rich and inexhaustible field for the sportsman; but I could not think of sport, for I was conscious that something was going on to stop my progress.

Perhaps it would have been more prudent to have gone on without stopping; but I felt the heat of the sun very much, and, seeing that I could not traverse the country by force, preferred resting during the heat of the day under the shade of a

fine, wide-spreading ngábbore or ngáto (fig-tree) at the side of a Shúwa village. I here endeavored in vain to barter a few things with the inhabitants; but, to my great astonishment, neither milk nor any thing else was to be had, though cattle were seen grazing in every direction. But the people told me that the great number of cattle collected together on so narrow a slip of pasture-ground was the very reason they had so little milk. These Shúwa people, who belong to the tribe of the Welád 'Alí, call this shallow water Msél el Háj 'Alí, after the name of their principal chief.

I was quietly reclining in the cool shade, although not without some sad forebodings, when the head man of Mélé, accompanied by seven or eight armed Shúwa, was seen approaching. They first addressed themselves to my horseman Gréma, who had made himself comfortable in the shade of another tree a short distance off. Having finished their business with him, they came to me, protesting that they could not allow me to continue my journey, as they were compelled to wait for an order from the capital, when I did not hesitate to declare on my part that I was willing to wait any reasonable time on condition of their assigning me a residence, and the means of supplying my wants. They expressed their satisfaction at my compliance, telling me that, in case of my refusal, they would have sent all the Shúwa in the neighborhood to harass me on the road. The head man of Mélé then promised me that, if I would return to his village, he would take care that I should be supplied with every thing I wanted, particularly fowls and milk.

I therefore allowed Gréma to proceed alone, in order to take my letters to the capital, while I slowly retraced my steps. An hour and a half's march along a more direct path brought me back to the village where I had first entered this country.

The position of Mélé is not without interest, situated as it is upon a steep bank overhanging a large and beautiful navigable river, which here changes its course from a westeasterly to a southnortherly direction; and here I might have indulged a few days in contemplating the interesting scenery, if my future progress had allowed me more tranquillity. As it was, the six or

seven days I passed here were spent in rather a dull manner: for the inhabitants became very suspicious when they observed that my favorite place was the shade of a fine tree at the very brink of the shore, from whence I had a view over the river to a great extent north and west. Of course, there was but little communication, and very rarely a boat was seen proceeding in either direction. Now and then the sand-bank became enlivened by a crocodile coming out of the water to bask in the sun, or by the frolics of the boys of the village, who occasionally crossed over to look after their fishing-tackle, or dry their nets. Both fish as well as crocodiles are extremely plentiful in the river, and the meat of the latter forms a great delicacy to the natives. But there is also in this river a very large animal, which, I think, must be identical with the ayú of the Bénuwé and Niger—the *Manatus Vogelii*.*

To the northeast the village was bordered by thick forest, which at a little distance was traversed by the lower course of the Ambusáda, which was here extremely rich in verdure, and full of the favorite haunts of the hog. I here, also, observed a considerable number of monkeys. It was during my residence in this place, likewise, that I first obtained a clear knowledge of the nature of the Shárí, and its relation with that of Logón, the point of junction of the two rivers being a little below Kúsuri, at a place called Siña Fácha, while I obtained a great deal of information—certainly not quite clear and distinct—of the towns and principalities on the upper courses of these rivers. I also learned that last year the river had overflowed its banks, and entered the very huts of the natives. Nevertheless, at this spot the banks were at present more than forty feet high.

As for the name of the river, the name which is generally given to it, viz., Sháry or Shárí, belongs, as I have mentioned on a former occasion, to the language of the Kótokó. The Bagírmi people call it only Bá, distinguishing it in the various parts of its course by the names of the different villages which

* I think it is this animal which is mentioned by Burckhardt (Travels in Nubia, Appendix I., p. 433) as the ام قرغى. This name must be given to it by the Shúwa, but I did not hear it.

are situated on its banks, as Bá-Mélé, Bá-Busó, Bá-Gún, while the Arabs call it at this place Bahr-Mélé, and a little higher up from the other village, Bahr-A'su. When the whole river, therefore, is sometimes called A'su, the relation is quite the same as the komádugu Wáúbe being called Yeou or Yó.

But while I was thus able to employ my time not quite unprofitably, my comforts were not quite so good as I had been led to expect, neither fowl nor milk being procurable, and the fresh fish of the river, which I was occasionally able to procure for a handsome present, not agreeing with the weak state of my stomach, although it was excellent and very palatable. There is a small market held at a village about five miles distant, of the name of E'diye, and every Wednesday another market, a little more important, near a village of the name of Chínge.

My impatience was augmented by the unmistakable signs of the approach of the rainy season, while the numbers of the musquitoes allowed me but little rest during the night. The sky was usually overcast, and occasionally early in the morning the whole country was enveloped in a dense fog. Though rather cool in the morning, the weather became sultry toward the middle of the day, and heavy squalls of wind sometimes set in in the afternoon. I would willingly have shared the company of the sultan in the expedition, although the news which arrived from the camp was not altogether of a satisfactory character. The pagan inhabitants of Gógomí, against whom he was waging war, were reported to have descended from their mountain strongholds, and to have slain a considerable number of his people, and among them a well-known Arab from Morocco, who accompanied him on this expedition.

Thursday, March 24th. It was about noon when, to my great delight, my trooper Gréma 'Abdú returned from his errand. He was accompanied by two attendants of the Zérma, or rather Kadamánge, the lieutenant governor whom the sultan had left during his absence in command of the capital. I was disappointed, however, in my expectation that I should be allowed, without further delay, to reach the capital myself, for the messengers produced a document, provided with a large black

seal, to the effect that I was to await the answer of the sultan in Búgomán, a place higher up the river, the inhabitants of which, together with those of a neighboring town, called Mískin, were to provide me with fresh fish and milk during my stay there. Although anxious to join the sultan himself, I had nothing to object to such an arrangement, and was glad to move on, if it were only a little. Our path on leaving the village kept along the steep northeasterly bank of the river, which here separates into two branches, of which the eastern one has more the nature of a creek. The island thus formed was thickly wooded, and, with the exception of a small hamlet of fishermen, seemed to be left entirely to the possession of wild animals; for while we clearly distinguished a flock of about a dozen large antelopes of the species called "mohor" or "hímraye" (*Antilope Soemmeringii*), we were not a little surprised at seeing a string of not less than twenty-two crocodiles all lying quietly on their backs on the sandy beach and basking in the sun. None of them, however, were remarkable for their size, the largest measuring apparently from twelve to fifteen feet.

Our march was rather short, my companions taking up quarters for us in the small village called Límshi, situated two miles and a half higher up the river, or rather creek.

Here there was a tolerable degree of activity, and several boats were lying near the banks. Having just before observed such numbers of crocodiles, I was not a little astonished at seeing the women, who were fetching water, bathing without apprehension in the river. The island opposite, at this spot also, was densely covered with wood, but a little higher up there is a village of the name of O'diyó. Our reception in the village was very inhospitable, and gave me a bad idea of the authority of the lieutenant governor, under whose protection I was traveling.

Friday, March 26th. Our march for the first mile and a half led through stubble-fields, after which we entered a dense forest filled with numerous creeping plants, but otherwise of rather uniform character, awaiting the reviving power of the rainy season. The shallow water-course Mbusáda, or Msél el Háj 'Alí, was all the time close on our left, till we crossed it, at a distance

of about five miles. We then pursued our march through cultivated grounds, where, besides millet, a little cotton also was raised, at other times proceeding through clearer forest, and soon reached the village Mustafají, which was the native place of the wife of my escort, Gréma Abdú.

Here we were quartered without delay, but the huts were not remarkable either for their size or architecture, consisting entirely of thatch and reed, the lower part being only slightly touched with clay, and during the hot hours of the day the heat of them was really suffocating. The inhabitants are all Kanúri, who, having emigrated from Bórnu during the time of the decay of that empire, have settled here as well as in other parts of Bagírmi, where they have introduced the little civilization which at present is seen, especially weaving and dyeing, which is here carried on to a considerable extent. The Shárí or Bá, in a direct line, is only about seven miles distant toward the west, and the inundation even approaches the very village by means of the shallow depressions and water-courses which intersect the country. A great extent of ground was under cultivation.

The inhabitants of the village behaved very hospitably, and my horseman's father-in-law, a very jovial and decent-looking man, made me a present of a fat sheep. The only difficulty was the water, the well, notwithstanding its depth of fifteen fathoms, containing only a very small supply. Scarcity of water seems, indeed, to be one of the great disadvantages of Bagírmi.

We remained here the whole of the forenoon of the following day, and did not start until half past two in the afternoon. The country which we traversed was well inhabited, and a good deal of cotton was to be seen, and it was here that I first beheld it cultivated in ridges and furrows, a manner of culture which, I think, is constantly adhered to in America as well as in India, but in Negroland very rarely, the cotton-plants growing on the ridges, but being at present quite bare of leaves. All the cotton plantations which I had seen previously in Negroland were left to themselves, and were in rather a wild state, but here

they seemed to be well kept and taken care of. At a village called Mútkomí my attention was drawn to the great numbers of asses; here the ground was full of the holes of the fének or *Megalotis*, called by the native Shúwa population "bú hassén."

Further on, a firm and dry clay soil succeeded. Having then passed a large village of the name of Búgarí, we took up our quarters a little before sunset in a village called Matuwárí, which belongs to a wealthy and learned man called Legári Bú-Músa, and were very hospitably received. These people were also Kanúri, and I was delighted to observe some signs of industry in the shape of a small dyeing-place, which contained two pits.

March 28th. At an early hour we pursued our march, approaching the town of Búgomán, where I was to await further orders from the sultan. The country exhibited signs of considerable elevation, and numerous farming hamlets, called "yówëó" by the Bagírmi people, were spread about; at present, however, they were tenantless, being only inhabited during the rainy season by the "field hands," as an American would say.

After a march of about four miles, and having passed a swampy meadow-ground with numerous traces of the rhinoceros, we again stood on the banks of the great river of Bagírmi, the Shárí or Bá, which here, where at present it formed a wide, flat sandy beach,* at first sight seemed very inconsiderable, compared with that noble character which it had exhibited lower down, so that I almost supposed it to be nothing but a branch of the principal river, although my people repeatedly assured me this was not the case; that small branch which higher up, a little above the town of Míltu, separates from it, passing by Busó and Báchikám, a few miles to the south of Máseñá, having just rejoined it near the town of Mískin, of which the taller trees, if not the houses, were visible from hence. The river here forms a long reach from south to north, but higher up, beyond Mískin, comes from S.S.E. The bank on

* Before coming to the main river I had to traverse a small stream of very cold and limpid water, running in the opposite direction to the river; but I do not know whence it may proceed.

this side was very low, which is the reason that the river, during the inundation, spreads over a greater extent of country. The ground shelves very gradually, and the river seemed shallow at a considerable distance from the beach, but its depth on the other side may be the more considerable, the opposite bank, on which the town of Búgomán stands, being rather steep.

The town, seen from this distance, seemed to be rather in a state of decay—at least as regarded the wall; but it was pleasantly adorned with a variety of trees, among which deléb- and dúm-palms were the most conspicuous. It was market-day, and in the cool of the morning numbers of people were collected on the southeastern beach, where we had arrived, awaiting the return of the ferry-boats, so that altogether it exhibited quite an interesting scene. But gradually the bustle subsided, and the heat of the sun on the sandy beach became almost insupportable; for, notwithstanding my warning, we had left the green border of trees and herbage far behind us, and had advanced along the broad sandy beach, which at present was dry, to the very edge of the water. My escort, together with the two servants of Zérma, had gone into the town to announce my arrival, and to inform the head man of the order of the lieutenant governor, that I was to await here the commands of the sultan; but no answer came. In vain did I endeavor to protect myself from the burning rays of the sun by forming a temporary shelter of my carpet; for the sun in these climes is never more severe than just before the setting in of the rainy season, and we had generally at two o'clock between 106° and 110°. As noon passed by I grew impatient, especially as I had nothing to eat, there being no firewood even for cooking a very simple meal.

At length, a little before three o'clock, my messengers returned, and their countenances indicated that they were not the bearers of satisfactory news. The Governor of Búgomán refused obedience to the direct order of his lord, the Sultan of Bagírmi, and declined receiving me into the town. Nothing was left but to retrace our steps to the village Matuwárí, where we had been so hospitably entertained. Dragging, therefore, be-

hind us the sheep which we had not been able to slaughter, we returned by the same road we had come.

Here we remained the following morning, and I had sufficient time to reflect on my condition in this country. There could not be the least doubt that the greater part of the inhabitants were unfavorably inclined toward the stranger; and I was persuaded that the best course for me to pursue would be to return to Logón, and there quietly await the answer of the sultan; but my companions were not of my opinion, and assured me I was not at liberty to leave the country after I had once entered it. It was therefore decided that we should proceed in the direction of the capital, and make our further proceedings dependent upon circumstances. The reason we did not start at once was because my companions wanted to pass the extensive forest which lay before us in the nighttime, as there was no water for a whole day's march, and our people were unprovided with water-skins.

In order to employ my leisure time, I took a walk to Búgarí, the village above mentioned, it being market-day; and I was glad, considering the little civilization which is to be met with in these regions, to find a good deal of traffic going on in the market. There were about twenty head of cattle, between sixty and eighty sheep, and about a dozen asses to be sold; there were, moreover, a good assortment of black and white tobes, a tolerable supply of butter and honey, besides millet, beans, and ground-nuts; the latter especially were very plentiful, and bore ample testimony to the fact that in these regions also this valuable article of commerce grows in great quantities, and forms a considerable portion of the diet of the natives; but as for cotton, the supply was rather limited.

The staple commodities of the market were tobes, half tobes, and single strips of cotton, or fárda, about three inches wide, and from three to four dr'a in length. Unfortunately, I was destitute of this kind of money, the people rejecting with contempt those miserable little shirts, or dóra, which I had brought with me from Bórnu; so that, notwithstanding the good supply of the market, I might have remained unprovided. I, how-

ever, succeeded in buying a few fárda for some needles, paying four needles for each fárda. I bought also a little butter for some beads.

The whole of this district is very scantily supplied with water; and the well in Matuwárí, which is only two fathoms and a half deep, contained very little. The wells in Búgarí were three fathoms deep, but were no better supplied. Of course, by digging to a greater depth, and constructing the wells in a proper way, the people might secure a sufficient supply; but they prefer walking every day to a far distant village for a little water rather than employ a few weeks industriously in making a durable well.

After a cordial parting from the male and female inhabitants of the village, we started about three o'clock in the afternoon: and with the exception of a short halt, about sunset, in a small hamlet called "Búru-nyígo," or "hyænas' den," we continued our march without interruption till past eleven o'clock at night. The village just mentioned lies at the border of the wilderness, and here we had not only to water our horses and to lay in a supply of water for ourselves, but I had also to give medicine to some people who had followed me all the way from Búgarí.

Having rested for a little more than five hours in the midst of a forest, without being molested by man or beast, we continued our march through the dense jungle full of trees and thick underwood, while larger trees became more and more scanty. Gradually the forest became clearer, and flocks of turtle-doves seemed to indicate that there was water in the neighborhood, although such a conclusion drawn from the presence of this bird is sometimes liable to error.

After the rainy season the character presented by this forest must be very different, and a little farther on evident signs of former cultivation began to be visible, even of sesamum ("márrashi" as the Kanúri, "kárru" as the Bagírmi people call it), as was evident from the deep furrows which intersected the ground. The inhabitants of two or three small hamlets dragged on a miserable existence even during the drought which at present prevailed; and we met a large body of women and

children, who preferred fetching every night and morning their supply of this most essential element from a distance of several miles rather than desert their native village.

Having passed another hamlet, likewise destitute of water, and left several villages at a greater distance surrounded by a tract of cultivated ground, we at length reached the longed-for El Dorado where water was to be found; and, as may be presumed, there was a great bustle round the well, which had to supply the whole thirsty neighborhood. Numbers of people, camels, and asses were thronging around, longing for the moment when they might come in for their share; and as the well was ten fathoms deep, a considerable time would necessarily elapse before they were all supplied. Being saluted in a friendly way by the people, I pitched my tent in the shade of a large chédia or caoutchouc-tree, which, however, was very scanty, as the young leaves had not come out, and afforded very little relief from the heat of the sun.

Here it was for the first time that I tasted a dish of sesamum, which was prepared in the same manner as millet, in the form of a large hasty pudding, but, being insufficiently seasoned by the common African sauce of the leaves of the kúka or monkey-bread-tree, did not appear to me to be a very dainty dish. The village, the name of which is Mókorí, had a comfortable appearance; and the pounding of indigo in the dyeing-pits went on without interruption, even during the heat of the day. Some Fúlbe or Felláta shepherds live in the neighborhood; and I was fortunate enough to barter a little butter for glass beads, as well as a small supply of rice—that is to say, wild rice, for rice is not cultivated here, but only gathered in the jungles from what the elephant and rhinoceros have left. Altogether, I might have been very comfortable if my uncertain situation in the country had not caused me some anxiety.

When we pursued our march in the afternoon, our road lay through a fertile country, where the cultivation was divided between millet and sesamum, till we reached the first group of the village of Bákadá, which consists of four distinct hamlets. Here my companions wanted to procure quarters for me; but, fortu-

nately, the head man of the village refused them admittance, so that they were obliged to seek for hospitality in another hamlet, and it was my good luck to obtain quarters in the house of a man who forms one of the most pleasing recollections of my journey. This was Háj Bú-Bakr Sadík, a spare old man, of very amiable temperament, to whom I became indebted for a great deal of kindness and valuable information.

While I pitched my tent in his small court-yard, he was sitting close by, and was informing me in very good Arabic that he had thrice made the pilgrimage to Mekka, and seen the great ships of the Christians on the Sea of Jedda. He remembered minutely all the different localities which he had visited in the course of his long wanderings.

Delighted that by chance I had fallen in with such a man, I sent away the next morning my horseman Gréma 'Abdú, and the two messengers, to the capital, in order to inform the lieutenant governor that the chief of Búgomán had refused obedience to his direct order and denied me admittance into the town, and to ask him what was to become of me now. Sending him at the same time a present, I begged him urgently to allow me either to enter the capital or to retrace my steps to Bórnu. Gréma promised me that he would return the next morning with a decisive answer. However, he did not keep his promise, but remained absent full seven days, although the distance from the capital was only about ten miles. It was therefore very fortunate that I had the company of Bú-Bakr Sadík, for no other person would have been able to give me such an insight into the character and the history of these regions as this man.

He drew a spirited picture of the great national struggle which his countrymen had been carrying on against Bórnu, he himself having taken part in several battles. He boasted, and with reason, that slaves of his master had twice beaten the Sheikh Mohammed el Kánemí, and that the sheikh had only gained the victory by calling to his assistance Mústapha el A'hmar and Mukní, the two succeeding sultans of Fezzán, when by destroying the towns of Babáliyá and Gáwi, and by taking pos-

session of the capital, he made himself temporary master of the country. He described to me with delight how his countrymen had driven back the Felláta who were endeavoring to establish the Jemmára in their country, and that they had undertaken afterward a successful expedition against Bógo, one of the settlements of that nation.

Bú-Bakr, indeed, might have been called a patriot in every sense of the word. Although a loyal subject, and humbly devoted to his sultan, nevertheless he beheld with the deepest mortification the decline of his native country from the former wealth and importance it had enjoyed previous to the time when 'Abd el Kerím Sabún, the Sultan of Wádáy, conquered it, plundered its treasures, made the king tributary, and led numbers of the inhabitants into slavery. Thus the whole well-being of the country had been annihilated, and not only their wealth in silver and cattle had disappeared, but the ruin and decay extended even, as he considered in his melancholy frame of mind, to nature—whole districts which had been formerly under cultivation and covered with villages being now changed to a wilderness, and regions which had formerly been well supplied with water suffering now the extreme of drought. Worms, he told me, were devouring their crops and vegetables, dooming them to starvation.

All this was true as far as regarded the present state of the country; for, though I can not say whether its physical condition was ever much more favorable, still, as to its government and political importance, there certainly was a time when Bagírmi enjoyed greater prosperity. It might seem, indeed, as if the country was visited by Divine chastisement, as a punishment for the offenses of their ancestors and the ungodly life of their former ruler. In no country in the whole extent of Negroland which I have traveled over have I seen such vast numbers of destructive worms, and such a predominance of ants, as in Bagírmi. There is especially a large black worm, called "hallu-wéndi," as long as the largest grub, but much bigger, which, swarming in millions, consumes an immense proportion of the produce of the natives. Bú-Bakr showed me another

far smaller but not less voracious insect, which they call "kunjungjúdu," a beetle about half an inch long, and of a yellow color; but the poor natives, like the inhabitants of other countries in the case of the locust, do not fail to take their revenge; for, when the insect has grown fat and big at their expense, they devour it themselves—a habit which may be one of the numerous relics of their former pagan existence, it being still a general custom with the Sókotó to eat a large species of beetle called "dernána."

Of other species of worms I shall have occasion to speak farther on; but with the white and black ants I myself waged repeatedly a relentless but unsuccessful war during my residence in the country. Already, the second day of my stay in Bákadá, I observed that the white ant (*Termes fatalis*) was threatening my couch, which I had spread upon a very coarse mat, or "síggedí" as the Kanúri, "lába" as the Bagírmi people call it, made of the thickest reed, with total destruction. I therefore, for want of a better protection, contrived an expedient which I thought would guarantee my berth against the further attacks of those cruel intruders, placing my couch upon three very large poles; but I soon had cause to discover that those ferocious insects were not to be deterred by such means, for two days afterward I found that they had not only built their intrenchments along the poles, and reached the top, but had eaten through both the coarse mats, finished a large piece of my Stambúli carpet, and destroyed several other articles. And during my further stay here I had the greatest trouble in preventing these insects from destroying all my things, for their voracity and destructive powers seem to increase toward the beginning of the rainy season, which was fast setting in.

The weather was exceedingly sultry, and we had the first thunder-storm on the 3d of April, and from that time we experienced a tornado almost every day, although in general there was not much rain.

The village itself, of course, afforded very little entertainment. In former times it had been nothing but a slave or farming village, or "yówcó," while the masters of the field-hands resided

at another place called Kústiya, and it was only a few years previously that they had taken up their residence at this place; nevertheless, even at present it is nothing better than a farming village, grain being the only produce of the place, while the inhabitants do not possess a single cow, so that milk and butter are great luxuries, and even a fowl quite out of the question. But as for grain, Bákadá is not without importance; on the contrary, it is one of the chief corn-growing places in the country, especially for sorghum ("ngáberí," or, as they call it, "wá"), while millet ("chéngo") is not so extensively grown.

A market is held every Sunday near the western hamlet; but it is very miserable indeed, and it was all the worse for me, as the people refused to accept in payment any of those small articles of which I was still possessed, all my property at that time consisting of 3000 shells—that is to say, little more than a Spanish dollar—a small assortment of beads, and a few looking-glasses, but principally needles, while here also the people required what I had not, namely, the cotton strips which I have mentioned above. The only luxury offered for sale in the market was a miserable lean sheep; and, as a representative of foreign civilization, there was half a sheet of common paper.

This was the sole attraction of the place, with the exception of my amiable, intelligent, and kind host Bú-Bakr Sadík. The poor old man was extremely indignant at the negligent manner in which I was treated; but he was feeble and timorous, and had no authority in higher spheres. The information which, from time to time, I collected from him during my monotonous stay in this place, shall be given in the Appendix, in the several places to which the subjects refer. It was very amusing for me to observe that the good old man, all the time that he was conversing with me, was not a moment idle; but he would either sew, not only for himself, but even articles of dress for another wife of his, whom he had in the capital, and soon intended to visit; or he would scrape some root to use as medicine, or else select some indigo for dyeing his tobe; or, if he had nothing better to do, he would gather the single grains of corn which had fallen to the ground, for, in his pious frame of mind,

he thought it a sin that so valuable a proof of the bounty of the Almighty should be wasted.

The other inhabitants of the place were rather uninteresting; and I had a great deal of trouble with the same man who, on our arrival, had refused us hospitality; for, as he was sick and wanted a cooling medicine, I found the common remedies with which I was provided too weak for his Herculean frame, till at length, with a dose of half a dozen ounces of Epsom salts, mixed up with three or four drachms of worm-powder, I succeeded in making him acknowledge the efficacy of my medicines.

In general the Bagírmi people are much better made than the Bórnu, the men excelling them in size as well as in muscular strength, as they do also in courage and energy of mind, while the women are far superior. The Bagírmi females in general are very well made, taller and less square than the ugly Bórnu women, but with beautifully-proportioned limbs, while their features have a great deal of regularity and a pleasing expression; some of them might even be called handsome, with their large, dark, beautiful eyes. The broad nostrils of the Bórnu females, which are still more disfigured by the ugly coral on the left side of the nose, are entirely foreign to them. While the Bórnu females in general endeavor only to excel by the quantity of fat or butter which they put upon their hair, the Bagírmi women bestow considerable care upon its arrangement; and the way in which they wear it, imitating exactly the shape of the crest of a helmet, is very becoming, as it harmonizes exceedingly well with their tall and well-proportioned figures. It is, therefore, not without reason that the Bagírmi females are celebrated over a great part of Negroland. Their dress is very simple, similar to that of Bornu, namely, the black "túrkedi," which is fastened across the breast, while the wealthier among them usually throw a second one over the shoulder.

The women in general seemed to be very healthy; but the men suffer much from a peculiar sickness which they themselves call "mukárdam," while the Arabs call it by the same name as the "Guinea-worm," namely, "ferentít" or "'arúk," although it

seems to be a very different thing; it is a sort of worm which dwells in the little toe, and eats it gradually away, beginning at the joint, so that the limb has the appearance of being tied up with a thread. I think this insect is identical with the *Malis Americana* or *Sauvagesii*, or, as it is more generally called, *Pulex penetrans*, a very small black insect well known in America. This disease is so general hereabouts that among ten people you will find at least one who has only four toes.

At times the village was enlivened by some little intercourse —now a caravan of pilgrims, then a group of native merchants. tugúrchi or fatáki. The pilgrims were some of them on their home-journey, with the impression they had received of things scarcely intelligible to themselves, others going eastward with the narrow prejudices which they had brought from their distant homes. There were people from every region of Negroland; but, unfortunately, I had scarcely any thing to offer them besides needles, with which article I gladly assisted them on their arduous journey; for nothing is of so much importance to the traveler as to gain the good-will of these people, who are the bearers of public opinion in these regions. Thus my liberality of making presents of needles, and nothing but needles, procured me the title among these witty people of the Needle-prince, "malárîbra;" and, although it was useful, in order to convince them of my friendly disposition, it was scarcely sufficient to open an intimate intercourse with them. But there was one among these distant wanderers, a native of Kébbi, a very intelligent man, from whom I derived my first information about the populousness of that fine and beautiful country which I was soon to visit myself.

A numerous group of pilgrims from Wándalá or Mándará also created a considerable interest; and I entered with them into lively polemics concerning the relation of their prince, or "tuské malé," with the ruler of Bórnu; for they denied positively that their chief had tendered his subjection in order to avert from his own country that numerous host which we had accompanied a few months previously to the Músgu country. The poorer members of the caravan went round about the hamlets

beating their drums, in order to collect alms to supply their wants during their meritorious journey, while the wealthier among them came to my host in order to buy from him their supply of native corn.

The commercial intercourse, also, which took place in the little village where I was obliged to make so long a stay exhibited some more interesting features, notwithstanding the dullness of the market; for among the merchants there appeared occasionally a small troop of Háusa people—dangarúnfa, slender, active fellows, accustomed to fatigue, and content with little profit, who were carrying on their heads, all the way from Kanó to Bagírmi, small parcels of indigo-dyed shirts, and other commodities, in order to barter them for the fine asses of Dár-Fúr, which are brought hither by the travelers from the East.

Not less interesting was the arrival of a portion of a numerous caravan of Jellába from Nimró in Wáday, who had come to Más-eñá; it consisted of about a dozen people, with about twenty pack-oxen and asses. As for the principal part of the caravan, the chief commodity imported by them was copper, which they were bringing from the great copper-mine, or el hofra, situated to the south of Dár-Fúr, carrying it as far as Kanó toward the west, where this fine eastern copper rivals the old copper which is brought by the Arab caravans from Tripoli. But these people who had arrived in Bákadá were the poorer members of the troop, and their wealth and exclusive article of commerce was a very excellent quality of rock salt, which the Tebu-Gur'aán bring from the Burrum or Bahr el Ghazál to Wára, where it is bought in great quantities by the Jellába, who sell it in small parcels, carrying it as far as Logón and Kúsuri. I bought a little for a sheet of paper, and found it excellent, with the exception of its having decidedly a fishy taste.

It was but very rarely that I mounted my horse, as I purposely avoided every thing which was likely to attract attention, or create envious and jealous feelings; but on the 10th of the month I was obliged by circumstances to take a long ride, as my she-camel, which at the time was my only beast of burden, was missing, and not a trace of her could be found. On

the southeast side of the village there is much forest of a very uniform character, interspersed with tall reed-grass; but on the other sides a great deal of cultivation was to be seen, shaded by hájilíj (or "jánga," as it is called here), nebek or "kírna,"* and talha-trees, here called "keláya." I found it very remarkable that almost all the fields, even those where millet and sorghum were grown, were laid out in deep furrows, called derába—a system of tillage which, in the case of any sort of grain, I had not before observed in Negroland. Besides grain, a good deal of sesamum ("kárru"), cotton ("nyére"), and indigo ("alíni") was cultivated, the plants being from two and a half to three feet in height, and bare of leaves at the present season. On the northeast side, also, there was a great deal of forest, but it was adorned by some groups of fine trees. It was enlivened by numbers of Guinea-fowl and gazelles; and a great number of "kálgo"-trees, with their wide-spreading branches, were observed here. The soil had been already tolerably saturated with moisture, fine tufts of succulent grass were springing up here and there, and I was enabled to water my horse at a small pool; but this abundance of the watery element, of course, was only temporary, in consequence of the heavy rain which had fallen the previous night, and the poor inhabitants were still to suffer most severely from drought, their deep well being almost dry. This was the only point in regard to which I had continual disputes with the inhabitants, who would scarcely allow my horse to get his sufficient *quantum*, although I had to pay a considerable sum for it.

Meanwhile I waxed impatient. At length, on the evening of the 6th of April, my escort Gréma (whom on the last day of

* The name of this tree, which is so common all over this part of the world—in the forms kórna, kúrna, kúrnahí, kúrru, kírna—is one of the most widely-spread of all those names indicating objects possessing properties useful to man; and this would seem to indicate that it is not indigenous in the various regions where it is at present found, but introduced from one and the same quarter. However, on nearer inspection, this argument does not seem to be conclusive. It has certainly not been introduced into Negroland from a more northern climate, as little as the *Balanites* and the *Cucifera*, which is erroneously called *Thebaïca* instead of *Nigritia*.

March I had sent to the capital to bring me a decisive answer without delay) returned with a message of the lieutenant governor—not, however, to grant either of my requests, but rather to induce me to wait patiently till an answer should arrive from the sultan himself. In order that I might not starve in the mean while, they brought me a sheep and a shirt, with which I might buy provision in some neighboring village; but as there was nothing to be got besides millet and sorghum, I declared it to be absolutely necessary for me either to be admitted into the capital or to retrace my steps. I requested Gréma to stay with me; but he pretended he was obliged to return to the town, where his servant lay sick. Not suspecting that he wanted to leave me alone, and to join the sultan on the expedition, I allowed him to go, and resolved to wait a few days in patience. But, restless and impatient as I was, the delay pressed heavily upon me; and when, on the 13th, my kind and amiable host, Bú-Bakr Sadík himself, went to the capital, I had nothing to calm my disquietude. Through my host, I had once more addressed myself to the lieutenant governor, requesting to be admitted into the capital without further delay; and Bú-Bakr had promised me, in the most distinct terms, that before Thursday night, which was the 15th, I should have a decisive answer. Having only one weak camel to carry my luggage, I had taken scarcely any books with me on this excursion to Bagírmi, and the little information which I had been able to gather was not sufficient to give my restless spirit its proper nourishment, and I felt, therefore, mentally depressed. The consequence was, that when Thursday night passed away, and neither Bú-Bakr himself arrived, nor any message from him, I determined to put my threat into execution, and to retrace my steps the following morning.

CHAPTER XLIX.

ENDEAVOR TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY.—ARRESTED.—FINAL ENTRANCE INTO MÁS-EÑÁ.—ITS CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES.

Friday, April 16th. As soon as day dawned I arose to prepare for my departure. The sky was overcast, and a little rain fell, which caused some delay; but as soon as it ceased I got my camel ready and my horse saddled. Several of the relations and friends of Bú-Bakr endeavored to persuade me to remain, but my determination was too fixed; and, pointing at the disgraceful manner in which I had been treated in this country, I mounted my horse and rode off. My three servants, themselves dissatisfied with the treatment they had received, followed sullenly.

We retraced the path by which we had come, but the rains had made it almost undiscernible, and we had some difficulty to make out the right track. The sun was very powerful after the rain which had fallen during the night, as is very often the case in tropical climates; and it not being my design to abscond secretly, I decided upon halting during the hot hours in Mókorí, and quietly pitched my tent; for I firmly expected that if my presence was required it was here they would seek for me. After the bad fare which I had received in Bákadá for so long a time, I was delighted to be able to procure here a fowl, some butter, and a little milk, and it was a sort of holiday for me to indulge in these simple luxuries. The manner in which I obtained these supplies was rather circuitous, a long bartering taking place with beads, needles, and a little natron which I was provided with from Kúkawa. The price of the fowl was three darning-needles; and I may here state the obligation under which I am to Mr. Charles Beke, the Abyssinian traveler, upon whose advice I had provided myself in London

with a small assortment of these articles. In Middle Sudán their value was not appreciated, but here in Bagírmi I found them extremely useful, and it was to them that I partly owed my subsistence in this country.

I quietly conversed with the people on my situation, and they behaved very friendly toward me, and advised me, if no news should arrive from the capital in the course of the day, to take the road by Kólle-Kólle, Márga, and Jógodé, a place which they represented as of considerable size, and thus to reach the river near the village of Klésem, from whence I might cross over to Kúsuri. I even obtained here some valuable information with regard to the river-system of Wáday from a Felláta* or Púllo of the name of 'Abd el Káder. I should have passed the day very comfortably if a strong gale had not arisen about noon and filled my tent with dust and sand. The sky was overcast, but there was no rain.

A little after sunset, when the busy scene at the well had subsided, I measured the temperature of the water, and found it to be 86°·4 Fahr., which, if we consider it as nearly the mean temperature of the country, would give a very high standard for Bagírmi. The well was fifteen fathoms deep, the present temperature of the air being then 86°; at one o'clock P.M. it had been 99°·7.

April 17th. Having passed rather an unpleasant night, the ground swarming with black ants (*Termes mordax*), so that my camel, as well as my horse, moved restlessly about and disturbed our own slumber frequently, I set out early in the morning with confidence on my journey westward. Forest and cultivated ground alternately succeeded each other, the cultivation consisting, besides millet, of cotton and sesamum. Women were collecting the leaves of the hájilíj, from which, in the absence of the more esteemed leaves of the monkey-bread-tree, to prepare the tasteless sauce used for their daily pudding. The hájilíj was the most predominant tree; besides it, there was the

* I will here remark that I think this form, Felláta, which is usual in Bórnu and the neighboring countries, is in its origin a plural, though it is continually employed also for the singular.

tree called homaín by the Shúwa, which was at present leafless, but was covered with fruit about the size of an apricot, which, when ripe, is eaten by the natives. The tsáda also, with its cherry-like fruit, called by the Shúwa people ábúdéje, was frequent.

My young Shúwa companion here called my attention to the honey-bird (*Cuculus indicator*), called by his countrymen "shnéter," and said to be a metamorphosed old woman searching after her young son, and calling him by name, "Shnéter! Shnéter!" All over Africa this little bird has given rise to a variety of the most curious tales, from the Hottentot country to the Somaul, and from the Somaul to the Jolóf.

Having gone about five miles, we wanted to obtain a supply of water from a small hamlet of the name of Bagáwu, which we saw on one side of our track; but as soon as we approached the well, a decrepit old man rushed furiously out of his hut, as if we were about to steal his most valuable property, and ordered us away with the most threatening attitude. Such is the value of water in this dry region! We therefore continued our march, and could only account for the existence of this miserable village by the extensive tract of cultivated ground which was spread about.

We then entered a thick forest or jungle, with tall reeds, and showing numerous footprints of the giraffe, an animal not at all frequent in the populous districts of Negroland. Farther on, the path exhibited various signs of being a common thoroughfare for elephants. This animal farther westward had not made itself remarkable, while its inveterate enemy the rhinoceros had already, close to the river, given sufficient proof of its presence.

At half past eight o'clock in the morning we approached another village, of the name of Kólle-Kólle, which from a distance exhibited a most noble appearance, adorned as it was by two stately deléb-palms, here called káwe, and a group of most beautiful tamarind-trees; but as for water, this village was not much better provided than that from which we had just been driven, being dependent for this necessary element upon a sister village at little less than a mile distance. Nevertheless, the dry tract

which lay before me obliged me to make a halt here, in order to procure a supply of water.

While we were quietly reclining in the shade of the tamarind-trees, a party of people arrived from a village which we had passed on our road, in order to obtain some medicines; and the way in which they acknowledged my trouble was so delicate and becoming that I could not decline it, though in general I did not accept any remuneration for my cures. On taking leave, they tied a fat sheep, which they had brought with them, to the branches of the tree under which we were reclining, merely informing my servants that it was a present for me.

Notwithstanding the great heat during the midday hours, I thought it prudent to pursue my journey without delay; for all my informants agreed in representing the tract before us as an extensive wilderness, entirely destitute of water. There were, however, evident traces that during the rainy season this dry forest is occasionally changed into an extensive swamp, and frequented by herds of giraffes and other wild beasts. At first the forest was clear, but as we proceeded it became enlivened and interwoven by a profusion of creeping plants called "sell'a" by the Arab inhabitants of this country, but "gheláf" in the dialect of the western Arabs. In many spots a peculiar kind of reed was seen, called "hál" by the Shúwa, who make from it writing-pens, and here and there fresh tufts of grass, called forth by the productive power of the rains, were springing up. It is this young, succulent herbage which especially attracts the rhinoceros. Desolate as this wilderness was at present, there were evident signs that at times it becomes the scene of a considerable degree of human industry, and besides sesasum, even fields of indigo were seen.

After a march of about thirteen miles we reached a hamlet which was evidently identical with the village Márga, with regard to which our informants had not been sure whether we should find inhabitants there or not. We entered it, but not a single human being was to be seen; it was lifeless, deserted, and half in ruins. Nevertheless, there were some houses which evidently contained property, though, the doors not being suffi-

ciently secured, its safety was left to the honesty of the passers-by.

Here the path divided, and it was apparent that, in order to prosecute my journey by way of Jógodé, we must pursue the northern one; but unluckily, while no recent traces were to be seen along this path, the southerly track seemed to be well-trodden, and my poor servants, who before had silently though sullenly followed me, broke out into the most mournful lamentations when they saw I wanted to take the path which showed no signs of intercourse, saying that I was going to destroy their lives as well as my own in this desolate wilderness. At length, after having in vain remonstrated with them, telling them that they were frustrating my projects, I allowed myself to be overruled by their piteous supplications, although with a sad foreboding, and pursued the southerly track.

The sun was just setting when we reached another hamlet, consisting of large, decent-looking huts, and filling us with almost confident hope that we might there find comfortable quarters; but we soon convinced ourselves that here, also, not a human being was left behind. Only a group of five antelopes (*oryx*), called here "tétel," with their erect horns, were fearlessly standing at a little distance, and staring at us. It was the first time I had seen this handsome animal in a wild state, though I afterward found it to be very frequent in this country, and even fell in with it along the komádugu of Bórnu.

Having convinced ourselves that the well was dry, and not thinking quarters in a desolate village very safe in such a country, we pursued our march, entering again a dense forest where a great deal of rain seemed to have fallen, so that I was even enabled to water the horse, although the danger from wild beasts could not but be greatly increased by the presence of the aqueous element. After a march of two miles more, the evening being very dark, we thought it more prudent to halt for the night; we therefore chose a small place free from wood, put our luggage, camel, horse, and sheep in the middle, and assigned to each of ourselves one of the corners, where we were to keep up a fire. We had, however, scarcely begun to look around the

neighborhood for dry fire-wood, when the tumultuous cries of wild beasts broke forth from different quarters of the dense forest, and I was obliged to fire some shots before we were able to light a moderate fire, when, throwing the fire-brands before us as we proceeded, we were enabled to collect a tolerable quantity of dry wood. However, it was with some difficulty that I prevailed upon my young and inexperienced companions to make up their minds to keep alternate watches during the night, and keep up the fires, more especially as, on account of a northeast wind which had sprung up about midnight, the wood was rapidly consumed.

I had prudently provided myself with a number of cartridges, when I was suddenly startled by the rushing in of two hyenas, which seemed to have silently approached under cover of the wood, and almost succeeded in carrying off our sheep. But one of them paid with its life for its audacity; and now throwing fire-brands, then firing a shot, we succeeded in keeping the wild beasts at a respectful distance during the remainder of our restless halt here.

Early in the morning we arose in order to pursue our march, when, on removing our luggage, we found five scorpions under our leather bags; they had most probably been attracted by the heat of our fires, as in general this animal is not so frequent after the ground has been wetted by the rains. As we proceeded the forest became clearer, and my Shúwa lad called my attention to the curious circumstance that the "díb," which is very frequent in these regions, always deposits its excrements on the clean white spot of an ant-hill. The rain appeared to have been very considerable; and about a mile further on we passed a good sized pond, and a little further another of still larger size, producing all around a profusion of grass of the richest verdure. The soil here consisted of hard clay, and the vegetation was varied; but gradually the forest was succeeded by extensive cultivation, which announced our approach to a considerable place.

I had been well aware myself that we had left the road to Jógodé a long distance on our right, but I was greatly annoy-

ed when I heard from the people who met us on the path that this village was Kókoroché, the very place which we had passed on our road from Mélé to Búgomán. Convinced, therefore, that I should be obliged to touch once more at the former village, I had a sad foreboding that I should meet with some unpleasant occurrence, and that it might not be my destiny to leave this country as yet. However, I made up my mind, and prepared myself for whatever might happen.

The country assumed a more genial aspect; and we reached a very extensive sheet of water, apparently of considerable depth, and adorned all around by fine spreading trees. Numbers of women were proceeding from the neighboring village to fetch water. Having provided ourselves with a supply, we proceeded onward, and halted in the shade of a fine "hájilíj," in sight of the village. Numbers of cattle and asses were seen all around, and testified to the prosperity of the inhabitants. Kókoroché is an important place in the economy of this country; for it is this place, together with Búgomán, which furnishes the capital with the greatest supply of millet.

Determined to put a bold face upon matters, I ordered my people to slaughter the sheep, and made myself as comfortable as possible, spreading my carpet, damaged as it was by the ants in Bákadá, upon the ground, and assuming the appearance of being quite at my ease. At that time I was not aware that in this country none but the sultan and a few high dignitaries were allowed to sit on a carpet. While the meat was cooking on the fire, and holding out the promise of some unwonted luxury, I received a visit from the father-in-law of Gréma 'Abdú, my host in Mústafají, and his appearance and hints confirmed my unfavorable anticipations. I related to him what had happened to me since I left him—that the Governor of Búgomán had refused to receive me into his town, and that I had remained eighteen days in Bákadá, waiting in vain for an order to be allowed to enter the capital. I showed him my carpet, and told him how it had been half devoured by the ants, and how we had suffered from want of sufficient food and shelter in the beginning of the rainy season. He was very sorry that I had not

been treated with more regard; but he expressed his opinion that the lieutenant governor would not allow me to leave the country in such a way.

Unfortunately, this man was not open enough to confess to me that messengers from the capital had already arrived; neither did the bíllama, or rather "gollennánge" or "gar," as he is here called—the head man of the village, who arrived with a numerous host of people just as I was about to start—give me any hint about it. Whether he came with the intention of keeping me back, and was afraid of executing his design, I do not know. In any case, it would have been far more agreeable to me if my fate had been decided here instead of at Mélé. As it was, he sent one of his people with me to show me the track to the river, and I started about an hour after noon.

Considerable showers, which had fallen here seven days previously, had changed the dry character of the country, and revived its luxuriant nature. The whole district presented the cheerful aspect of spring. Fresh meadow-lands spread out; and we passed some extensive sheets of water, bordered by undulating banks in the freshest verdure. We passed several villages, among which one, called Mái-Dalá, was distinguished by its neat appearance, most of the huts having been recently thatched, to protect them against the rains. In the forest which intervened, dúm-bushes and dúm-palms, here called "kolóngo," attracted my attention, on account of the wide range this plant occupies in Central Africa, while it was erroneously believed to belong exclusively to Upper Egypt. Having passed the shallow water of Ambusáda, where numbers of the blue-feathered bird, here called "dellúk," with red feet, were splashing about, we again approached the inauspicious village where I had first set my foot in this country.

Here also, during the short time I had been absent, a great change had taken place. The ground was being cleared, in order to prepare it for the labors of the rainy season; and the bushes and trunks of trees were burned, in order to render the soil more productive by means of the fertilizing power of the ashes. We had not before passed so closely to the river; and

I was astonished at the immense size of the ant-hills, which were not of the ordinary kind, such as they are seen in general, rising in steep conical peaks, but rather like those which I had seen near the Bénuwé, but of larger proportions, and rising to an elevation of from 30 to 40 feet, and sloping very gradually, so that their circumference at the base in some cases measured more than 200 feet. The village itself had meanwhile changed its character, owing to the number of new huts which had been erected on account of the approach of the rainy season, and the old ones having received a new thatching. All these new structures consisted of reed and matting, but nevertheless it had a neat and cheerful appearance. As I entered the village I was saluted by the inhabitants as an old acquaintance, and pitched my tent quietly on the former spot.

April 19th. This was a memorable day to me, destined to teach me a larger share of stubborn endurance. Having passed a quiet night, I began early to speak to the head man of the village about crossing the river, making him at the same time a small present. In Bagírmi also, as well as in Logón and other parts of Negroland, there is a separate officer for the river-communication. This officer, who in Bagírmi bears the title of alífa-bá ("kemán-komádugubé" or "officer of the river"), has an agent or kashélla in every village on the banks of the river where there is a ferry; and this agent was absent at the time. Meanwhile I was conversing with several of my former friends, and, among others, met an inhabitant of Jógodé, who regretted extremely that I had missed my road to that place, as I should have been well treated there, and forwarded on my journey without obstacle, almost all of the inhabitants being Kanúri. The governor of that place, who, like that of Moító, bears the title of "alífa," had left, as this man informed me, in order to join the sultan on the expedition.

While I was thus conversing, the head man of the village suddenly came to my tent, and informed me that messengers had arrived from the lieutenant governor in order to prevent my proceeding; and upon his asking me what I intended to do, I told him that I would divide the time which I should be obliged to

wait between this place, Jógodé, and Klésem, but that, if I should be compelled to wait too long, I should feel rather inclined to return to Logón. They rejected my proposal, and requested that I should stay in Mélé, saying that the inhabitants of the village had promised to supply me with rice and fish, and that I ought not to stir from here. While I was quietly expostulating with him upon this treatment, telling him that this was almost impossible, the place being too badly provided, and that they might at least allow me to remain half the time in the neighboring village of Klésem, gradually more and more people entered my tent, and, suddenly seizing me, put my feet in irons.

Perhaps the unexpectedness of such an occurrence was rather fortunate, for if I had in the least divined their purpose, I might have made use of my arms; but, taken by surprise and overpowered as I was, I resigned myself in patience, and did not speak a word. The people not only carried away my arms, but also all my luggage; and, what grieved me most, they seized my chronometer, compass, and journal. Having then taken down my tent, they carried me to an open shed, where I was guarded by two servants of the lieutenant governor.

After all this trying treatment, I had still to hear a moral lecture given me by one of these half pagans, who exhorted me to bear my fate with patience, for all came from God.

Even my servants at first were put in irons; but when they protested that if they were not set at liberty I should have nobody to serve me, their fetters were taken off, and they came faithfully to me to soothe my misfortune. In the evening the slave of the alífa-bá mounted my horse, and, taking one of my pistols with him, rode off to Más-eñá.

Having remained silently in the place assigned to me till the evening, I ordered my servants to demand my tent back, and to pitch it in the old place; and, to my great satisfaction, my request was granted. Thus I passed the four following days quietly in my tent, and, although fettered like a slave, resigned to my fate. Fortunately, I had Mungo Park's first journey with me; and I could never have enjoyed the account of his sufferings among the Ludamar (Welád-Ammer) better than I did in

such a situation, and did not fail to derive from his example a great share of patience.

It was in this situation that, while reflecting on the possibility of Europeans civilizing these countries, I came to the conclusion that it would be absolutely necessary, in order to obtain the desired end, to colonize the most favorable tract of the country inclosed by the Kwára, the Bénuwé, and the River Kadúna, and thus to spread commerce and civilization in all directions into the very heart of the continent. Thus I wrote in my journal: "This is the only means to answer the desired end; every thing else is vain."

April 23d. While lying in my tent in the course of the evening, my friend from Bákadá, Háj Bú-Bakr Sadík, arrived on my horse, and, being seized with indignation at the sight of my fetters, ordered them to be taken off without delay. I begged him to forgive me for having regarded myself as a free man, and not as a slave, not being aware of the real nature of my situation in this country. He, however, praised my conduct very highly, saying that I could not have acted otherwise than I did, and promising that I should now enter the capital without further delay of any kind.

Remaining cool and quiet under the favorable change of my circumstances, I thanked Providence for having freed me from this unpleasant situation, regarding it in the light of a useful lesson for future occasions. All my property was restored to me, even my arms, with the exception of the pistol which had been taken to the capital. However, the following day I had still to resign myself to patience, the chief servant of the lieutenant governor not having yet arrived, and my horse, which had made the journey to the capital and back with great speed, wanting a little rest.

Sunday, April 25th. Early in the morning we entered upon our march once more, in an easterly direction; and although I had not yet experienced very kind treatment in this country, I was prepared to endure every thing rather than to forego seeing the capital; but my poor servants were very differently disposed; for, having no mental interest, they felt the material pri-

vations more heavily. While they viewed with horror our projected journey eastward, they cast a melancholy look on the opposite bank of the river, which promised them freedom from privation as well as from vexation.

It was now for the fourth time that I was passing along the banks of the stream. It was at present at its very lowest ("bá nedónge," as the Bagírmi people say), having sunk a foot or two since I first saw it, and having laid bare a much larger part of the sand-bank. People in Europe have no idea of the situation of a solitary traveler in these regions. If I had been able to proceed according to my wishes, my road, from the very first moment when I entered the country, would have lain straight along the course of this mighty river toward its sources; but a traveler in these countries is no better than a slave, dependent upon the caprice of people without intelligence and full of suspicion. All that I could expect to be able to accomplish, under present circumstances, was to obtain distinct information concerning the upper course of the river; for, ardent as had been my desire to join the sultan on his expedition, from all that I had seen, I could scarcely expect that the people would allow me to go to any distance.

Our march the first day was rather short, for, having rested almost six hours, during the heat of the day, in a village called "Káda-bákaláy," we went only three miles farther, when we encamped in another village called "Káda-márga," recently built, where the inhabitants of the deserted village of the same name, which on our return-journey from the capital we passed in the forest, had taken refuge. The village had a neat appearance, there being even a dyeing-place, or "búkko alínbe;" it was also enlivened by several tame ostriches. The well, with a depth of from ten to twelve fathoms, contained a rich supply of water, but of bad quality.

The next day we made up for our loss of time, and only stopped for the night about a couple of miles beyond Bákadá; for, notwithstanding my esteem for Bú-Bakr Sadík, I refused to make any stay in, or even to enter the place where I had been kept back so long a time. The wooded wilderness had become

prepared by the rains to receive its temporary inhabitants, the Shúwa; and the well of Bákadá, for the use of which I had been obliged to pay so many needles, was left to decay.

Tuesday, April 27th. We set out early in the morning, in order to reach at length the final object of our journey before the heat of the day. The country was well cultivated, and the fields of native corn were here also laid out in ridges, or "derába." Trees were scattered in all directions, principally talha and hájilij. The soil consisted of sand, but was succeeded farther on by clay, forming several large basins, where, later in the rainy season, extensive ponds are formed. Here the country was enlivened by fine tamarind-trees, besides a few specimens of the dúm-palm. We then entered a district rich in herbage, and well adapted for cattle-breeding. Shúwa and Felláta foreigners were living here (as they generally do) together on friendly terms, as the similarity of manners of these two distinct tribes, notwithstanding their different origin and totally distinct language, has brought them every where into the closest connection, and has facilitated in a remarkable manner the spreading of the latter race over so large an extent of Central Africa. The huts of these cattle-breeders are very different from those of the native settlers, being far more spacious, in order to admit the cattle, and having the roofs thatched in a very light and negligent manner, as they usually change their dwelling-places with the season, and therefore do not choose to bestow much labor upon them.

As we were proceeding onward we suddenly obtained a view over a green, open depression, clad with the finest verdure, and interspersed with the ruins of clay houses. This, then, was Más-eñá, the capital. It presented the same ruined appearance as the rest of the country.

The town was formerly much larger, and the wall had been carried back, but it was still far too large for the town, and in the utmost state of decay. Ruined by a most disastrous civil war, and trodden down by its neighbors, the country of Bagírmi seems to linger till it is destined either to rise again, or to fall a prey to the first invader.

However, I was not allowed to enter the holy precinct of this ruined capital without further annoyance; for, being obliged to send a message to the lieutenant governor announcing my arrival, I was made to wait more than an hour and a half outside the gate, although there was not the least shade. I was then allowed to make my humble entrance. Only a few human beings were to be seen, and open pasture-grounds extended to a considerable distance, principally on the right side toward the south. We then entered the inhabited quarter, and I was lodged in a clay house standing in an open court-yard, which was likewise fenced by a low clay wall. The house contained an airy front room well suited to my taste, and four small chambers at the back, which were certainly not very airy, but were useful for stowing away luggage and provisions.

I had scarcely taken possession of my quarters when numbers of people came to salute me on the part of the lieutenant governor, and a short time afterward a confidential slave of his made his appearance, to whom I delivered my presents, consisting of a piece of printed Manchester cotton sufficient for a tobe, an Egyptian shawl, several kinds of odoriferous essences, such as "makhbíl," the fruit of a species of *tilia*, "lubán" or benzoin, and a considerable quantity of sandal-wood, which is greatly esteemed in the countries of Negroland east of Bórnu. While delivering these presents, and presenting my humble compliments, I declared myself unable to pay my respects personally to the lieutenant governor unless he restored my pistol, which was all that was wanting of the things which had been taken from me at Mélé; and, after some negotiation, it was agreed upon that he should deliver to me the pistol as soon as I presented myself, without my even saying a word about it.

I therefore went in the afternoon with Bú-Bakr to see him, and found a rather affable man, a little beyond middle age, simply dressed in a dark blue tobe, which had lost a good deal of its former lustre. Having saluted him, I explained to him how improper treatment and want of sufficient food had induced me to retrace my steps, after having convinced myself that I was not welcome in the country; for I assured him that it was our

utmost desire to be friends with all the princes of the earth, and to make them acquainted with us, and that, although I had known that the ruler of the country himself was absent, I had not hesitated in paying them a visit, as I had been given to understand that it would be possible to join him in the expedition. He excused his countrymen on the ground that they, not being acquainted with our character, had treated me as they would have done a person belonging to their own tribe who had transgressed the rules of the country. He then restored me my pistol before all the people, and desired me to await patiently the arrival of the sultan.

The ruler of the country, together with the principal men, being absent, the place presented at that time a more quiet, or, rather, dull appearance than it does in general; and when I took my first walk through the town, I was struck with the aspect of solitude which presented itself to the eye on all sides. Fortunately, there was one man in the town whose society and conversation were a relief to my mind.

I was reclining in the afternoon upon my simple couch, occupied in reading, when I received a visit from three persons. One of them was a man of apparently Negro origin, showing, by his wrinkled countenance, a career of trouble and misfortune, but having otherwise nothing very remarkable about him. It was Háj A'hmed, of Bámbara origin, and formerly an inhabitant of Tawát, but who, after a number of vicissitudes, having first been employed in the gold diggings of Bambúk, and afterward been engaged on small trading expeditions from Tawát to Timbúktu (where he had been twice robbed by the Tawárek), and from the same place to A'gades and Kanó, had at last settled at Medína. From thence he had accompanied the warlike expedition of I'brahím Bashá, had fought in the battles of 'Akka and Deraije, and had been sent on several journeys as far as Basra and Baghdád, and at present, being employed as servant at the great mosque, had been dispatched to this country in order to obtain from its sultan a present of eunuchs for the temple of Medína. The second was a venerable-looking man, with a fine countenance, and a bushy, half-silvery beard. This man was the religious chief of Bídderí, a place of which I shall speak hereafter.

The third visitor was Fáki Sámbo, a very tall and slender Púllo, with a scanty beard and an expressive countenance, except that it lacked the most important feature which enlivens the human face, he being totally blind. At that time, however, I did not know him, although, when I heard him convey a considerable degree of knowledge in a lively and impressive manner, I almost suspected he might be the man of whom I had heard so much. I was puzzled, however, at his first question, which was whether the Christians did not belong to the Bení I'sr'ayíl—that is to say, to the Jews.

This was the first conversation I had with this man, who alone contributed to make my stay in the place endurable. I could scarcely have expected to find in this out-of-the-way place a man not only versed in all the branches of Arabic literature, but who had even read (nay, possessed a manuscript of) those portions of Aristotle and Plato which had been translated into, or rather Mohammedanized in Arabic, and who possessed the most intimate knowledge of the countries which he had visited. His forefathers, belonging to that tribe of the Fúlbe which is called Fittobe, had emigrated into the southern parts of Wádáy, where they settled in the village of Bárekalla. When he was a young man, his father, who himself possessed a good deal of learning, and who had written a work on Háusa, had sent him to Egypt, where he had studied many years in the mosque of El A'zhar. It had been his intention to go to the town of Zebíd, in Yemen, which is famous among the Arabs on account of the science of logarithms, or el hesáb; but when he had reached Gunfúda, the war which was raging between the Turks and the Wahábíye had thwarted his projects, and he had returned to Dár-Fúr, where he had settled down some time, and had accompanied a memorable expedition to the southwest as far as the borders of a large river, of which I shall have another occasion to speak. Having then returned to Wádáy, he had played a considerable part as courtier in that country, especially during the reign of 'Abd el 'Azíz, till the present king, Mohammed e' Sherif, on account of his intimate relation with the prince just mentioned, had driven him from his court and banished him from the country.

After having once made the acquaintance of this man, I used to visit him daily, and he was always delighted to see, or rather to hear me, for he had nobody with whom he could talk about the splendor and achievements of the Khalifat, from Baghdád to A'ndalos (Spain)—particularly of the latter country, with the history of whose towns, kings, and literary men he was intimately acquainted. He listened with delight when I once mentioned the astrolabe or sextant, and he informed me with pride that his father had been in possession of such an instrument, but that for the last twenty years he had not met a single person who knew what sort of thing an astrolabe was.

He was a very enlightened man, and in his inmost soul a Wahábi; and he gave me the same name, on account of my principles. I shall never forget the hours I passed in cheerful and instructive conversation with this man; for the more unexpected the gratification was, the greater, naturally, was the impression which it made upon me. Unluckily, he died about a year after I left the country. In general it was I who called upon him, when he used to treat me with a very good cold rice pudding, and with dates from Kánem, which were rather of an inferior description; but when he came to me, I used to regale him with a cup of coffee, which was a great treat to him, carrying him back to more civilized regions, and he never omitted to press the cup to each of his temples. The only drawback to my intercourse with this man was that he was as anxious to obtain information of me with regard to the countries of the Christians, and those parts of the world with which he was less acquainted, as I was to be instructed by him; besides that, he had a great deal of business, being occupied with the Sheríy'a or Mohammedan law. He had a singular predilection for emetics; and he begged me so urgently to favor him with this treat, that in the course of a few weeks I gave him more than half a dozen for himself, besides those I was obliged to supply to his family. He suffered from bilious affections, and thought that emetics were the best remedies in the world.

Besides this man and Háj A'hmed, the man with whom I had most frequent intercourse during my stay in this country

was Slíman, a traveling Arab sherif, as he called himself, but in reality a Felláh, a native of Egypt, at present settled in Mekka, who had roved about a great deal, was very polite in his manners, and, although not a very learned man, possessed a certain degree of general information, especially with regard to the countries of Wáday and Dár-Fúr (where he had made a longer stay), and, having been assisted on his journey to Constantinople by Mr. Brand (her majesty's consul at Smyrna), had a certain degree of attachment to Europeans.

But the greatest amount of information which I obtained, principally with regard to the country of Wáday, proceeded from a young native of that country of the name of I´brahím (the fáki I´brahím), of the tribe of A´bú Shárib, with whom I passed several hours every day very pleasantly and usefully, and who attached himself so much to my person that I would freely have taken him with me to Sókotó, where he wanted to go in order to improve his learning under the tuition of the Fúlbe.

My relations with the lieutenant governor were rather cool; and, after he had given me a first treat, he left me for some days without any sign of hospitality, except that he once sent me a quantity of the fruit of the bíto-tree or hájilíj, which I returned. He was a man without much intelligence, and had no idea of the scientific researches of a European.

Having but little exercise, I became very ill toward the end of this month, so that I thought it prudent to abstain entirely from food for five days, living exclusively upon an infusion of the fruit of the tamarind-tree and onions, seasoned with some honey and a strong dose of black pepper—a sort of drink which must appear abominable to the European, but which is a delightful treat to the feverish traveler in those hot regions. Convinced that my stay in this place, if I were not allowed to travel about, would be too trying for my constitution, I requested the lieutenant governor to allow me to retrace my steps westward; but he would not consent, upon any condition whatever, that I should stir from the place.

This unfavorable disposition toward me assumed by degrees a more serious character, as, being unable to understand my pur-

suits, he could not but become suspicious of what I was doing. On the 21st of June, when I was quietly sitting in my house, one of his servants, Agíd Músa, who was well disposed toward me, and who used to call occasionally, suddenly made his appearance with a very serious countenance, and, after some hesitation and a few introductory remarks, delivered a message from the governor to the following effect. He wanted to know from me whether it was true (as was rumored in the town, and as the people had told him) that, as soon as a thunder-storm was gathering, and when the clouds appeared in the sky, I went out of my house and made the clouds withdraw; for they had assured him that they had repeatedly noticed that, as soon as I looked at the clouds with a certain air of command, they passed by without bringing a single drop of rain.

However serious the countenance of the messenger was, the purport of his message was so absurdly ridiculous that I could not help breaking out into a loud laugh, highly amused at the really pagan character of these *soi-disant* Mohammedans; but my friend begged me to regard the matter in a more serious light, and to take care what sort of answer I sent to his master. I then begged him to tell the governor that no man, either by charm or by prayer, was able to prevent or to cause rain, but that God sent rain wherever and whenever it pleased him. I added, however, that if he believed my presence in the country was causing mischief, he might allow me to go; that I did not desire any thing better than that, and should then pray night and day for rain, but that at present I myself could not wish for much rain, as I was afraid lest it should cut off my retreat by swelling the river to too great a height.

The messenger departed with my answer, and returned after a while with the *ultimatum* of the governor, to the effect that it was his own opinion that no human being was able to prevent rain, but that all of us were servants of the Almighty, and that, as they were praying for rain, I myself should add my prayer to theirs; I should then be allowed, at the proper time, to depart from them in safety, but that, if I was ill-disposed toward them, he likewise would do me evil, informing me at the same

time that, for a similar reason, they had once killed two great religious chiefs from Bídderí.

Such was the character of the people with whom I had to deal, although they regarded themselves as enlightened Mohammedans. In order to show his good disposition, or most probably rather in order to see whether his good treatment of me would have any effect upon the amount of rain (as he seemed to take me for a "king of the high regions"), he sent me in the evening a dish of an excellent pudding, with plenty of butter, and a small pot of medíde, or gruel seasoned with the fruit of the dúm-palm, and even promised me corn for my horse; but, as I did not send him rain in return, as he seemed to have expected, his hospitality did not extend farther.

It had been my custom, when a thunder-storm was gathering, to look out, in order to see from what quarter it was proceeding, which is a question of great interest in these regions; but the absurd superstition of these people so alarmed me that I scarcely dared to do so again. With regard to the superstition of the natives, I must here mention a case which happened to my friend Sámbo. One day, while I was engaged in earnest talk with him respecting the many sects of Islám, our conversation was suddenly interrupted by one of the daughters of the sultan entering abruptly, and accusing my friend, in the most offensive terms, of having abstracted from her, by his witchcraft, one of her slaves. But it was rather astonishing that a man with so vast an amount of learning was allowed to live at all in the midst of such barbarians as these without being continually suspected of sorcery and witchcraft. I shall not forget the day when I went to call on my friend, and found the unfortunate blind old man sitting in his court-yard, in the midst of a heap of manuscripts which he could then only enjoy by touching them with his hands. Involuntarily I was reminded of a saying of Jackson's, that the time would come when the texts of the classics would be emendated from manuscripts brought from the interior of Negroland.* From the very beginning, when I became aware of the character of these people, I had

* Jackson's Account of Morocco, p. 100.

taken the greatest precautions; and hearing that the privilege of using a carpet was restricted to certain officers, I had stowed my old carpet away, although my couch, being on the bare ground, was not very soft.

The market, or "kaskú,"* occupied a great deal of my time and of my thoughts during my monotonous stay in this place, not so much on account of its importance as of my own poverty, as I was compelled to become a retail dealer on the smallest scale; for, hardly possessing any thing except a small quantity of needles, I was obliged to send one of my servants daily to the market, in order to endeavor, by means of that very trifling article of European industry, to obtain the currency of the country. The currency of Bagírmi consists in strips of cotton, or fárda, like those which I have described on my journey to A'damáwa—of very irregular measures, longer or shorter, in general of two "dr'a" length and a hand in width—but of very different quality. Larger articles are bought and sold with shirts, "khalag" (*pl.* kholgán) as they are called by the Arabs, "bol" as they are called by the natives, the value of which, according to their size and quality, varies from 70 to 150 fárda. I obtained a fárda for one large English darning-needle, or for four common German needles, but afterward I doubled the price. Besides these I had very little left, with the exception of a few looking-glasses of that round kind which are sold in Lyons for one *sou* each, and which I sold here for the high price of one shirt or "khalag," while a better sort of looking-glass, bought in London for eightpence, brought four khalag or kholgán, which are worth about a dollar. As for shells, called here "kemé-kemé," they have no currency in the market, but form a merchandise by themselves as an article of export into the pagan countries—at least those of larger size, which are in great request with the inhabitants of those countries, as well as with the Welád Ráshid, it being said that 2000 will fetch a young slave of the kind called "khomási," and 3000 a "sedási;" for

* We have here an evident proof that a certain degree of civilization spread from Bornu over the countries to the east. Kaskú is a slight variation of the Kanúri word "k'isukú."

those simple people not only wear these shells as ornaments, especially the women, who are said to cover their hinder parts with them, but they make also caps of them, with which they adorn the heads of their deceased relations, while the Welád Ráshid adorn principally the heads of their camels and horses with the favorite kemé-kemé, or "kémti," as they are called in Wádáy.

Formerly there had been a market held only every Thursday; but a short time previous to my arrival the people had found it advantageous to have a market every day, so that there was a daily market from eight in the morning till eleven in the forenoon, and from three in the afternoon till sunset. Of course, it was not very well supplied, and was confined to the mere necessaries of life, the greatest luxury it contained consisting of onions, an article which is not to be procured in every part of Central Africa. At first they were very cheap, eight being sold for a fárda; but with the approach of the rainy season they increased in price, and I thought it prudent to lay in a supply, as I found this article extremely conducive to my health. And I would advise every traveler in these regions to be always provided with this vegetable; for they may be either used for seasoning food, or cut in slices and mixed with tamarinds, making, as I have stated, a cool and refreshing drink. But the black natives, as I have already mentioned on another occasion, do not, in general, make use of onions for seasoning their food, their cultivation having been introduced into the country by the Arabs from the north, together with wheat. But the native Arabs, or Shíwa, and the Arabs from the coast, or Wáselí, use this vegetable to a great extent, as well for seasoning their food as for medicine, especially in case of fever, small-pox, and obstruction of urine, from which latter inconvenience they suffer very much, in consequence of their marching during the heat of the day.

Besides the articles above mentioned, the commodity most plentiful in the market was grain, especially Guinea grain or *Pennisetum typhoïdeum*, the dealers in which had a special place assigned to them in the northern part of the market, under

a fine tamarind-tree or "más"—the oldest part of the town—which is even said to have given origin to the name Más-eñá, as I shall have occasion to describe farther on. Besides beans ("mónjo") and ground-nuts, called here "wúli" or "búli," salt too ("kása"), owing to the presence of the Jelába from Wádáy, some of whom I had met on my road, was very plentiful, but it was only sold in very small portions. The same people also sold natron ("ngíllu"), which is brought by the Tébu from the border of the desert. Milk ("sí") and butter ("búgu") were dear, but sour milk ("sí chále") in abundance; it is principally brought into the town by the daughters of the Béni Hassan. Honey ("téji"), which in many countries is so plentiful, is scarcely to be got at all. There were always a few head of sheep and cattle, and sometimes a few fowls were to be seen; occasionally also a horse of indifferent description made its appearance. Cotton ("ñyíre") was rather scarce, and I did not see any indigo, "alíni." Red pepper ("shíta") formed a peculiar article of commerce, which was retailed in small parcels by the Bórnu traders.

The most important and almost only article of European produce ("ngásan Zaila") consisted of beads, called "múnjo," especially the small red ones, which are sold here in great quantities, and exported to pagan countries. I also sold a few of the large species, called "nejúm," of which the Shúwa are very fond. Calico, called here "shóter," is a great rarity, and rather sold privately to the great men of the country. Kanó manufactures, called here "kálkobángri" or "ngásan degó," form a prominent feature in the statistics of this market, especially túrkedí ("bolné"), while the Kanó and Nýffi tobes, called "bol godáni," can only with difficulty compete with the native manufacture, the Bórnu people, or, rather, the Mákarí or Kótokó, having introduced into the country the art of dyeing. No slaves ("béli") were brought into the market, all being sold in the houses—a circumstance which seemed to indicate a certain feeling of decency; but at a later period this article was by no means wanting in the market.

Ivory is not brought into the market, but the little which is

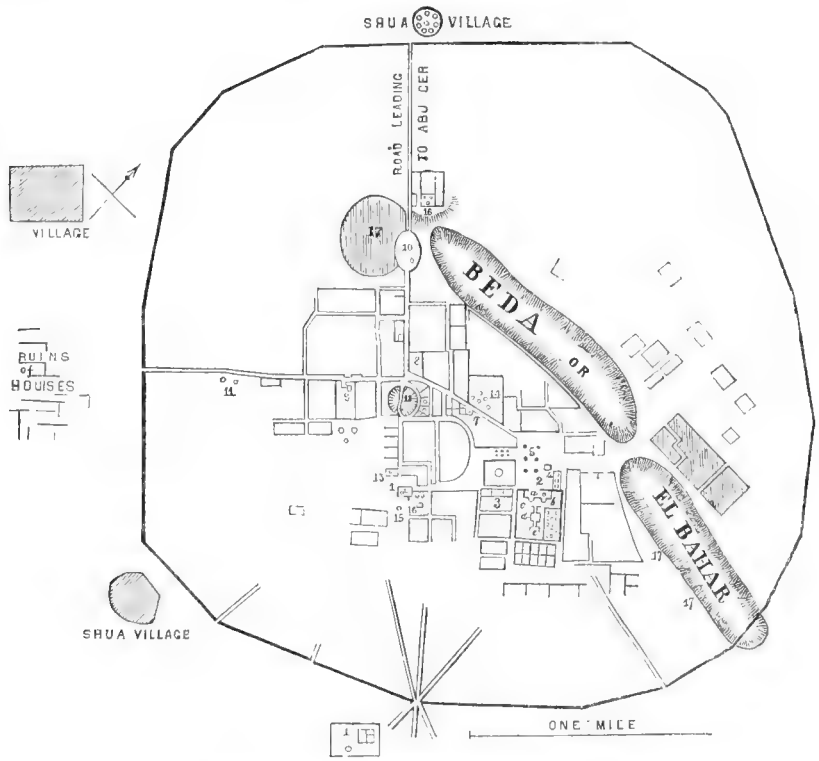
sold is disposed of in the houses; but sometimes the Arabs who visit this country do a very profitable business in this article. The price of horses in general is estimated by slaves, and the value of the latter is very low in this country, as may be inferred from what I have said above respecting the small sum paid for them in the countries toward the south; but slaves exported from here are not esteemed, as they are said to be more subject to disease than those from other countries, and generally die in a very short time. Female slaves certainly, natives of the country of Bagírmi, are highly esteemed; but as almost all the inhabitants of the country, at least outwardly, profess Islám, very few are at present sold into slavery, while formerly they were scattered all over the north of Africa, in consequence of the great slave-hunting expeditions of the Basha of Fezzán. The Shúwa or Shíwa generally effect their purchases with cows.

Although my means when I undertook this journey were extremely small, nevertheless I had not thought it impossible that I might succeed in penetrating into Wádáy, or even in reaching the lands of the Nile; and I often indulged in the pleasure of counting over my small stock of goods, and conceived the idea how, by giving away every thing I possessed, I might accomplish such an enterprise; but I soon found that I was compelled to give up all such plans; and although I think that a traveler with sufficient means, and a great deal of patience and endurance, might succeed in entering Wádáy from this side, I am sure that the ruler of that country would certainly keep him back for a whole year. I therefore only aspired at visiting some places in the neighborhood; and I was particularly anxious to obtain a sight of that small branch of the river which, having separated from the principal trunk near the town of Miltú, approaches to within about nine miles of the capital. But the lieutenant governor would not allow me to leave the place, neither would he suffer me to visit A'bú-Gher, which is situated at about the same distance in a N.N.W. direction, and where a considerable market is held every Saturday, although I told him that it was essential for me to go, in order to procure there my necessary sup-

plies, and I was therefore obliged to content myself with sending my servants.

They found the market of A'bú-Gher of about the same importance as the little market or durríya in Kúkawa, with this exception, that cattle were more numerous in A'bú-Gher, and they counted about a hundred head of large beasts and about the same number of sheep. There was a great deal of sorghum and cotton, but little Guinea-corn or millet. Besides tobes, hoes for field-labor, cowries, and natron from the Bahr el Ghazál form the principal commodities. As a sort of curiosity, my servants mentioned a kind of bread or tiggra made of the fruit of the hájilíj or *Balanites Ægyptiaca* (the "bíto" of the Kanúri), and called "sírne." As a specimen of the great diversity of individual manners which prevails in these regions, I will here mention that the fárda in A'bú-Gher, which is the standard currency of the market, is different from that used in Máseñá, measuring three dr'a in length and one hand in width. The village of A'bú-Gher consists of two separate groups divided by a vale or depression, where the market is held, and containing a considerable proportion of Fúlbe or Felláta inhabitants, who were the founders of the village.

Finding that I was not allowed to stir from the place where I was, I resigned myself in patience, and tried to take occasionally a little exercise round the town. While roving about, sometimes on foot, sometimes on horseback, I made by degrees a general survey of the town, which I have incorporated into the accompanying ground-plan, which, though very imperfect, and not pretending in any way to absolute accuracy, will nevertheless serve to give the reader a fair idea of the place.



PLAN OF THE TOWN OF MÁS-EÑÁ.

1. The house where I lodged, represented here also on a larger scale.
2. The palace of the sultan, surrounded by a strong wall 18 feet high, and 10 feet thick, built of baked bricks, but at present in decay.
   a. Public hall of audience.
   b. Hut of kadamánge.
   c. Entrance-hall, or hut used as a parlor.
   d. Court-yard in which I had an audience with the king, while he himself was in room *e*.
3. House of the fácha.
4. Mosque.
5. Open square in front of the palace, planted with trees.
6. House of zérma.
7. House of the Fáki Sámbo.
8. House of the chiróma.
9. House of the Máina Beládemí.
10. Market-place.
11. Tomb of 'Alí Fenjár, the great chief of Miltú, who two years previous to my visit to the place died here at an advanced age and much respected. The tomb is well shaded by a kúrna-tree.
12. A large, deep hollow, with wells, but in the rainy season full of water.
13. A seat or diván of clay—"dágalí" in Kanúri, "teláng" in tar Bágrimma.
14. Huts for common strangers and pilgrims.
15. Hut of Fáki Ibrahím and his companion.
16. House of female patient.
17. Kitchen-gardens.

CHAPTER L.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TOWN.—ARRIVAL OF THE SULTAN.—FINAL DEPARTURE.

THE town of Más-eñá extends over a considerable area, the circumference of which measures about seven miles; but only half of this area is inhabited, the principal quarter being formed in the midst of the town, on the north and west sides of the palace of the sultan, while a few detached quarters and isolated yards lie straggling about as outposts. The most characteristic feature of the place consists in a deep, trough-like depression or bottom, stretching out to a great length, and intersecting the town from east to west, in the same manner as the town of Kanó is intersected by the Jákara; for this hollow of the capital of Bagírmi, after the rainy season, is filled with water, and on this account is called "bedá" by the natives, and "el bahr" by the Arabs, while during part of the dry season it is clothed with the richest verdure. It is remarkable that not only in this respect the town of Más-eñá resembles that of Kanó, but, like the great market-place of Háusa, its surface is also broken by many other hollows, which contain the wells, and during the rainy season are changed into deep ponds, which, by accumulating all the refuse of the town, cause a great deal of insalubrity; but in general the soil, consisting of sand, dries very quickly after a fall of rain.

The principal quarter of the town lies on the south side of the great hollow or bedá; but even this very central quarter is far from being densely inhabited, and was less so during the first month of my residence, owing to the absence of the sultan. The central point of this quarter, at least in regard to its importance, if not to its position, is the palace of the sultan, the whole arrangement of which is in general similar to the resi-

dences of the chiefs in other towns, consisting of irregular clusters of clay-buildings and huts. But there is a remarkable feature in this palace, which distinguishes it in a very conspicuous manner from all other buildings of the kind in these countries. This difference consists in the wall which surrounds the whole building being built, not of sun-dried, but of baked bricks. I have had an opportunity of observing, on my journey from Kanó to Kúkawa, the ruins of the town of Ghámbarú, which is built of the same material; and I shall farther on describe those of Bírni or Ghasréggomo, the old capital of Bórnu, constructed in the same manner. But at present the traveler looks in vain for such solid buildings in any of the towns of Negroland, and I was therefore not a little surprised at finding it here, in a place where one might least expect to see it.*

It was not, however, a building of recent date, but built at least fifty, or perhaps a hundred years ago, or probably more, and was at present in a considerable state of decay. It forms a quadrangle of a somewhat oblong shape, the front looking toward the N.W., and measures from 1500 to 1600 yards in circumference. It must once have been a very strong building, the walls measuring about ten feet at the base, and from fifteen to twenty feet in height, and the entrance-gate being formed by thick wooden planks bound with iron. Upon entering, we first got into an open court-yard, in the eastern part of which there was a large oblong building or hall built of clay, which formed the public place of audience. Adjoining this there was a hut, wherein the kadamánge or zérma—for he had lately risen in the service—who had been installed as lieutenant governor, had his official residence, while farther westward another hut formed the entrance-hall into the inner or private apartments of the sultan, which I shall notice on the occasion of my audience with the sovereign.

The whole southeastern part of the palace, being inclosed by a separate wall, is entirely devoted to the female portion of the royal household, and is full of huts, the number of which, of

* There is another ruin of baked bricks outside the town, on the road to A'bú-Gher.

course, I am not able to tell, having had no access to this sacred and most secluded part of the residence. According to report, at least, the sultan is said to have from 300 to 400 wives. The huts are of various sizes and descriptions, in conformity with the character of the tenant of each. In front of the palace a spacious area or square is laid out, ornamented with six karáge-trees, besides a fine tamarind-tree which grows a little on one side of the entrance to the palace. Adjacent to the royal residence, on the west side, is the large house of the fácha, or commander-in-chief, and toward the east a mosque of small dimensions, with a minaret at the northwest corner. The other sides are occupied by the residences of some of the principal courtiers, such as the mánja, the zérma, and the bárma. The principal street of the town joins this area in the northwest corner, and along it lie the dwellings of some of the other principal men. At the spot where this road passes by the north side of the deep hollow or concavity above described (12), it is crossed by another principal street, which, in a straight line, proceeds from the gate leading to A'bú-Gher, and intersects the market-place.

My own residence was situated at the southwestern angle of the inhabited quarter; and while it had the advantage of being in an open and airy situation, it had also the disadvantage of being visible from almost every part of the town, so that I could not step out of my room without being seen by all the people around.

Dilapidated as was the appearance of the whole town, it had a rather varied aspect, as all the open grounds were enlivened with fresh pasture; but there is no appearance of industry, and the whole has the character of a mere artificial residence of the people immediately connected with the court. The market-place is rather small, and not provided with a single stall, the people being obliged to protect themselves as well as they can by forming a new temporary shed every market-day. The most interesting aspect is furnished by the bedá or bahr, which is bordered on the southwest by a few picturesque groups of dúm-palms and other trees of fine foliage, while at the western

end, near the market-place, there is a large extent of kitchen-gardens, as well as near the southeastern extremity. In consequence of the peculiar nature of the bedá, the direct communication between the northern and southern quarters, which, during the dry season, is kept up by a good path, seems to be occasionally interrupted during the rains.

The construction of the houses in general is good, and the thatchwork of the roofs formed with great care, and even with neatness; but the clay is of rather a bad description for building, and the clay houses afford so little security during the rainy season that most people prefer residing during that part of the year in the huts of reeds and straw; and I myself had sufficient opportunity of becoming acquainted with the frail character of these structures. There are, however, some pretty-looking houses on the road to A'bú-Gher.

The walls of the town, in most places, are in a state of great decay, so that the gates in reality have lost all importance; nevertheless, there are still nine gates, or rather openings, in use. Most of them lie on the south side, while there is not a single gate toward the north, this quarter of the town being so deserted that it is even overgrown with dense underwood. All around the place, as well on the south side, where a large pond is formed in the rainy season, as on the other sides, there are villages inhabited by Shúwa or Shíwa (native Arabs), principally of the tribe of the Beni Hassan, who supply the town with milk and butter.

Besides studying, roving about, paying now an official visit to the lieutenant governor, then a more interesting private one to my friend Sámbo, much of my time was also occupied with giving medicine to the people, especially during the early period of my stay; for the small stock of medicines which I brought with me was soon exhausted. But even if I had possessed a much larger supply, I might perhaps have been tempted to withhold occasionally the little aid I could afford, on account of the inhospitable treatment which I received; and in the beginning I was greatly pestered by the lieutenant, who sent me to some decrepit old women, who had broken their limbs, and in every

respect were quite fit for the grave. I then protested officially against being sent in future to patients at least of the other sex, beyond a certain age.

But sometimes the patients proved rather interesting, particularly the females; and I was greatly amused one morning when a handsome and well-grown young person arrived with a servant of the lieutenant governor, and entreated me to call and see her mother, who was suffering from a sore in her right ear. Thinking that her house was not far off, I followed her on foot, but had to traverse the whole town, as she was living near the gate leading to A'bú-Gher; and it caused some merriment to my friends to see me strutting along with this young lady. But afterward, when I visited my patient, I used to mount my horse; and the daughter was always greatly delighted when I came, and frequently put some very pertinent questions to me, as to how I was going on with my household, as I was staying quite alone. She was a very handsome person, and would even have been regarded so in Europe, with the exception of her skin, the glossy black of which I thought very becoming at the time, and almost essential to female beauty.

The princesses also, or the daughters of the absent king, who in this country too bear the title of "mairam" or "méram," called upon me occasionally, under the pretext of wanting some medicines. Among others, there came one day a buxom young maiden, of very graceful but rather coquettish demeanor, accompanied by an elder sister, of graver manners and fuller proportions, and complained to me that she was suffering from a sore in her eyes, begging me to see what it was; but when, upon approaching her very gravely, and inspecting her eyes rather attentively without being able to discover the least defect, I told her that all was right, and that her eyes were sound and beautiful, she burst out into a roar of laughter, and repeated, in a coquettish and flippant manner, "beautiful eyes, beautiful eyes."

There is a great difference between the Kanúri and Bagírmi females, the advantage being entirely with the latter, who certainly rank among the finest women in Negroland, and may well compete with the Fúlbe or Felláta; for if they are excelled by

them in slenderness of form and lightness of color, they far surpass them in their majestic growth and their symmetrical and finely-shaped limbs, while the lustre and blackness of their eyes are celebrated all over Negroland. Of their domestic virtues, however, I can not speak, as I had not sufficient opportunity to enable me to give an opinion upon so difficult a question. I will only say that on this subject I have heard much to their disadvantage, and I must own that I think it was not all slander. Divorce is very frequent among them as inclination changes. Indeed, I think that the Bagírmi people are more given to intrigues than their neighbors; and among the young men sanguinary encounters in love-affairs are of frequent occurrence. The son of the lieutenant governor himself was at that time in prison on account of a severe wound which he had inflicted upon one of his rivals. In this respect the Bágrimma very nearly approach the character of the people of Wáday, who are famous on account of the furious quarrels in which they often become involved in matters of love.

Occasionally there occurred some petty private affairs of my friends which caused some little interruption in the uniform course of my life. Now it was my old friend Bú-Bakr, from Bákadá, who complained of his wife, who resided here in Máseñá, and who did not keep his house as well and economically as he desired, and, when he occasionally came into the town, did not treat him so kindly as he thought she ought to do, so that he came to the serious conclusion of divorcing her. Another time my restless friend was in pursuit of a runaway slave, who had tried to escape beyond the Báchikám.

Then it was my friend Háj A'hmed who complained to me of his disappointment, and how he had been overreached by his enemies and rivals. He was certainly in an awkward position in this country, and I could never get quite at the bottom of his story; for, as I have mentioned above, he had been sent from Medína in order to obtain from the King of Bagírmi a present of eunuchs; but now, after he had been residing here about a year and a half, having been continually delayed by the ruler of the country, another messenger had arrived, who, it

seemed, was to reap the fruits of my friend's labors. Háj A'hmed had accompanied the sultan on his expedition the previous year; but he had almost lost his life, having received a severe wound in the head from one of those iron hand-bills which form the chief weapon of the pagan tribes toward the south. He therefore thought it better this time to remain behind; but he made no end of complaints on account of the miserly and inhospitable treatment of the lieutenant governor. The situation of my friend became the more lamentable when his female slave, the only one he had at the time, managed to make her escape, having thrown down her mistress, who had gone outside the town with her.

Scenes like these happened daily; and I had frequent opportunities of demonstrating to my friends how the vigor and strength of the Christian empires of Europe were principally based upon their capability of continually renewing their vitality from free native elements, and by totally abstaining from slavery. And I further demonstrated to them that slavery had been the principal cause of the speedy overthrow of all the Mohammedan dynasties and empires that had ever flourished.

Another time it was my friend Slímán who, besides topics of a more serious nature, used to entertain me with stories from his domestic life; for, being of a roving disposition, ever changing, and of rather desultory habits, he was accustomed to contract temporary matches for a month, which, of course, gave him a great insight into the habits of the females of the countries which he traversed on his peregrinations.

At another time some natural phenomena gave me some occupation. Among the nuisances with which the country of Bagírmi abounds, the large black ant, called "kingíbbu" and "kangífu" in Kanúri, "kíssino" in tar Bágrimma (the language of Bagírmi)—*Termes mordax*—is one of the most troublesome: and, besides some smaller skirmishes with this insect, I had to sustain, one day, a very desperate encounter with a numerous host of these voracious little creatures, that were attacking my residence with a stubborn pertinacity which would have been extremely amusing if it had not too intimately affected my

whole existence. In a thick uninterrupted line, about an inch broad, they one morning suddenly came marching over the wall of my court-yard, and, entering the hall which formed my residence by day and night, they made straight for my store-room; but, unfortunately, my couch being in their way, they attacked my own person most fiercely, and soon obliged me to decamp. We then fell upon them, killing those that were straggling about and foraging, and burning the chief body of the army as it came marching along the path; but fresh legions came up, and it took us at least two hours before we could fairly break the lines and put the remainder of the hostile army to flight.

On this occasion the insects seemed to have been attracted entirely by the store of corn which I had laid in from Bákadá. In general their hostile attacks have also a beneficial effect, for, as they invade the huts of the natives, they destroy all sorts of vermin, mice included. But while, in some respects, these black ants may be called the "scavengers of the houses," in many parts of Negroland they often become also very useful by their very greediness in gathering what man wants entirely for himself; for they lay in such a considerable store of corn that I have very often observed the poor natives, not only in these regions, but even along the shores of the Niger, digging out their holes in order to possess themselves of their supplies.

Besides these large black ants, the small red ant, called in Bórnu "kítta-kítta," and in Bagírmi "kíssasé," is found in great numbers, and becomes often very troublesome by its very smallness, as it gets so easily into all sorts of dresses without being observed. I was once greatly amused in witnessing a battle between this small red ant and the white ant, called "canam" in Bórnu, and here "nyó" (*Termes fatalis*), when the latter were very soon vanquished by the warriors of the former species, who, notwithstanding their smaller size, were carrying them off with great speed and alacrity to their holes; for the white ant is powerless as soon as it gets out of its subterranean passages, which impart to them strength, as the earth did to Antæus.

The rains, which at first had set in with considerable violence, had afterward almost ceased, so that the herbage on the

open uncultivated grounds in the town became quite withered, and many of the people, who, upon the first appearance of rain, had been induced to trust their seeds to the soil, were sadly disappointed; and I have already had occasion to relate that the natives, including their chief, attributed this state of the weather to my malignant influence. However, I was delighted when I sometimes made a little excursion on horseback in the environs of the capital, to see that the open country was less dry than the inside of the town, although even there, as yet, little cultivation was to be seen. It seemed very remarkable to me that here, as well as in the other parts of the country, especially Bákadá, the corn was generally cultivated in deep furrows and ridges, or "derába," a mode of tillage which I had not observed in any other country of Negroland through which I had traveled. The people, however, were very suspicious whenever I mounted on horseback; and the first time they saw me galloping off, they thought I was going to make my escape, and were therefore all on the look-out.

All this time the sultan or "banga" was absent, and the false news which was repeatedly told of his whereabouts kept up a continual excitement. When I first arrived in the country he had gone a considerable distance toward the southeast, and was besieging a place called Gógomi, which was strongly fortified by nature, and made a long resistance, so that the besieging army lost a great many of their best men, and among them an Arab sheríf who had joined the expedition. But at length the place was taken, and the courtiers prevailed upon the prince to retrace his steps homeward, as they were suffering a great deal from famine; so much so that the greatest part of the army were obliged to live upon the fruit of the deléb-palm (*Borassus flabelliformis?*), which seems to be the predominant tree in many of the southern provinces of Bagírmi.

July 3d. After false reports of the sultan's approach had been spread repeatedly, he at length really arrived. Of course, the excitement of the whole population was very great, almost all the fighting men having been absent from home for more than six months.

It was about nine o'clock in the morning when the army approached the south side of the town, displaying a great deal of gorgeous pomp and barbaric magnificence, although it was not very numerous, being reduced to the mere number of the inhabitants of the capital, the remainder having already dispersed in all directions, and returned to their respective homes. Thus there were not more than from 700 to 800 horsemen or "malásínda;" but my friend the Sheríf Slimán (who, exasperated at the bad treatment of the lieutenant governor, had left the capital to join the expedition, and who, as far as I had an opportunity of trying him, was not inclined to exaggerate) assured me that, even on their return, the army mustered at least 2000 horsemen.

At the head of the troop, as having supplied the place of his master during his absence in his character of lieutenant governor, rode the kadamánge, surrounded by a troop of horsemen. Then followed the bárma, behind whom was carried a long spear of peculiar make, which, in the history of this country, forms a very conspicuous object, being meant originally to represent an idol, which is said to have been transplanted from the parent state, Kénga Matáya, and evidently bore a great resemblance to the "féte" of the Marghí and Músgu. Just in front of the sultan rode the fácha or commander-in-chief, who is the second person in the kingdom, similar to the keghámma in the old empire of Bórnu, and who in former times possessed extraordinary power. The sultan himself wore a yellow bernús, and was mounted upon a gray charger, the excellence of which was scarcely to be distinguished, it being dressed in war-cloth or líbbedí of various-colored stripes, such as I have described on my expedition to Músgu. Even the head of the sultan himself was scarcely to be seen, not only on account of the horsemen riding in front and around him, but more particularly owing to two umbrellas, the one of green and the other of red color, which a couple of slaves carried on each side of him.

Six slaves, their right arm clad in iron, were fanning him with ostrich feathers attached to long poles, and round about him rode five chieftains, while on his right were to be seen the ghelétma and other principal men of the country. This whole

group round the prince formed such a motley array that it was impossible to distinguish all the particular features with accuracy; but, as far as I was able to make out from the description of the natives, there were about thirty individuals clad in bernúses, while the others wore nothing but black or blue colored shirts, and had their heads mostly uncovered. Close behind this group followed the war-camel, upon which was mounted the drummer, "kodgánga," who was exerting his skill upon two kettle-drums, which were fastened on each side of the animal; and near him rode three musicians, two of whom carried a bukí, "kája," or small horn, and the third a jójo or "zózo," a sort of double derabúka.

However grotesque the appearance of the royal cavalcade, that part of the procession which followed was more characteristic of the barbaric magnificence and whole manner of living of these African courts. It consisted of a long, uniform train of forty-five favorite female slaves or concubines, "habbabát," of the sultan, mounted on horseback, and dressed from top to toe in black native cloth, each having a slave on either side. The procession terminated in a train of eleven camels carrying the luggage. The number of the infantry or "malajá" was also limited, as most of them had returned to their respective homes. But, on the other hand, almost all the people of the town had come out to see the victorious army on their return.

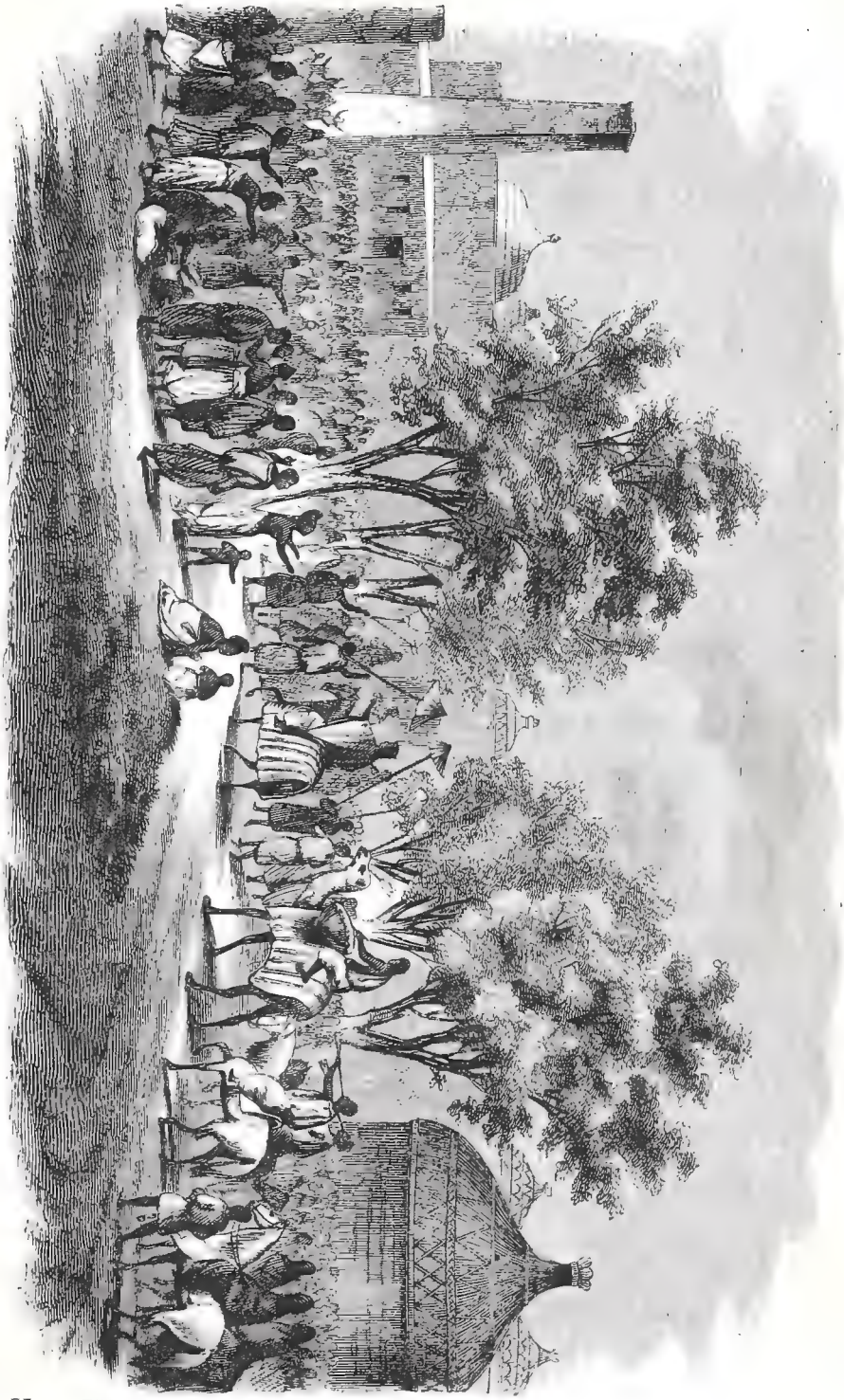
This day, however, the sultan did not enter the capital, but, in conformity with the sacred custom of the kings of this country on their return from an expedition, was obliged to encamp among the ruins of the oldest quarter on the west side of the town, and it was not till Sunday, the 4th day of July, about noon, that he made his solemn entry. This time, however, the "habbabát" did not form part of the procession, having entered the town early in the morning; but their absence was atoned for by the presence of a greater number of horsemen, and behind the drummer on camel's back followed an interesting warlike train, consisting of fifteen fiery chargers, all clad in líbbedí, and better adapted, it would seem, to the serious game of Mars than the train of lovely damsels.

On this occasion the bánga led in his triumphant procession seven pagan chiefs, among whom that of Gógomi was the most conspicuous person, and the greatest ornament of the triumph, being not less remarkable for his tall, stately figure than on account of his having been the ruler of a considerable pagan state, with a capital in an almost inaccessible position. He excited the interest of the savage and witty Bagírmi people by submitting with a great deal of good-humor to his fate, which was certainly not very enviable, as it is the custom in this country either to kill or to emasculate these princely prisoners after having conducted them for some time through all the court-yards of the palace, while allowing the wives and female slaves of the sultan to indulge their capricious and wanton dispositions in all sorts of fun with them. The horrible custom of castration is, perhaps, in no country of Central Negroland practiced to such an extent as in Bagírmi.

The booty in slaves did not seem to have been very considerable, although the prince had been absent from home for six months; and the whole share of the sultan himself seemed to consist of about four hundred individuals. The sultan passed slowly through the town, along the principal road from the western gate, and, proceeding along the "déndal" or "bokó," entered his palace amid the acclamations of the people and the clapping of hands (the "kabéllo" or "tófaji," as it is here called) of the women.

Although I had not yet paid my compliments to the bánga, he sent two messengers in the afternoon to bid me welcome. These messengers were the brother and son of one of the chief men of the country. However, he had returned in a bad state of health, and, unfortunately for me, succumbed in a few days.

I informed the messengers of the prince how badly I had been treated, when they assured me that the sultan did not know any thing about it, and that, as soon as he had received the news of my arrival, he had forwarded orders to the lieutenant governor to provide me with a milch-cow. The messengers then went away, and soon returned with a sheep, some butter, and a large supply of kréb, the seed of a sort of grass of which I have spoken on former occasions.



MASSÉNA—RETURN OF THE SULTAN FROM THE EXPEDITION

The next morning I went to pay a visit to Máina, being accompanied by my old runaway guide Gréma 'Abdú, who, after having left me to my own fate in Bákáda, had gone to join the sultan in the expedition. However, the place where the sick man was lying was so dark that, convinced as I was of the seriousness of his illness, I found a pretext for not giving him any medicine; and this was very lucky for me, as his death, which took place a few days afterward, would certainly have been attributed by these savage people to my remedies.

The same evening I was informed that an express messenger had come from Kúkawa with dispatches for me, the caravan from Fezzán having at length arrived. But, having been repeatedly disappointed by similar reports, I did not give myself up to vain expectation, and passed a very tranquil night.

Thus arrived the 6th of July, one of the most lucky days of my life; for, having been more than a year without any means whatever, and struggling with my fate in the endeavor to do as much as possible before I returned home, I suddenly found myself authorized to carry out the objects of this expedition on a more extensive scale, and found sufficient means placed at my disposal for attaining that object. The messenger, however, managed his business very cleverly; for, having two large parcels of letters for me, one only containing dispatches from the Foreign Office, and the other containing a large amount of private correspondence, he brought me first the former, which had been very carefully packed up in Kúkawa, in a long strip of fine cotton (gábagá), and then sewn in red and yellow leather, without saying a word about the other parcel; but when I had read at my leisure the dispatches which honored me with the confidence of her Britannic majesty's government, and had rewarded his zeal with a new shirt, he went away, and soon returned with the second parcel, and a packet containing ten túrkedí, native cotton cloth, from Kanó, which, at Mr. Overweg's request, the Vizier of Bórnu had sent me, and three of which I immediately presented to the messenger and his two companions.

The number of private letters from England, as well as Germany, was very considerable, and all of them contained the ac-

knowledgment of what I had done, the greatest recompense which a traveler in those regions can ever aspire to. No doubt the responsibility also thus thrown upon me was very great, and the conclusion at which I had arrived from former experience, that I should not be able to fulfill the many exaggerated expectations which were entertained of my future proceedings, was oppressive; for, in almost all the letters from private individuals, there was expressed the persuasion that I and my companion should be able, without any great exertion, and in a short space of time, to cross the whole of the unknown region of equatorial Africa, and reach the southeastern coast—an undertaking the idea of which certainly I myself had originated, but which, I had become convinced in the course of my travels, was utterly impossible, except at the sacrifice of a great number of years, for which I found the state of my health entirely insufficient, besides a body of trustworthy and sincerely attached men, and a considerable supply of means. Moreover, I found, to my surprise and regret, that the sum of £800 placed at my disposal by Lord Palmerston remained a dead letter, none of the money having been forwarded from Tripoli—a sum of about fifteen hundred dollars, which had been previously sent, being regarded as sufficient.

In this perplexity, produced by nothing but good-will and a superabundance of friendly feeling, I was delighted to find that her majesty's government, and Lord Palmerston in particular,* held out a more practicable project by inviting me to endeavor to reach Timbúktu. To this plan, therefore, I turned my full attention, and in my imagination dwelt with delight upon the thought of succeeding in the field of the glorious career of Mungo Park.

For the present, however, I was still in Bagírmi, that is to say, in a country where, under the veil of Islám, a greater amount of superstitious ideas prevail than in many of the pagan countries; and I was reveling in the midst of my literary treasures, which had just carried me back to the political and scientific domains of Europe, and all the letters from those dis-

* See the Dispatch in the Appendix, No. VI.

tant regions were lying scattered on my simple couch, when all of a sudden one of my servants came running into my room, and hastily informed me that a numerous *cortége* of messengers had just arrived from court.

I had scarcely time to conceal my treasure under my mat when the courtiers arrived, and in a few moments my room was filled with black people and black tobes. The messengers who had brought me the letters had likewise been the bearers of a letter addressed by the ruler of Bórnu to the bánga of Bagírmi, who in a certain respect was tributary to him, requesting him to allow me to return without delay to his country in the company of the messengers. There were some twenty persons besides the lieutenant governor or kadamánge, and the two relations of Máina; and the manner in which they behaved was so remarkable that I was almost afraid lest I should be made prisoner a second time. There could be no doubt that they had heard of the large correspondence which I had received. But there had been, moreover, a great deal of suspicion, from my first arrival, that I was a Turkish spy. There was even a pilgrim who, from his scanty stock of geographical and ethnological knowledge, endeavored to persuade the people that I was an "Arnaut," who, he said, were the only people in the world that wore stockings. Be this as it may, the courtiers were afraid of coming forward abruptly with the real object of their visit, and at first pretended they wished to see the presents that I had brought for the sultan. These consisted of a caftan of red cloth, of good quality, which I had bought in Tripoli for nine dollars; a repeater watch, from Nuremberg, bought for ten dollars, with a twisted silk guard of Tripolitan workmanship; a shawl, with silk border; an English knife and pair of scissors; cloves, and a few other things. The watch, of course, created the greatest astonishment, as it was in good repair at the time, although it was a pity that we had not been provided with good English manufactures, but had been left to pick up what articles we might think suitable to our purpose.

Having also asked to see my telescope, which, of course, could only increase their surprise and astonishment, they then, after a

great deal of beckoning and whispering with each other, which made me feel rather uneasy, requested to see the book in which I wrote down every thing I saw and heard. Without hesitation, I took out my memorandum-book and showed it to them; but I had first to assert its identity. In order to allay their suspicions, I spontaneously read to them several passages from it which referred to the geography and ethnography of the country; and I succeeded in making them laugh and become merry, so that they even added some names where my lists were deficient. They then begged me to allow them to take the book to the sultan, and I granted their request without hesitation.

This frankness of mine completely baffled the intrigues of my enemies, and allayed the suspicions of the natives; for they felt sure that, if I had any evil intention in writing down an account of the country, I should endeavor to do all in my power to conceal what I had written.

Thus they departed, carrying with them my journal; and I was informed afterward that the sultan had sent for all the learned men in the town, in order to hear their opinion upon my book. And it was perhaps fortunate for me that the principal among them was my friend Sámbo, who, being well acquainted with my scientific pursuits, represented my notes as a very innocent and merely scientific matter. My journal, which no one was able to read, was consequently returned to me uninjured. In the afternoon my friend Sámbo called upon me, and related to me the whole story; he also informed me that the only reason why I had not obtained an audience with the sultan this day was the above-mentioned letter of the Sheikh of Bórnu, which had in a certain degree offended their feelings of independence; and, in fact, I did not obtain an audience until the 8th.

July 8th. I had just sent word to Sámbo, begging him to hasten my departure, and had received a visit from some friends of mine, when Gréma 'Abdú came, with a servant of the sultan, in order to conduct me into his presence, whereupon I sent to Sámbo, as well as to my host Bú-Bakr of Bákadá, who was just then present in town, inviting them to accompany me to the prince.

On arriving at the palace, I was led into an inner court-yard, marked *d* in the ground-plan, where the courtiers were sitting on either side of a door which led into an inner apartment, the opening or door-way of which was covered by a "kasár," or, as it is called here, "párpara," made of a fine species of reed, as I have mentioned in my description of the capital of Logón. In front of the door, between the two lines of the courtiers, I was desired to sit down, together with my companions.

Being rather puzzled to whom to address myself, as no one was to be seen who was in any way distinguished from the rest of the people, all the courtiers being simply dressed in the most uniform style, in black, or rather blue tobes, and all being bare-headed, I asked aloud, before beginning my address, whether the Sultan 'Abd el Káder was present, and an audible voice answered from behind the screen that he was present. Being then sure that it was the sultan whom I addressed, although I should have liked better to have seen him face to face, I paid him my respects and presented the compliments of her Britannic majesty's government, which, being one of the chief European powers, was very desirous of making acquaintance with all the princes of the earth, and of Negroland also, in order that their subjects, being the first traders in the world, might extend their commerce in every direction. I told him that we had friendship and treaties with almost all the nations of the earth, and that I myself was come in order to make friendship with them; for, although they did not possess many articles of trade to offer, especially as we abhorred the slave-trade, yet we were able to appreciate their ivory, and even if they had nothing to trade with, we wanted to be on good terms with all princes. I told him, moreover, that we were the best of friends with the Sultan of Stambúl, and that all who were acquainted with us knew very well that we were excellent people, trustworthy, and full of religious feelings, who had no other aim but the welfare of mankind, universal intercourse, and peaceable interchange of goods. I protested that we did not take notes of the countries which we visited with any bad purpose, but merely in order to be well acquainted with their government, manners, and cus-

toms, and to be fully aware what articles we might buy from, and what articles we might sell to them. Thus already "Ráis Khalíl" (Major Denham) had formed, I said, the design of paying his compliments to his (the sultan's) father, but that the hostile relations which prevailed at that time between Bagírmi and Bórnu had prevented him from executing his plan when he had reached Logón, and that, from the same motives, I had now come for no other purpose than the benefit of his country; but that, nevertheless, notwithstanding my best intentions, I had been ill-treated by his own people, as they had not been acquainted with my real character. I stated that it had been my ardent desire to join him on the expedition, in order to see him in the full exercise of his power, but that his people had not allowed me to carry out my design.

The whole of my speech, which I made in Arabic, was translated, phrase for phrase, by my blind friend Sámbo, who occasionally gave me a hint when he thought I spoke in too strong terms. The parcel containing my presents was then brought forward and placed before me, in order that I might open it myself and explain the use of each article.

While exhibiting the various articles, I did not neglect to make the watch strike repeatedly, which created the greatest astonishment and surprise among the spectators, who had never seen or heard any thing like it. I then added, in conclusion, that it was my sincere wish, after having remained in this country nearly four months, confined and watched like a prisoner, to return to Kúkawa without any further delay, as I had a great deal of business there, and at the present moment was entirely destitute of means; but that if he would guarantee me full security, and if circumstances should permit, I myself, or my companion, would return at a later period. Such a security having been promised to me, and the whole of my speech having been approved of, I went away.

I had scarcely returned to my quarters when the two relations of Máina Beládemí, Máina Kánadi and Sabún, called upon me, with a very mysterious countenance, and, after some circumlocution, made known the grave errand upon which they had

been sent, which was to ask whether I had not a cannon with me; and when I expressed my astonishment at their thinking I was supplied with such an article, while my whole luggage was carried on the back of one weak she-camel, they stated that the sultan was at least anxious to know whether I was not able to manufacture one myself. Having professed my inability to do so, they went away, but returned the next day, with many compliments from their master, who, they said, was anxious that I should accept from his hands a handsome female slave, of whose charms they gave a very eloquent description, and that it was his intention to furnish me with a camel, and provide me with two horsemen who should escort me back to Bórnu. I told him that, although sensible of my solitary situation, I could not accept such a thing as a slave from the sultan, and that I did not care about any thing else but permission to depart, except that I should feel obliged to him if he would give me a few specimens of their manufactures. They then promised that the next day I should have another audience with the sultan, and they kept their word.

This time, also, I was only able to address the sultan without seeing him, when I repeated my request that he would allow me to depart without any further delay, as I had most urgent business in Kúkawa; but I received the answer that, although the road was open to me, the sultan, as the powerful ruler of a mighty kingdom, could not allow me to depart empty-handed. I then, in order to further my request, presented him with a small telescope, in the use of which I instructed his people. Having returned to my quarters, I assured my friends, who came to inform me that it was the sultan's intention to make me a splendid present in return for those I had given him, that I did not care for any thing except a speedy return to Bórnu, as there was no prospect that I should be allowed to penetrate farther eastward. But all my protests proved useless, as these people were too little acquainted with the European character, and there were too many individuals who, if I did not care about getting any thing, were anxious to obtain something for themselves; I was therefore obliged to abandon myself to patience and resignation.

Meanwhile I learned that the sultan had at first entertained the fear that I might poison him or kill him by a charm, and that he had repeatedly consulted with his learned men and counselors how he should protect himself against my witchcraft. However, on the second day after my first audience he gave me the satisfaction of sending the inspector of the river, or the khalífa bá, together with that servant of his (or kashélla) who had put me into chains at Mélé, in order to beg my pardon officially, which of course I granted to them most cordially, as I was too well aware that a traveler in a new country can not expect to to be well treated. As for that Púllo or Felláta individual, resident in Bagírmi, who (by inspiring the ferrymen at the frontier with fear and suspicion concerning my entering the country) had been the chief cause of the injurious treatment which I had experienced, he had been introduced to me some time previous to the arrival of the sultan by my cheerful and good-natured friend Bú-Bakr of Bákadá, when, against my wish, he persisted in clearing himself by an oath that he had done me no harm. This he managed rather cleverly by swearing that he had never instigated the ferrymen to drown me in the river, a crime which I was very far from laying to his charge. However, it being my desire to be on good terms with all the people, I expressed my satisfaction, and dismissed him. On all these occasions I had full opportunity of discovering the sincere friendship which Bú-Bakr felt for me, who, being well aware of the impetuous character of Europeans, did not cease exhorting me to patience —"sabr, sabr," "kánadí, kánadí"—certainly the most momentous words for any traveler in these regions.

July 19th. I had entertained the hope of being able to get off before the great feast, or 'Aíd el kebír, here called "Ngúmre ngólo;" but it approached without any preparation for my departure having been made. A general custom prevails in this country that, in order to celebrate this holiday, all the people of the neighboring places must come into the town; and for the chief men of each place this is even a duty, by neglecting which they would incur a severe penalty. But on the present occasion the holiday was changed into a day of mourning, for at

the dawn of this very day, Máina Beládemí, who was generally esteemed as the most excellent man in the country, died, causing a severe loss to the sultan himself, whose confidence he enjoyed to the fullest extent, having saved the life of his father when persecuted by his fácha.

According to his own request, the deceased was not buried in or near the town, but was carried a distance of several miles, to a place called Bídderí, which, as I shall have another occasion to explain, was the first seat of Islám in this country, and is still the residence of some highly-respected religious chiefs.

This sad event, though it was not unforeseen, cast a gloom over the whole festival, and it was not till about noon that the sultan left the town in order to offer up his prayers in the old ruined quarter toward the west; for, as I have already had repeated occasion to remark, it is a sacred custom all over Negroland that the sovereign of the country on this day can not say his prayers inside the town. Having remained in the old dilapidated quarter, in a tent which had been pitched for the occasion, till after "dhohor," he returned into the town; but the day, which had begun unfavorably, ended also with a bad omen, for in the evening a storm broke out, of such violence that three apartments inside the palace came down with a frightful crash, and caused a great uproar in the whole quarter, as if the town had been taken by an enemy.

Fortunately, I myself had taken sufficient precaution to strengthen the roof of my house, so that although the floor was entirely swamped, the roof remained firm; for having observed, some days previously, that the principal beam which supported the terrace was broken, and having endeavored in vain to persuade my host to have it repaired, I ordered my servants to take away a large pole from a neighboring court-yard, and place it as a support for the roof.

Since the return of the sultan, the rainy season had set in with great violence, and it rained almost daily. The consequence was, that the open places and the wide uninhabited quarters of the town were again clad in the freshest verdure, the whole affording a very pleasant aspect, while the bedá, or bahr,

was filling with water. There was now also much more intercourse in the town, since the people had returned from the expedition; but I did not stir about so much as before, not only on account of the wet, but also owing to the effrontery of some of the slaves; for these people, who are scarcely acquainted with any other kind of dress than a black shirt, and who altogether occupy a low stage in civilization, found constant fault with my dress, and, with a few exceptions, were not on good terms with me.

On account of my poverty, which did not allow me to make many presents except needles, I had certainly deserved the title of "Needle-prince" or "Maláribra," which they had given me; but, besides this, the natives had also given me another nickname, meaning "Father of the three," which originated in my wearing generally, besides stockings, a pair of thin leather slippers and thick overshoes, while these people usually go barefoot, and do not even wear sandals except when they go to a great distance.

Occasionally, however, I visited the market, which, although at present in many respects better stocked, was not so regularly kept, owing to the rains, and not so well attended on account of the labors which were going on in the fields. Even slaves were now brought into the market, sometimes as many as thirty, each being sold for from 25 to 30 khalágs or kholgán ("lebú," common white shirts), a price equal to from six to seven Spanish dollars. Cattle, too, were at present numerous, having not only been brought in from the pagan tribes, who seem to possess only a limited supply and of a small breed, but having been taken in far larger numbers from the Shúwa tribe of the Deghághera, under pretext of their disobedience. A good fat ox was sold for eight khalágs, or a little less than two dollars. During my stay in Mélé I had observed that sheep were taken from Bagírmi to Bórnu, to be sold there.

In my expectation of being allowed to depart without further delay, I was sadly disappointed, and day after day passed by without any preparation for my departure. Besides, I had reason to complain of inhospitable treatment; for, although I oc-

casionally received a dish from the sultan, far more frequently I remained without; but I was told, upon inquiry, that the slaves who were ordered to bring me my food used to keep it for themselves.

August 1st. It was not till this day that I became convinced that my departure was close at hand, from the fact that the slaves of my host began to dig up the soil in my court-yard, in order to sow it with derába or bámiya (*Hibiscus esculentus*); for if I had been going to stay longer, my camel would soon have destroyed the seed. But, nevertheless, several days elapsed before affairs were finally settled.

August 6th. At length, in the afternoon, there came a long *cortége* from the sultan, conducted by Zérma or Kadamánge, Sabún, and Kánadí, with a present of fifty shirts of every kind, and which altogether might be valued at about thirty dollars. Among the shirts were seven of a better sort, all of which I sent to England, with the exception of one, which was very light, consisting of silk and cotton, and which I kept for my own wear; there were, besides, twenty-three white ones of a better kind, and twenty common market tobes.

While presenting me with this royal gift, and explaining that the sultan was sorry that I would not accept from his hands any thing more valuable, either slaves or ivory, Zérma announced to me officially that I might now start when I thought proper; that hitherto neither the people of Bagírmi had known me nor I them, but that if I were to return I might regard Bagírmi as my own country. While expressing my thanks to the sultan for his present, as well as for the permission to depart, I told the messenger that if they wished that either I or my brother (companion) should ever visit their country again, the sultan ought to give me a paper, testifying his permission by a special writ, sealed with his own royal seal. This they promised, and, moreover, told me that a man from the sultan should accompany me to the river, in order to protect me against any further intrigues of the ferrymen, my great enemies.

The sultan's munificence, although not great, enabled me to

reward my friends and attendants. I had already divided the túrkedí which I had received from Kúkawa among those nearest to me, except two or three, which I sold in the market in order to buy provisions. And of these tobes likewise I divided thirty among the people of Zérma, my own attendants, the Fáki Sámbo, Bú-Bakr, and my other friends. The poor Háj A'hmed, who sustained himself here with great difficulty, was very grateful for my present, and offered up fervent prayers for my safe arrival at home, although he would have liked better if I had accompanied him on his journey eastward through Wáday and Dár-Fúr.

But, although on my first arrival in this country I had entertained the hope that it might be possible to accomplish such an undertaking, I had convinced myself that, not taking into account my entire want of proper means, it would be imprudent, under the present circumstances, to attempt such a thing; for the state of affairs in the country of Wáday was exceedingly unfavorable at the time, a destructive civil war having just raged, and matters not being yet settled. My own situation in this country, moreover, was too uncertain to allow me to have sufficient supplies sent after me to embark in such a grand enterprise; and besides, although I had become fully aware of the great interest which attaches to the empire of Wáday, as well owing to the considerable extent of its political power as on account of the great variety of elements of which it is composed, and also on account of its lying on the water-parting between the basin of the Tsád and that of the Nile, I felt quite sure that the western part of Negroland, along the middle course of the so-called Niger, was a far nobler and more fruitful field for my exertions. However, there was one favorable circumstance for attempting at that time a journey into Wáday, as the messengers of the sultan (or rather of Jérma or Zérma, one of the most powerful officers in that country, who has the inspection of this province) were at present here, in order to collect the tribute which Bagírmi, in its present reduced state, has to pay to its mightier neighbor.

As for my friend the Sheríf Slímán, he behaved like a gen-

tleman on this occasion, refusing my shirts, but begging for a little camphor and a pair of English scissors.

August 8th. After all the delay was overcome, I at length became aware what had been the cause of it; for in the afternoon of that day my noble companion Gréma 'Abdú, who had left me so unceremoniously before I reached the capital, and who altogether had been of so little use to me, came to inform me that all was now ready for our departure, he having received the five slaves whom he was to take to Kúkawa, partly for his own benefit, and partly for the benefit of his master Mestréma, who, as I have stated before, held a situation something like a consul of Bagírmi in the capital of Bórnu. Indeed, there were now unmistakable signs that I was at length to leave this place, for the following day I was treated with a large dish of rice and meat, swimming in a rich abundance of butter, from the sultan, and another dish from my niggardly host the zérma or kadamánge; and on the 10th of August I really left the capital of Bagírmi, where I had certainly staid much longer than I had desired, as I was not allowed to move freely about in the country, but where, nevertheless, I was enabled to collect a great deal of valuable information, of which that part relating to the history and general condition of the country I shall detail in the following chapter, in order to inspire the reader with a greater degree of interest in these little-known regions, while other matter will be given in the Appendix.

CHAPTER LI.

HISTORICAL SURVEY OF BAGÍRMI.—GENERAL CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY AND ITS INHABITANTS.

With regard to the history of the eastern part of Negroland we are still worse off than with regard to the western countries, however scanty the documents relating to the latter regions may be, although I may hope that, by my labors, a great deal

more light has been shed upon the history of these quarters than was even suspected to exist before. But while, for the kingdom of Sónghay, with its celebrated towns Gógó and Timbúktu, we have now obtained an almost continuous historical account by the taríkh A'hmed Bábá, and while for Bórnu tolerably rich materials have likewise come to our hands by means of the chronicles of that empire and of the relation of Imám A'hmed, for this eastern part of Negroland (which comprises the countries of Bagírmi, Wáday, or Dár Suláy and Dár-Fúr) no such documents have as yet been found, and, besides the information to be gathered from the natives, only a few detached and obscure statements have been handed down to us by the Arab writers of the Middle Ages.

Those of the latter which relate in general to Kánem, and its capital Nijímí or Njímiye, I have already referred to in the historical sketch which I have given of the empire of Bórnu; and the only circumstances which these writers mention with regard to the more eastern regions are the general names of tribes, such as the Zoghàwa and the Bájó,* mentioned by E'bn S'aíd, and, on his authority, by Abú 'l Fedá, as related tribes.†

The only author who distinctly speaks of these eastern regions is the Spanish Moor generally known under the name of Leo Africanus; for it is he who describes in this eastern quarter a large and powerful kingdom, which he calls Gaoga. This name, especially on account of its similarity to the name of the Sónghay capital, as the latter was generally written by the Arabs, has caused a great deal of confusion, and has given rise to

* The difficulty with regard to the name Bájó is considerable; for no such name as the Bajo is known, while the Dajó are a well-known tribe, who dominated Dar-Fúr in the tenth century of the Islám, and even at the present day are called "nas Far'aón." Nevertheless, we can not imagine that the name Bájó is a mere clerical error for Dájó, unless we would suppose those authors guilty of a very considerable mistake, as the Dájó seem to be of an entirely distinct origin from the Zoghàwa, who belong to the great Teda stock, while the former appear to have originated in the mountainous district of Fazogló, and the Bájó are expressly stated by those authors to have been the kinsmen of the Zoghàwa. The Bájó may be identical with the tribe of the Bédeyát. With regard to the Zaghày of Makrízi and the Soka of Masúdi, I have already offered an opinion on a former occasion.

† E'bn S'aíd, in A'bú 'l Fedá, p. 158.

numerous gratuitous conjectures. But if we compare Leo's statements, which are certainly very vague, and written down from memory after a lapse of several years, but especially what he says about the political relations of Gaoga, with the empire of Bórnu, there can not be the least doubt that his Gaoga is identical with what the Bórnu people call the empire of Bulála. And the reason why he called it Gaoga is obvious; for the Bulála, who originally formed a branch of the princely family of Kánem, guided by Jíl (surnamed Shíkomémi, from his mother Shíkoma), founded their empire in the territory of the tribe of the Kúka,* who in former times were very powerful, occupying a great extent of country, from the eastern part of Bagírmi as far as the interior of Dár-Fúr, the place Shebína, on the shore of the Bat-há, being then the principal seat of their power, while their head-quarters at present are in the province of Fittrí.† Here, owing to their introducing Islám and a certain degree of civilization, together with the Arabic alphabet called "warash," the Bulála soon appear to have obtained the sovereign power, while they founded Y'awó‡ as their new residence. While viewing the relations of the countries on the east side of the Tsád in this light, we get rid of every difficulty which may seem to be implied in the statements relating to Gaoga; for, when Leo says that the language of that country was identical with the idiom of Bórnu, he evidently only speaks of the language then used by the dynasty and the ruling tribe of the country, with whom, on his visit to that kingdom, he came into contact, and who were of the same origin as the Bórnu people, while at present, having intermingled and intermarried with the indigenous population, the Bulála, who are still the ruling family in

* The Bagírmi people, even at the present day, connect the Bulála in the most intimate way with the Kanúri; for, while they give to the latter the name "Bíyo," they call the former "Biyo-Bulála."

† I will here mention that Fittrí is a word belonging to the language of the Kúka, and means nothing but "river," "lake," being quite identical with "Tsád," "Sárí" or "Shary."

‡ The name Y'awó is formed entirely in the same way as that of M'awó, the present capital of Kánem, and of G'aó or G'awó, also called Gógó, the capital of the Sónghay empire.

Fittrí, appear to have forgotten their own language, and have adopted that of the Kúka. At the time when Leo wrote his description of Africa, or, rather, at the period when he visited Negroland (for of the events which happened after he left the country he possessed only an imperfect knowledge), the Bulála were just in the zenith of their power, being masters of all Kánem, and (according to the information of Makrízi and A'bu 'l Fedá) having in the latter half of the fourteenth century even subjected to their dominion the large tribe of the Zogháwa, may well have entered into the most intimate political relations with the rulers of Egypt, as already, a century previous to the time of Leo, Makrízi found ample opportunity in Egypt to collect all the latest news with regard to the dynasty of Kánem.

On the other hand, we can easily imagine how Leo could call the Prince of Gaoga a Mohammedan, while the learned men of the country positively affirm that the Islám in these regions dates no farther back than the eleventh century of the Hejra, the beginning of which exactly coincides with that of the seventeenth century of our era, and, consequently, about a century after Leo's visit to Africa; for Leo speaks only of the rulers themselves, whose religious creed, probably, had no influence upon the people of the country in general. Leo's statement entirely harmonizes with the information gleaned from Makrízi; for the princes of Kánem, in the time of the latter historian, were identical with the rulers of that very kingdom which Leo calls Gaoga, although in Makrízi's time they seem to have established the capital of their empire in Njímiye, which they had conquered from the Bórnu dynasty.*

Moreover, this apparent discrepancy receives further explanation from the fact that, soon after Leo visited these regions, the pagan nation of the Týnjur extended their empire from Dár-Fúr to the very borders of Bagírmi, opposing a strong barrier to the propagation of Islám. Respecting the name 'Omár, by which Leo designates the King of the Bulála in his time, I have already given an opinion on a former occasion. The Týnjur, of

* With regard to their places of residence in the time of Edrís Alawóma, see Appendix III.

whose original language I have not been able to collect any specimens, and which seems to be almost extinct, are said to have come from Dóngola, where they had separated from the Batálesa, the well-known Egyptian tribe originally settled in Bénesé. Advancing from Dóngola, the Týnjur are said to have vanquished first the Dájó, who, as has been stated before, were at that period masters of Dár-Fúr, and in course of time spread over the whole of Wáday, and over part of Bagírmi, making Kádama, a place situated about three days' march to the S.W. of Wára, and half way between Malám and Kashémeré, the capital of their extensive empire. They maintained their dominion, as far as regards Wáday, according to native tradition, ninety-nine lunar years, while the eastern portion of this loosely connected group of different nationalities, which had been conquered at an earlier period, was wrested from their hands much sooner by Kúro vanquishing the Týnjur, and founding the pagan kingdom of Dár-Fúr, some time before the general introduction of Islám into these countries. This Kúro himself was the third predecessor of Slimán, the first Moslim prince of Dár-Fúr. But as for the centre of the empire of the Týnjur, it was overthrown by the founder of the Mohammedan empire of Wáday, viz., 'Abd el Kerím, the son of Yáme—according to tradition, in the year 1020 of the Hejra.

However, of the kings of Wáday I shall not speak here, as their history has not exactly reference to the country we are now describing.* Here I will only introduce a few remarks concerning the kings of Bagírmi.

Bagírmi† is said to have emerged from the gloom of paganism prevailing in the eastern regions of Sudán a considerable time after Western Sudán had been formed into mighty king-

* I shall give a short account of the history of that country in Appendix VII.

† Thus the name is generally pronounced in the country itself; but it very often sounds like Bagrimmi, and the adjective form is certainly Bágrimma, which often sounds like Barma. The learned men write بَقَرِم and بَكَرِم indifferently, while the Bórnu people write the name Begharmí بغرمى or Bekármí بكارمى.

doms—some years subsequent to the introduction of Islám into Wáday. But in the same manner as the ruling dynasty which gave rise to this new kingdom had come from abroad, so likewise the founders of Bagírmi seem to have immigrated into the country; and from whence they immigrated can scarcely be doubtful, though they themselves, like all the dominating tribes of Sudán, would much rather connect their origin with the inhabitants of Yemen. But, that the native inhabitants of Kénga, Kírsuwa, and Hírla are intimately related to them, they are well aware, and acknowledge it without hesitation; but they would try to make people believe that, in coming from Yemen, their chief Dokkénge left at those places brethren of his as governors. As for Hírla, they do not acknowledge its claims to entire equality of birth, but derive the name of that place, as well as the family of the kings of that district, from a slave of Dokkénge of the name of Khérallah. But, on a close scrutiny, the people of Bagírmi confess themselves that their origin is not to be sought for at a greater distance than Kénga, or Kénga Matáya,* and that this place, distant five days east from Más-eñá and three long days S.S.E. from Y'awó, and distinguished by the strange form of its paganism,† was the original seat of their kings; for not only do the Bagírmaye regard those of Kénga with solemn veneration, as being their ancestors, whom it would be wrong to attack or to endeavor to subdue, but there are also certain emblems which they exhibit on particular occasions, brought, as they say, from Kénga. These consist of a rather long spear, borne on certain occasions before the King of Bagírmi, a small sort of tympanum, and the horn or bugle. The language Kénga is intimately connected with that of Bagírmi, while it contains also some elements of a different character; and these two dia-

* From all that I have said here, it appears very doubtful whether the Ibkárem, ابكارم, mentioned by E'bn S'aid in the latter part of the thirteenth century, can be justly identified with this kingdom. Of course, a tribe of this name may have existed many centuries before the foundation of the kingdom. The first undoubted mention of Bagírmi or Bagharmí occurs in Imám A'hmed's account of Edrís Alawóma's expeditions to Kánem.

† See collection of itineraries in the Appendix.

lects, together with the language of the Kúka, constitute one idiom.

But, to proceed with our principal inquiry, the emigrants, led on by their chief Dokkénge, penetrated, it would seem, toward the west by the road marked by the sites of Hírla, Kírsuwa, and Naíromá, a place situated near Más-eñá, on the Báchikam.

The state of the country where this pagan prince was to found the new kingdom, at the time when this happened (that is to say, about 300 years ago), was as follows. On the spot where the capital now stands there is said to have been nothing but a straggling settlement of Fúlbe cattle-breeders; and the Bagírmaye themselves state that they named the place from a large 'ardéb or tamarind-tree ("más" in the Bágrimma language), under which a young Féllani girl of the name of Eñá was selling milk. These Fúlbe (or Felláta, as they are called in all the eastern parts of Sudán) are said to have been much oppressed by annual inroads of the Bulála; and it was Dokkénge who undertook to protect them against these invaders. With the exception of this Felláta settlement, a few Arab or Shúwa tribes,* who at that time had already begun to spread over the country, principally the Beni Hassan, and the solitary settlement of a Felláta sheikh, or holy man, in Bídderí, a place about nine miles east from Más-eñá (who, however isolated he was, nevertheless exercised a very remarkable influence over the introduction of Islamism into these countries), all the rest of its inhabitants, as well as the chief Dokkénge himself, were pagans.

In the centre of the country there were four petty kingdoms, all situated on the small branch of the Shárí generally called Báchikám, viz., that of Mátiya, Mábberát, Máriñé, and finally that of Meré or Damré. Dokkénge, installing himself near the spot which was originally called Más-eñá, and forming a small settlement, is said to have subdued these four petty kings by stratagem, and, having driven back the Bulála, to have formed in a short time a considerable dominion. He is reported to have reigned a long time, and to have been succeeded by his

* The fact of the spreading of the Arabs at so early a period is entirely confirmed by Imám A'hmed's account.

brother, of the name of Lubétko, to whom succeeded Delubírni, under whose dominion the kingdom of Bagírmi spread considerably. The eldest son of Delubírni was Maló, who ascended the throne, but was soon after engaged in a desperate struggle with a younger brother of his, named 'Abd-Allah, who, it is said, had been converted to Islamism, and thought himself, in consequence, better fitted to ascend the throne. After being defeated by Delubírni on one occasion, 'Abd-Allah is said to have vanquished his brother, with the assistance of the pagan tribes, and to have slain him, after a most sanguinary conflict in the midst of the town, which lasted for several days.

Having thus ascended the throne, and consolidated his dominion by the blood of all his kinsfolk, 'Abd-Allah, the first Moslim prince of Bagírmi, is said to have contributed largely to the prosperity of his country, into which he introduced Islamism; and he is stated also to have increased the capital to its present extent. The beginning of his reign falls about ten years after the foundation of the empire of Wáday by 'Abd el Kerím, the son of Yáme. As to the order of his successors (all the Moslim kings of Bagírmi numbering fourteen), it seems to be as follows:

To 'Abd-Allah succeeded, as it seems, Wónja, who was succeeded by his son Láwení, after whom followed Bugománda. Of these princes very little, if any thing, appears to be known. But then followed a glorious reign, which marked another epoch in the history of Bagírmi—I mean the reign of the king Mohammed el Amín, who, on account of his having performed a pilgrimage to Mekka, is also called El Háj; for this prince not only administered the government of his country with more justice than his predecessors had done, and made it respected by his neighbors, but he also considerably extended his dominion and sway, as he not only subdued the formerly independent kingdom of Babáliyá, which at a former period had belonged to Kánem, and whose king (of the name of Kábdu) he put to death, but he is stated also to have extended his conquests in the opposite direction as far as Gógomi, a strong and inaccessible settlement, situated seven or eight days' march to the south-

east of the capital, which the present sultan succeeded in subduing a second time during my residence in the country, and which was thought a very great achievement. It is even said that through the instrumentality of this king a great majority of his countrymen adopted Islamism.

To this praiseworthy prince succeeded his son 'Abd e' Rahmán, whose death can be fixed with approximative certainty, as it is connected with the history of the neighboring countries; for it was he against whom the Sheikh Mohammed el Kánemí solicited the assistance of 'Abd el Kerím Sabún, the Sultan of Wádáy, who died in the year 1815, for his having thrown off the supremacy of Bórnu, which seems to have been established during the reign of Láwení. The easy victory which the energetic and unscrupulous ruler of Wádáy, who eagerly grasped at the offer made to him, is said to have gained over the people of Bagírmi, is attributed to the consequences of a severe plague, which had swept away the greater part of the full-grown inhabitants of the country, and to the circumstance of the fácha, or general of the army, not being on good terms with his sovereign, whom he is stated to have deserted in battle, while himself fled with his whole detachment. Sabún, after having put to death 'Abd e' Rahmán, together with his favorite wife or ghúmsu, and having carried away a considerable portion of the population, and all the riches of Bagírmi collected during the period of their power, invested the younger son of 'Abd e' Rahmán, of the name of M'allem Ngarmába Béri, with the title of king. However, as soon as Sabún had retraced his steps, 'Othmán, the eldest son of 'Abd e' Rahmán, with the surname or nickname of Búgomán, who, as long as the King of Wádáy was ravaging the country, had sought refuge behind the Shárí, in the town of Búgomán (the same place the governor of which refused to receive me), returned home, overcame his younger brother, and, having put out his eyes, ascended the throne.

But the King of Wádáy, having received this unfavorable news, once more returned to Bagírmi, vanquished 'Othmán in a battle fought at Moító, drove him out of the country, and reinstated his brother upon the throne. But as soon as Sabún had

turned his back, 'Othmán appeared once more, drowned his brother in the river, and again usurped the sovereign power. However, he was not destined to enjoy his prize for a long time in tranquillity; for, a quarrel having broken out between him and the fácha (the same person who had been on bad terms with his father), this man, of the name of Ruwéli, who by his personal character greatly enhanced the power and influence originally united with his authority, and who was supported by a strong party, deprived the sultan of his dominion, and, having driven him out of the country, invested with supreme authority a younger brother of his, called El Háj, whom, in order to distinguish him from the former sultan of that name, we may call Háj II. 'Othmán, having fled from Búgomán, his usual place of refuge, to Gulfé, the Kótokó town on the west side of the Shárí, where he was collecting a force, the fácha marched against him and vanquished him. 'Othmán, however, having implored the assistance of the Sheikh El Kánemí, and being assisted by the Shúwa of Bórnu, succeeded in collecting another army, with which he once more returned, but was again beaten in a battle fought at Sháwi. He, however, succeeded in crossing the river by a stratagem, and sought refuge with 'Amanúk, that mighty chief of the Dághana Shúwa, well known from Major Denham's adventures; but, being pursued by his adversary, he saw no other way of escape open to him than to throw himself into the arms of his former enemy, the King of Wádáy, and, in order to obtain his assistance, he found himself compelled to stipulate, and to confirm by an oath sworn on the Kurán, that he and his successors should pay a considerable tribute to the Prince of Wádáy. This tribute, to be paid every third year, consists of a hundred ordinary male slaves, thirty handsome female slaves, one hundred horses, and a thousand shirts or kholgán, called by the Wádáy people "dérketú," besides ten female slaves, four horses, and forty shirts to Zérma or Jérma, who is the inspector of this province.

Having obtained protection in consequence of this treaty, which rendered Bagírmi as much a tributary province of Wádáy as it had been, in more ancient times, of Bórnu, 'Othmán re-

turned to his country, and succeeded at length in crushing his powerful and hitherto successful rival, whom he defeated in two battles, the one fought near Kókoché, on the Báchikám, the other near the village of A'su, on the banks of the River Shárí. The fácha, having sought and found refuge in Logón bírni, fought one more battle with 'Othmán near a place called Díndor, where a great many of the people of Wádáy who were with him are said to have fallen. But the inhabitants of Logón, fearing that Ruwéli would not be able to fight his quarrel out, and that they themselves might afterward suffer for giving him protection, thought it more prudent to deliver him into the hands of his enemy, and succeeded in doing so by stratagem. This ambitious man is stated to have died in Wádáy, 'Othmán having delivered him to Sabún.

The restless Prince of Bagírmi obtained a little tranquillity as long as Sabún lived; but Yúsuf, who succeeded the latter, dissatisfied with him, put forth another pretender, of the name of Jariñílme, and 'Othmán had scarcely succeeded in overcoming this enemy, which he did without much trouble, when he had to fight in another quarter; for Mohammed el Kánemí, the Sheikh of Bórnu (who had assisted him to reascend the throne with the sole object of regaining the ancient supremacy which Bórnu had exercised over Bagírmi), when he became aware that he had not attained his object, commenced open hostilities against him, which gave rise to a struggle carried on for a number of years with equal success on either side, but without any great result, except the ruin of the provinces near their respective frontiers. The Sheikh of Bórnu, beset at the time by other difficulties, and seeing that he should be unable by himself to crush the power of Bagírmi, is then said to have called in the aid of Yúsuf Bashá, of Tripoli, who, in the year 1818, sent Mústafá el A'hmar, at that time Sultan of Fezzán, together with Mukní and the Sheikh El Barúd, to his assistance, who, laying waste the whole northwestern part of Bagírmi, and destroying its most considerable places, Babáliyá and Gáwi, carried away a great number of slaves, among whom was Agíd Músa, one of my principal informants in all that relates to Bagírmi.

This happened about the time of Captain Lyon's expedition. At a later period Mukní returned once more with 'Abd el Jelíl, the celebrated chief of the Welád Slimán, who had accompanied the former expedition in a rather subordinate character; but, having quarreled with this distinguished chieftain, who discountenanced Mukní's intention of overrunning the country of Bórnu, he himself returned home, sending in his stead Háj I'bahím, who plundered and ransacked the town of Moító, and carried its inhabitants into slavery, while 'Abd el Jelíl did the same with Kánem. Then followed, in the year 1824, the second battle of Ngála, of which Major Denham has given an account in his Narrative. However, notwithstanding his partial success, the Sheikh of Bórnu was not able to reduce entirely the inhabitants of Bagírmi, who, although not so numerous, and much inferior to their neighbors in horsemanship, are certainly superior to them in courage.

There was still another quarter from whence Bagírmi was threatened during the restless reign of 'Othmán, namely, that of the Fúlbe or Felláta, who, following their instinctive principle of perpetually extending their dominion and sway, made an inroad also into Bagírmi about thirty years ago; but they were driven back, and revenge was taken by a successful expedition being made by the Bagírmaye against Bógo, one of the principal Fúlbe settlements to the east of Wándalá or Mándará, which I have mentioned on my journey to A'damáwa and the expedition to Músgu. In the mean time, while the country suffered severely from this uninterrupted course of external and internal warfare, 'Othmán seems to have made an attempt to enter into communication with Kánem, probably in order to open a road to the coast by the assistance of the Welád Slimán, or, as they are called here, Mínne-mínne, who, by a sudden change of circumstances, had been obliged to seek refuge in those border districts of Negroland with which their chief, 'Abd el Jelíl, had become acquainted in the course of his former slave-hunting expeditions.

Altogether, 'Othmán Búgomán appears to have been a violent despot, who did not scruple to plunder either strangers or his own people; and he cared so little about any laws, human

or divine, that it is credibly asserted that he married his own daughter.* But he appears to have been an energetic man, and at times even generous and liberal. He died in the last month of the year 1260, or about the end of the year 1844 of our era, and was succeeded by his eldest son 'Abd el Káder, the present ruler of Bagírmi, who had been on bad terms with his father during his lifetime, and, in consequence, had spent several years in Gúrin, at that time the capital of A'damáwa.

This prince had a narrow escape from a great danger in the first month of his reign, when Mohammed Sáleh, the ruler of Wádáy, advanced with his army toward the west, so that 'Abd el Káder thought it best to leave his capital, carrying with him all his people and riches, and to withdraw toward Mánkhfa, where he is said to have prepared for battle, taking up his position behind the river, and placing all the boats on his wings. But the Sultan of Wádáy, seeing that he occupied a strong position, sent him word that he would do him no harm as long as he preserved the allegiance confirmed by the oath of his father; and he really does not seem to have done any damage to the people of Bagírmi, with the exception of depriving them of their dress, the common black shirt, of which the people of Wádáy are very jealous, as they themselves are not acquainted with the art of dyeing.

This danger having passed by, 'Abd el Káder, who is described to me, by all those who have had opportunities of closer intercourse with him, as being a person of sound judgment, and who likes to do justice, though it may be true he is not very liberal, thought it best to keep on good terms also with his western neighbors, the Kanúri; and his friendly relations with the present ruler of that country were facilitated by the circumstance that his mother was an aunt of the Sheikh 'Omár. The Bagírmi people, at least, assert that it is more on account of this relationship than from fear, or a feeling of weakness, that their ruler has consented to a sort of tribute to be paid to Bórnu, which consists of a hundred slaves annually.

* According to others, he married also his sister. It seems that some attribute similar crimes to his father.

Having thus obtained peace with both his neighbors, 'Abd el Káder has employed his reign in strengthening himself on that side which alone remained open to him, viz., the south side, toward the pagan countries; and he has successfully extended his dominion, remaining in the field personally for several months every year. He has thus subdued a great many pagan chiefs, on whom he levies a fixed tribute—a thing said to have been unknown before his time. Of course, this tribute consists almost entirely in slaves, which the pagan chiefs in general can only procure by waging war with their neighbors, and slaves are, therefore, almost the only riches of the sultan; but by this means he is able to procure what he is most in need of, namely, horses and muskets, besides articles of luxury.

It is only with a strong feeling of suppressed indignation that the people of Bagírmi bear the sort of dependence in which they are placed with regard to their neighbors on either side; and there is no doubt that, if they were allowed to recruit their strength (although the tribute which they have to pay to Wádáy bears heavily upon them), they will make use of the first opportunity that offers to throw off the yoke.

No doubt the central position of Bagírmi, as regards political independence, is not very favorable; but the country has the great advantage of being bordered on the west side by a mighty river, which, while it forms a natural barrier against the western neighbor, may serve at the same time as a safe retreat in case of an attack from the powerful kingdom on the east side; and it has proved so repeatedly, for Bagírmi in many places extends westward beyond that river. This is the only advantage which the country at present derives from the great bounty which nature has bestowed upon it,* viz., a river navigable during every season of the year, surrounding half the extent of the country, and sending through the middle of it a branch, the Báchikám, which is navigable during the greater part of the year, and might easily be made so all the year round. This branch, which approaches to within nine or ten miles of the capital,

* I must observe, however, that boats of the Kaleáma, or islanders of the southern part of the Tsád, sometimes carry corn as far as Búgomán.

forms part of the southern provinces into an island. The great disadvantage of Bagírmi is that there is no direct caravan road to the northern coast, and that it is therefore dependent for its supply of European and Arab manufactures upon the limited importation by the circuitous road through Wádáy or Bórnu; consequently, the price of merchandise is greatly enhanced, while the road, in case of hostilities with these latter kingdoms, is entirely interrupted.

If we now take a general view of the country, we find that in its present state it is inclosed within very narrow limits, extending in its greatest length, from north to south, to about 240 miles, while its breadth at the widest part scarcely exceeds 150 miles. Such a petty kingdom would be quite incapable of holding out against its two powerful neighbors if it were not for the resources drawn continually from the pagan countries toward the south.

This was the reason why the kingdom of the Bulála, or Leo's Gaoga, rose to such immense power as soon as it had taken possession of Kánem. The people of Bagírmi themselves in former times, evidently after the zenith of the Bórnu kingdom had passed away, and when the weak dominion of devout but indolent kings succeeded to the dashing career of energetic and enterprising princes, provided themselves with what they wanted in this respect in a rather unceremonious manner, by making constant predatory expeditions upon the caravan road from Fezzán to Bórnu, and carrying away a great amount of property, even a large supply of silver, this being said to have been the source from whence the treasure which 'Abd el Kerím Sabún, king of Wádáy, found in Más-eñá was derived. In another direction they formerly extended their excursions into the Bátta and Marghí country.

The whole country, as far as it constitutes Bagírmi proper, forms a flat level, with a very slight inclination toward the north, the general elevation of the country being about 950 feet above the level of the sea; only in the northernmost part of the country, north from a line drawn through Moító, there are detached hills or mountains, which constitute the water-parting between

the Fittrí and the Tsád, the two basins having no connection whatever with each other. But while Bagírmi proper appears to be a rather flat country, the outlying provinces to the south-east seem to be rather mountainous, the mountains, particularly the group called Gére, being so high that the cold is felt very severely, and hail or snow falls occasionally during the cold months. From the information of the natives, particularly when we take into consideration the description given of Belél Kolé, it would seem that in that direction there are some volcanic mountains. Toward the south, also, there must be considerable mountains which give rise to the three rivers the Bénuwé, the Shárí, and the River of Logón, and probably several more; but they must be at a great distance, and lie entirely beyond the range of my information. However, I am sure that there is no idea of perpetual snow, or even snow remaining for any length of time, in this part of the continent; and there seems to be no necessity whatever for supposing such a thing, as the fall of rain near the equator is fully sufficient to feed numbers of perennial sources, and to increase the volume of the rivers to such an extent as to annually overflow the country in so astonishing a manner. The time of the inundation of those three rivers seems to coincide exactly, while with regard to the currents, that of the River of Logón appears to be the most rapid.

The soil consists partly of lime ("añé") and partly of sand ("síñaka"), and accordingly produces either Negro millet (*Pennisetum*, "chéngo") or sorghum ("wá"), which two species of grain, with their different varieties, form the chief article of food not only of the people of Bagírmi, but almost all over Negroland. But besides this a great deal of sesamum ("kárru") is cultivated, which branch of cultivation imparts quite a different aspect to this country, as well as to many of the pagan countries, as numerous tribes seem to subsist chiefly upon this article. In many other districts of Bagírmi beans ("móngo") form one of the chief articles of food, but ground-nuts, or "búli," seem to be cultivated only to a very small extent.

Wheat is not cultivated at all, with the exception of a small patch in the interior of the capital, for the private use of the sul-

tan. Rice is not cultivated, but collected, in great quantities after the rains, in the forest, where it grows in the swamps and temporary ponds; indeed, a good dish of rice, with plenty of butter and meat, forms one of the few culinary luxuries which I have observed in Bagírmi. Another article of food in very general use is afforded by several varieties of grass or *Poa*, identical, I think, with the *Poa Abyssinica*, here called "chénna" by the black, and "kréb" by the red natives (I mean the Shúwa). The variety most common in Bagírmi is called "jójó," and is not only eaten by the poor people, but even by the rich; indeed, I myself am fully able to speak from experience concerning it, as, with the addition of a little rice, I subsisted on it almost entirely during my long stay in this country, and found it very palatable when prepared with plenty of butter, or even boiled in milk. Of course, it is a light food, and, while it does not cause indigestion, it does not satisfy the appetite for a long time, or impart much superfluous strength. As regards vegetables, molukhíya ("goñérmo," *Corchorius olitorius*) and derába or bámiya ("gobálto" and "géddegír") are mostly in use, besides the "góngo," the leaves of the monkey-bread-tree ("kúka"), and occasionally that of the hájilíj ("jánga"), which form the common palaver sauce of the poor. Watermelons ("gérlaka?") also are grown to some extent, and that sort of *Cucurbita* called *melopepo* ("kúrchi?"), which I have mentioned on a former occasion. Inside the capital a great many onions ("bassal") are cultivated, but not so much for the use of the natives as of the strangers who visit the place.

Of articles of industry, cotton ("nyére") and indigo (alíní") are grown to a sufficient extent to supply the wants of the natives; but both articles are chiefly cultivated by the Bórnu people who have immigrated into this country.

The soil in general seems to be of a good quality; but, as I have said above, the country suffers greatly from drought, and ants and worms contribute in a large measure to frustrate the exertions of the husbandman. Of the trees most common in the country, and most useful to mankind, I have principally to mention the tamarind-tree, or "'ardéb," called "más" by the

people of Bagírmi—a tree as useful for its fruit as it is beautiful on account of its foliage. The tamarind-fruit, in my opinion, constitutes the best and surest remedy for a variety of diseases, on account of its refreshing and cooling character. Next in order is the deléb-palm, here called "káwe," which is very common in several parts of the country, although far more so in the outlying provinces toward the south; the dúm-palm ("kolóngo"), which, although not so frequent, is nevertheless found in considerable numbers in many parts of the country; the hájilíj, or *Balanites Ægyptiaca* ("jánga"), of which not only the fruit is eaten, but the leaves also are used as vegetables, like those of the monkey-bread-tree—the latter does not seem to be very frequent; the kórna or *Cornus* ("kírna"), and the sycamore ("bíli"). Many trees very common in Háusa, such as the kadéña, or *Bassia Parkii*, and the dorówa (*Parkia*), are never seen here, at least not in those districts which I visited; but *Croton tiglium* ("habb el melúk") is frequent, and I myself took a supply of this powerful purgative with me on my return from this country.

There are no mines. Even the iron is brought from the exterior provinces, especially a place called Gúrgara, distant from twenty to twenty-five miles from the river, where the sandstone seems to contain a great deal of iron ore. Natron is brought from the Bahr el Ghazál.

With regard to the special features of the country, and the topography of the towns and villages, they will be described in a separate chapter;* here I will only say that the entire population of the country seems scarcely to exceed a million and a half, and the whole military force, in the present reduced state of the kingdom, can hardly be more than 3000 horse and 10,000 foot, including the Shúwa population, who surpass the black natives in breeding horses, while the cavalry of Wáday may be most correctly estimated at from 5000 to 6000, and that of Dár-Fúr at more than 10,000. The weapon most in use among them is the spear ("nyíga"), the bow ("ká-kesé") and arrow ("kesé") being rare, not only with the inhabitants of Bagírmi

* See Appendix VIII.

proper, but even with those of the pagan states to the south. Scarcely a single person has a shield, and they therefore use only the Kanúri name for this arm, viz., "ngáwa." Very few possess the more valuable coat of mail, or "súllug," and I scarcely observed a single fire-arm during my stay. But, on the other hand, almost all the pagan inhabitants of these regions are armed with that sort of weapon found in so many other countries which we have touched on our journey, viz., the hand-bill, or, as the Kanúri call it, the "góliyó" (here called "njíga," the difference between the name of this weapon and that of the spear consisting in one single letter). Very few of the Bagírmi people are wealthy enough to purchase swords ("káskara"), which they are not able to manufacture themselves; and few even wear that sort of dagger ("kiyá") on the left arm, which, in imitation of the Tawárek, has been introduced into a great part of Negroland.

As for their physical features, I have already touched on this subject repeatedly. I will only say that they are a fine race of people, distinct from the Kanúri, but intimately related, as their language shows, to the tribe of the Kúka and several other tribes to the east. Their language they themselves call "tar Bágrimma." Their adoption of Islám is very recent, and the greater part of them may, even at the present day, with more justice be called Pagans than Mohammedans. They possess very little learning, only a few natives, who have performed the pilgrimage, being well versed in Arabic, such as Bú-Bakr Sadík; but not a single individual possesses any learning of a wider range. This exists only among the Felláta, or foreigners from Wádáy. The only industrial arts in which they have made a little progress are those of dyeing and weaving, both of which they have also introduced into the kingdom of Wádáy, although in their own country a great deal of the weaving and dyeing is carried on by Kanúri people. Black tobes are worn by the men to a much greater extent than in Bórnu, even the bólne or túrkedi, which generally forms the only dress of the females, as well as the upper garment or "debdaléna," being dyed black. Tight shirts, or tarkíji, which in

Wádáy constitute the common female dress, are very rarely worn.

The government of the country is an absolute monarchy, being not tempered, as it seems, by an aristocratical element, such as we have found in Bórnu, nor even by such an assembly as we have met with in the Háusa states. The duties of the chief offices of state are, it appears, by no means distinctly defined, and are therefore left to the discretion or abuse of each official, as we have seen that the fácha under the reign of 'Othmán had assumed such a degree of power that he was capable of waging successful war for a long time against the king himself.

The title of the king is "bánga." The office of the "fácha" corresponds exactly with that of the "keghámma" in Bórnu. Then follows the office of the "ngarmáne," or the minister of the royal household; then that of the "ghelétma," a name which has originated in a corruption of the title "ghaladíma." Next comes the "gar-moyenmánge," the governor of the open pasture-grounds and forests; after him the "mílma," whose office is said to have been introduced from Bórnu, to whom succeed the "gar-ngóde," the "gar-ngínge," the "zérma," and the "kadamánge," the latter having originally the tutorship of the sons of the king. But besides these, the captains or "bárma," and the governors of the principal places, possess considerable power; and among the latter, especially the elífa Moító, or governor of Moító, while the officer of the water also, or elífa bá, exercises a great deal of authority. Of these courtiers the following have the privilege of using a carpet to sit upon: the fácha, the bárma, the ghelétma, the mílma, the gar-moyenmánge, the bang Busó, bang Dam, elífa Moító, and elífa bá. We have seen that the sultan, during his absence from the capital, had made one of the meanest of his courtiers, the kadamánge, his lieutenant governor.

The mother of the sultan, or the "kuñ-bánga," is greatly respected, but without possessing such paramount authority as we have seen to have been the case with the "mágira" in Bórnu, and as we shall find exercised by the móma in Wádáy. The claimant to the throne, who bears here the same title as in

Bórnu, viz., chiróma, enjoys a certain degree of influence, the limits of which are not circumscribed, but depend upon his natural qualifications.

Although the sultan here has so different a title from that of the King of Bórnu, nevertheless the princesses bear the same title as those of Bórnu, viz., "méram," a name which has even extended into the country of Wádáy.

As for the tribute which the king levies, and which is called "haden-bánga," the circumstances connected with my stay in the country did not allow me to arrive at a definite conclusion with regard to its amount, and I can only make a few general remarks upon it. The tribute levied upon the Mohammedan inhabitants of Bagírmi proper consists principally in two different kinds, viz., in corn and cotton-strips. The tribute in corn, which corresponds to the tsídirám maibe in Bórnu and the kúrdi-n-kassa in Háusa, is here called the mótten-bánga, or, as it is generally pronounced, mótten-bánki, while the tribute in cotton-strips bears the name "farda-n-bánga." But many places have to deliver also a tribute in butter, although the Shúwa, or, as they are here called, Shíwa (the native Arabs), are the principal purveyors of this article to the court.

The Shíwa of Bagírmi belong principally to the following tribes: Sálamát, Bení Hassan, Welád Músa (a very warlike tribe), Welád 'Alí, the Deghághera, who live scattered over the whole country, but occupy some villages almost exclusively for themselves. The principal tribute which these Arabs have to pay consists of cattle, and is called "jéngal;" it is very considerable. But whether these Arabs of Bagírmi, like those settled in Bórnu, have also to deliver to the king all the male horses, I am not quite sure; however, I think that is the case.

The most considerable tribute, however, which the sultan levies consists of slaves, which the tributary pagan provinces have to pay to him, especially the chiefs of Miltú, Dam, Sómray, and all the others of whose territories and power we obtain some information from the itineraries I have collected.* This tribute of slaves constitutes the strength and riches of the King

* See Appendix X.

of Bagírmi, who is always endeavoring to extend his sway over the neighboring pagan tribes.

The natives of Bagírmi are compelled to show to their sovereign a considerable degree of servile reverence; and when they approach him, they are obliged not only to be bare-headed, but also to draw their shirt from the left shoulder, and to sprinkle dust on their heads. But they are not in general oppressed, and a far greater liberty of speech is allowed than in many European states.

CHAPTER LII.

HOME JOURNEY TO KÚKAWA.—DEATH OF MR. OVERWEG.

August 10th. Although I had once cherished the idea of penetrating toward the upper course of the Nile, I was glad when I turned my face westward, as I had since convinced myself that such an enterprise was not possible under the present circumstances. I had been so many times deceived by the promise of my final departure, that when in the morning of that day a messenger from the zérma arrived with the news that I might get ready my luggage, I did not believe him, and would not stir till Zérma himself made his appearance and confirmed the news, assuring me that I should find the letter of the sultan, with regard to my security on a future visit, with Máina Sabún.

In consequence, I ordered my servants to get my luggage ready; but before I started I received a visit from a large number of courtiers, with an agíd at their head, in order to bid me farewell, and also to entreat me for the last time to sell to the sultan my fine "kerí-sassarándi" (horse). But this I was obliged to refuse, stating that I wanted the horse for myself, and that I had not come to their country as a merchant, but as a messenger. It had always been a subject of great annoyance to them that I refused to sell my horse, as all the people who visit this country from the other side of Bórnu are in the habit

of bringing horses with them expressly for sale. They revenged themselves, therefore, by giving me another nickname, as an ambitious and overbearing man—"dérbaki ngólo." But I would not have parted with the companion of my toils and dangers for all the treasures in the world, although it had its faults, and was certainly not then in the best condition. I had some foreboding that it might still be a useful companion on many an excursion; and it was, in reality, still to carry me for two years, and was to excite the envy both of my friends and enemies in Timbúktu as it had done here.

Having received the letter of the sultan, with the contents of which I could not but express myself highly satisfied,* I set fairly out on my journey; and my heart bounded with delight when, gaining the western gate, I entered the open country, and once more found myself at liberty.

The whole country was adorned with the most beautiful verdure, the richest pasture-grounds and fine corn-fields alternately succeeding each other; but as for the crop, the height which it had attained in the different fields varied greatly, it being in one field as high as five feet, and the seed just coming out, while in another field close by the young crop was only shooting out of the ground. This was in consequence of no rain having fallen in the beginning of the season for nearly a month, a circumstance which had deterred many people from confiding their seed to the ground. Farther on there was much cultivation of beans.

Having now no necessity for laying down the path, with which I was sufficiently acquainted, I could surrender myself entirely to the general impression of the landscape, the whole aspect of the country being greatly changed. Beyond the Fellàta village which I have mentioned on my outward journey we had to cross an extensive sheet of water, and the ground was often very difficult to pass with my camel, so that we were full of anxiety with regard to the swampy country of Logón. Indeed, the people who met us on the road did not fail to warn us that this was not the right animal for this season of the year; and

* I sent this letter, with the sultan's seal, to the Foreign Office at the time.

there is no doubt that pack-oxen, on account of their sure-footedness, have a great advantage in traveling during this part of the year, though they are difficult to get across the rivers.

We arrived at the well-known village of Bákadá just in time to escape a heavy tempest, which continued with slight interruption the whole of the afternoon; but, not finding my former host at home, I took possession of his hut on my own responsibility, and I afterward calmed the anger of my good old friend, whose hospitality was so often claimed by all the passers-by on this great high road, by presenting him with two fine white shirts. In fact, I sympathized with him very heartily, seeing that the whole host of people who had attached themselves to my troop importuned him for shelter during our stay here the following day, although I might have expected that he would have extended his hospitality to myself for a day longer, as we were to part forever, and as it was against my wish that I was delayed here. But such is the character of the Bagírmi people in their present reduced political and moral condition.

My companions were not yet quite ready. It rained the greater part of the following night. I had some trouble in making my people stir in the morning, and was really obliged to employ force in order to get our troop once more in motion. A European can form no idea how the energy of a traveler is paralyzed in these regions by the laziness of the natives.

At length we were on our road, and after a moderate march took up our quarters in Kólle-kólle. The quantity of rain which had fallen gave the country a very rich and exuberant appearance. Every where on the fields the long black worm called "halwési," which causes so much damage to the crops, was seen in extraordinary numbers. It was scarcely possible to recognize the villages, the whole appearance of which, from every side, we had been well acquainted with during the dry season, the tall crops now concealing the cottages entirely from view. The following day we reached Kókoroché, having fortunately crossed a very difficult bog without accident. The whole forest region, which did not contain a drop of water on my out-journey, was now converted into a continuous line of

swamps, and the whole surface was thickly covered with verdure. It is during this season that the Shúwa Arabs form here their temporary encampments.

In Kókoroché also we had another day's delay, till the messenger of the sultan arrived, who was to protect me against any further intrigues of the ferrymen, whom I regarded with more suspicion than any policeman or constable in Europe. Meanwhile, also, the wife of Gréma 'Abdú, who all this time had been staying with her father-in-law in Mústafají, joined us, and all further delay seemed to be at an end. Certainly such a visit of a married woman to her father's house can not but contribute to give Europeans a higher opinion of African domestic life. Indeed, people in Europe have little conception how cheerfully man and wife in these regions live together; and it was this amiable feature in his character which reconciled me in some degree to my companion, whom in other respects I greatly disliked.

August 15th. There had been a great deal of rain in the afternoon of the preceding day; and a heavy shower, which came on in the morning, and lasted full two hours, delayed our departure considerably. The distance which separated us from the river was not great; but the latter part of the journey was so bad that my camel threw off its load no less than six times, so that my servants were almost in despair, and did not join me till several hours after my arrival in the town of A'su, and when I had made myself already comfortable in an excellent hut, built of clay, neatly polished, but from which I felt sorry to have driven away two spinsters who had been its tenants.

Having rested a while, I went to obtain a sight of the river. Its magnitude had already surprised me when I first saw it on coming from Logón, and it had delighted me as often as I looked down upon it from the village of Mélé; but it was now greatly increased in size, forming a broad sheet of water not less than one thousand yards across, and dotted with several little islands, while the high and gradually-shelving shore on this side was clothed with rich crops of Egyptian corn or masr (*Zea maïs*). Several small canoes, or rather boats, were lying on the

shore, but I looked in vain for one large enough to carry my camel, as I was really afraid to trust it to the stream. However, I was glad to observe that the current was not very strong, and it did not seem to me to flow faster than from about two and a half to three English miles an hour. Unfortunately, to-day also the weather was very wet, so that strolling about was not so pleasant as it would otherwise have been.

A′su was formerly a walled town, but the walls at present exhibit the same signs of decay which characterize the whole country. However, the inhabitants, to whom the ferry is a constant source of profit, seemed to be tolerably at their ease. It is this village (which formerly appears to have been of much greater importance) after which the river is sometimes called the River *of* A′su; but it never ought to be called the River A′su. Here, also, there is an officer or inspector of the ferry, with the title of kashélla,* the same as in the village of Mélé.

Saturday, August 14th. We had first to follow the bank of the stream for a little more than a mile lower down, in order to reach the flat, sandy beach which I have mentioned above. At length, after a good deal of delay, the boats were brought and the passage began. Our horses went first, three or four swimming alongside each boat; but it was a difficult affair for the men who were sitting in the boats to manage them, and, notwithstanding all their exertions, and all the cries of those who were standing on the bank, several of them were washed away from the boats, and carried a considerable distance down the river by the current; one, a fine black horse, was drowned. It was the very latest period when the river is passable for horses, for during the whole of the month of September the people assured me that the passage was never attempted. I myself succeeded in crossing the river, with my horse and luggage, without any accident; and having fired a shot in order to express my satisfaction at having safely escaped from the hands of the superstitious Bagírmi people, I pursued my march without delay, for I was afraid of exposing my horse to the pernicious

* Kashélla is properly a Bórnu title, but it is in general use in these places along the western frontier.

stings of the "tsetse" fly, which, as I have observed before, proves extremely dangerous to the animal, but which fortunately infests only the very banks of the river, for I have observed it nowhere else. It is a large yellow species.

I had now entered again upon the territory of my friend Yúsuf, the Prince of Logón, and could, without any danger of molestation, freely move about. The weather was very wet, and I twice took refuge in small villages, which were situated in the midst of rich corn-fields, in order to escape a heavy shower. The whole district is called Mókoró, and comprises, besides several villages of lógodé Logón, or people of Logón, ten hamlets of Shúwa, in one of which we took up our quarters. These Shúwa, however, are not distinguished for hospitality, and it required a great deal of negotiation before I was allowed to make myself comfortable in one of these huts, which are very spacious indeed for these countries, being from 50 to 60 feet in diameter: they have, besides, a very remarkable peculiarity, being furnished with a large bed-room, if I may say so, which occupies the middle of the hut, and consists of a room raised about three feet from the ground, twenty feet long by six to eight feet wide, and the same in height, separated into several compartments, and encompassed all round with mattings of lattice-work made of fine reeds, in which branch of industry, as I have before observed, the people of Logón are very clever. The matting is of dark color, but upon my inquiring how they dyed it, I was not a little surprised to hear that it was done by dipping it into the black argillaceous soil. In this secluded room, which is called "ghurára," these people protect themselves against the innumerable swarms of musquitoes which infest these low, swampy regions during the night.

Of course, I could not have any pretensions to this distinguished place, which is reserved for the different members of the family, and I took my station upon a raised platform of clay at the side of the entrance, where I was a little annoyed by the musquitoes, although, the door having been shut at an early hour, and some cattle inside the hut attracting the attention of this cruel insect in a stronger degree, the numbers were sup-

portable. In other respects I was well treated, the landlord being a wealthy man of the name of A'dim, and his wife being even a princess or méram of Logón: she was a talkative and cheerful person. They regaled me with a small pancake soon after my arrival, and a dish of rice and milk in the evening. It was extremely interesting to witness the singular kind of living of these people, and to hear them talk their peculiar style of Arabic, which has not yet lost that profusion of vowels which originally characterized this language; but its purity has been greatly impaired by other peculiarities. They have some remarkable customs which connect them with their brethren in the East, especially the law of retaliation, or e' dhíye,* and the *infibulatio* of the young girls. These Arabs belong to the large tribe of the Sálamát.

Sunday, August 15th. After a march of about eight miles, through a country partly cultivated with Negro millet, partly forming an extensive swampy plain, we reached the River of Logón. On account of the great rising of the river, we had been obliged to follow, this time, an entirely different path from the one we had pursued on our outward journey. The scenery was greatly changed; and the little hollow which we had formerly crossed close behind our landing-place had now become a navigable branch of the river, on which several boats of considerable size were seen plying to and fro. The whole river now presented a very extensive sheet of water, unbroken by any sand-banks or islands, which, while it certainly was exceeded in breadth by the River Shárí, surpassed it in its turn in swiftness, the current being evidently more than three and a half miles an hour.

The town of Logón, with its palm-trees, of three different varieties, towering over the clay walls, invited me to its hospitable quarters; and as I was extremely anxious to reach Kúkawa without any further delay, I immediately crossed over (after

* With regard to this custom, Burkhardt's information (*Travels in Nubia*, 2d ed., Appendix I., p. 434) is very correct; but in general his information respecting the countries on the east side of the Tsád is marred with mistakes, not only with regard to the geography, but even the ethnology of these quarters, as he always confounds native and Arab tribes.

having made a small sketch, which is represented in the accompanying plate), in order that I might be able to pursue my journey the following day ; but upon paying a visit to the keghámma, I had great difficulty in persuading him to allow me to proceed, and at first he peremptorily refused to comply with my wish, saying that it would be dishonorable for his master to allow me to leave him empty-handed. But I chose rather to forego the opportunity of taking final leave of the prince Yúsuf, although I could not but feel sorry at not being able to wait till my hospitable host had prepared a few tobes for me, as specimens of the native manufacture.

It rained during the night and the following morning, and we had a difficult march through the deep, swampy grounds of Logón ; but we proceeded onward till three o'clock in the afternoon, when we made a halt about three quarters of a mile beyond U'lluf or Húlluf, the town before mentioned, the magic arts of whose people frightened my companions also this time, and prevented them from seeking shelter there. However, even in the village where we stopped we were badly received at first, and it was only by force that my companions could procure quarters, till I succeeded gradually in opening friendly relations with the man who had become my host so much against his will. I even, with the aid of a few of the large beads called nejúm, succeeded in buying fowls, milk, and corn, so that we were pretty much at our ease. The neighborhood is said to be greatly infested with thieves, and we therefore took all necessary precautions.

The following day I made A'fadé, passing by Kala, where I was surprised to find the swamp at present of much smaller dimensions than on my former journey, although the season was so far advanced. This is a very remarkable phenomenon, which receives its explanation from the circumstance that these swamps are fed by the inundations of the river, which, notwithstanding the rainy season, continue to recede till the river is again full, and once more inundates the country in the month of September. The latter part of the road to A'fadé was very swampy, almost the whole of that bleak kabé tract being under water.

Here my companions endeavored by all sorts of intrigues to detain me for a day or two; but, notwithstanding the hospitable treatment which I received from the governor of the place, I was too anxious to reach Kúkawa, and, ordering my servants to follow me as speedily as possible, I pursued my march the following morning without delay. But the roads were excessively bad, and we were obliged to take quite a different direction from the one by which we came, following a more northerly one in order to avoid the impassable swamps of the town of Rén, and the very difficult road of Ngála.

Having passed several larger or smaller villages, and innumerable swamps, we halted for the night, after a march of eleven hours, in a village inhabited by Shúwa and Felláta, and called Wángara, a name which is rather remarkable; but it required a long negotiation in order to obtain quarters, as these people, who rely upon the strongholds afforded them by the swampy neighborhood of the lake, are of a very independent character. But, having once made their acquaintance, we were hospitably treated. The bíllama of the village was a Tynjurawi, who had emigrated to this place from Móndo; but he did not understand the peculiar idiom of his tribe.

During my next day's march I led rather an amphibious life, being almost as much in the water as on the dry ground; for, besides being drenched by a heavy rain, which lasted the greater part of the day, I had to pass three considerable rivulets without the aid of a boat, and had twice to strip myself and swim my horse across, tying clothes and saddle on my head. The first rivulet we had to cross was the Múlu, about seven hundred yards beyond the small town called Legári, which belongs to Kashélla Belál; the second was probably the Mbulú, and identical with the river called Gumbalaram by Major Denham, beyond the village of Dágala, which lies on a small eminence. At the Múlu we had enjoyed the assistance of the inhabitants of Legári; but here I and my m'allem, with whom I had vigorously pushed on in advance, were left to our own resources, and the strong current of the rivulet, which was encompassed by steep banks about eight feet high, frightened my companion not

a little, till I stripped first, and, relying upon my experience as a swimmer, led the way. While endeavoring to cross over, we were fortunate enough to meet with a fisherman, who was floating about the river on a simple yoke of large gourds, such as I have described on a former occasion, and with his assistance we succeeded in getting our horses and clothes across without any accident. While engaged in this arduous business we were joined by Gréma 'Abdu, who, seeing that I was obstinate, and ashamed at not arriving in the capital together with us, had at length left his wife and slaves behind, and endeavored to keep up with us. We then continued our march through this swampy country, the rain falling in torrents, and near the village Hokkum reached the third rivulet, which, however, notwithstanding its rapidity, we were able to cross without dismounting, the water just reaching up to our saddles.

At length we left behind us the black argillaceous soil which constitutes the whole of this alluvial plain, and which at the present season was converted into one continuous swamp, fine sandy soil succeeding to it near the village of Gujári, so that from thence we pursued our march more cheerfully; and, having taken a small luncheon in the village Débuwa, we did not halt until we reached the village of Bogheówa, situated about a mile N.E. from Yédi. Here we were well lodged and hospitably treated, and were busy till late at night drying our wet clothes.

Friday, August 20th. We had now only one long day's march to Kúkawa; and, reaching the town of Ngórnu after six hours' ride, I had great trouble in dragging on my horsemen, who, being quite exhausted, wanted to make themselves comfortable with their friends, for the Bórnu men of the present day are not accustomed to much fatigue. Indeed, both my companions were so utterly prostrated in mind and body that, strange to say, they lost their road close to the capital, although certainly the high corn-fields gave the country a totally different appearance. The great pond of Kaine was now larger than I had ever seen it, and flooded the path to a great extent.

Having sent on a man in advance in order to announce my

arrival to the vizier and Mr. Overweg, I made a short halt near one of the many pools of stagnant water, and we were just about to remount when my friend came galloping up. We were both extremely glad to see each other again, having been separated from one another longer than on any former occasion; and they had received in Kúkawa very alarming news about my reception in Bagírmi. Mr. Overweg had made, meanwhile, a very interesting trip into the southwestern mountainous districts of Bórnu; he had returned from thence about two months previously, and I was surprised to find that, notwithstanding the long repose which he had enjoyed, he looked more weak and exhausted than I had ever seen him. But he informed me that since his return he had been very ailing, and that even at present he did not feel quite recovered. He gave me a very lively and encouraging description of the means which had been placed at my disposal, and with the most spirited projects for the future we entered the town. Here I once more found myself in my old quarters, with luxuries at my command which, during the last six months, had become almost strange to me, such as coffee with sugar, and tea with milk and sugar.

It was very fortunate that I had not arrived half a day later, for the caravan as well as the courier had gone, and not less than four days had passed since the departure of the latter, so that the people declared that it was not possible to send my letters after him. But the vizier, upon whom I called early the next morning, and who received me with great kindness, gave me three horsemen, who, he said, would overtake the courier, and as I had fortunately answered my letters and dispatches in Bagírmi, I had only to make up my parcel; but the horsemen did not overtake the courier till he had got forty miles beyond Ngégimi, in the very heart of the desert. My servants did not arrive until the evening of the following day, and they were in rather a sorry plight, having had great difficulty with my camel and luggage.

Monday, August 23d. We had a very important private audience with the sheikh, when, after the usual compliments were passed, I endeavored to give him a clear description of the pres-

ent relations of the expedition; for, when he expressed his wish that I might be appointed by her majesty as a consul, I declared to him that that could not be, but that it was my business to explore unknown countries, to open intercourse with them, and afterward to return to my native country; that it was the most ardent desire of her majesty's government to enter into the most friendly relations with Bórnu, but that our scientific mission extended far beyond that country. And I further explained to him that government, in their last dispatches, had expressed their wish that if we should ascertain the impossibility of penetrating in a southerly or easterly direction, we might turn westward and endeavor to reach Timbúktu.

This statement seemed to gratify him extremely, as he was afraid of nothing more than that we might go to Wádáy, and enter into friendly relations with the sultan of that country. It is from this point of view that I am quite sure that the vizier, at least, had done nothing to insure me a good reception in Bagírmi, if not the contrary. However, the sultan declared that, as he was greatly pleased at our desire to try our fortune in a westerly direction, he should not prevent us, even if we wanted to go to Wádáy, as it was stipulated expressly in the treaty that her Britannic majesty's subjects might go wherever they pleased, although it was not until a few days later that he actually signed the treaty, after numerous delays and evasions. I, however, expressed my wish that, before we left the country, circumstances might allow us to complete the survey and exploration of the Tsád, which was both our own wish and that of the British government. Our addresses and our presents having been received with equal affability, we took a hearty leave, and returned home. On the last day of August the sultan signed the treaty, expressing moreover the hope that, if merchants should actually visit the country in quest of other merchandise than slaves, the slave-trade might be gradually abolished.

I was now enabled to arrange all our money-matters, which were in a very confused and desperate state; for, besides the large debt due to the merchant Mohammed e' Sfáksi, we were

indebted to the vizier alone for 500 Spanish dollars. Not being able to satisfy all our creditors with ready money, there having been sent only 1050 dollars in cash, I arranged with the merchant, giving him 200 dollars in cash, and a bill for 1500 dollars on Fezzán, while I paid all the smaller debts, as well as that of the vizier. Indeed, we might now have been able to achieve a great deal if it had been our destiny to remain together; for in the beginning almost all our efforts were paralyzed by the smallness of our means, which did not allow us to undertake any thing on a large scale; but it was our destiny that, when sufficient supplies had arrived, one of us should succumb.

I have already observed that, when on my return I met my companion before the gates of the capital, I was surprised at his exhausted appearance, and I was sorry to find that my first impression was confirmed by what I saw afterward. As he himself was anxious for a little change of air, and as it was entirely in accordance with our object of exploring the lake, to observe the state of the komádugu at this season, while it was not possible at present to enter upon any great undertaking, we agreed that he should make a small trip to the lower part of the river; and he left, accordingly, for A'jiri on the 29th of August, in company with a small grandee or kókana, to whom the place belonged, a short distance westward from the district of Dúchi. I accompanied him about as far as the village of Dáwerghú, and we separated with a firm hope that the excursion would do him a great deal of good—and he really enjoyed extremely the rich vegetation of the komádugu, which at this time of the year, during the rising of the river, was in its full vigor. He learned, by inquiry from the natives, the very interesting fact that the water in the komádugu, which during the dry season is limited to detached pools of stagnant water, begins to form a continuous stream of water eastward toward the Tsád on the 21st or 22d of July, and continues running for about seven months; that is to say, till about the middle of February. It begins to overflow its banks in the month of November. But, although my companion took great interest in the objects around him, he could not have felt very strong, as the notes which he

wrote during this excursion are extremely short and unsatisfactory, while it would have been of importance if he had been able to lay down the course of the river with tolerable exactitude. Moreover, in his feeble condition, he committed the mistake of forcing his last day's march in returning to Kúkawa on the 13th of September, and I was sorry to observe, when we supped together that evening, that his appetite greatly failed him.

Being fully aware of the unhealthiness of the climate during the month of September, we agreed by common consent to keep moving about as much as possible, and to take a ride every day to some distance. It was on this account that we arranged a visit to Dáwerghú on Sunday, the 20th; but, unfortunately, some business which we had to transact prevented our setting out at an early hour in the morning, and, my friend's head being that day rather affected, I proposed to him putting off our excursion till another day; but he thought that the fresh air might do him good. We therefore started in the heat of the day, although the sun was not very bright, while my companion did not neglect to protect his head as well as possible from the rays of the sun.

Having refreshed ourselves in the cool shade of a fine hájilíj, Mr. Overweg thought himself strong enough to go about shooting, and was so imprudent as to enter deep water in pursuit of some water-fowl, and to remain in his wet clothes all the day without saying a word; and I only became aware of this fact late in the evening, after we had returned to the town, when he dried his wet clothes at the fire.

Although he had been moving about the whole day, he was not able to enjoy our simple supper; but he did not complain. However, the next morning he felt so weak that he was unable to rise from his couch; and instead of taking a sudorific, which I most earnestly advised him to do, he was so obstinate as not to take any medicine at all, so that his illness increased with an alarming rapidity, and rather an alarming symptom appeared on the following day, when his speech became quite inarticulate and almost unintelligible. He then became aware himself of the dangerous state he was in. He informed me that in the

town he should never recover, that it was absolutely necessary for him to get a change of air, and that he entertained the hope that, if I could take him to Máduwári, he might speedily regain his health in the house of our friend, the kashélla Fúgo 'Alí.

It was a difficult task to take my sick companion to the desired place, which is distant from Kúkawa more than eight miles; and though he began his journey on Thursday morning, he could not reach the desired place until the morning of Friday. Having made a present to our friend Fúgo 'Ali, that he might be induced to take sufficient care of him, and having left the necessary orders, I returned to the town in order to finish my dispatches; but the same evening one of the servants whom I had left with Mr. Overweg came and informed me that he was much worse, and that they were unable to understand a single word he said. I mounted immediately, and found my friend in a most distressing condition, lying outside in the court-yard, as he had obstinately refused to sleep in the hut. He was bedewed with a cold perspiration, and had thrown off all his coverings. He did not recognize me, and would not allow me or any one else to cover him. Being seized with a terrible fit of delirium, and muttering unintelligible words, in which all the events of his life seemed to be confused, he jumped up repeatedly in a raging fit of madness, and rushed against the trees and into the fire, while four men were scarcely able to hold him.

At length, toward morning, he became more quiet, and remained tranquilly on his couch; and, not becoming aware that his strength was broken, and hoping that he might have passed the crisis, I thought I might return to the town. After asking him if he had any particular desire, he said that he had something to tell me; but it was impossible for me to understand him, and I can only fancy, from what happened, that, being aware that death was at hand, he wanted to recommend his family to me.

At an early hour on Sunday morning Mr. Overweg's chief servant came to me with the sad news that the state of my friend was very alarming, and that since I had left him he had not spoken a word, but was lying motionless. I mounted im-

mediately on horseback; but, before I reached the place, I was met by a brother of Fúgo 'Ali, who, with tears in his eyes, told me that our friend was gone. With the dawn of day, while a few drops of rain were falling, after a short struggle, his soul had departed.

In the afternoon I laid him in his grave, which was dug in the shade of a fine hájilij, and well protected from the beasts of prey. Thus died my sole friend and companion, in the thirtieth year of his age, and in the prime of his youth. It was not reserved for him to finish his travels, and to return home in safety; but he met a most honorable death as a martyr to science; and it is a remarkable fact that he found himself a grave on the very borders of that lake by the navigation of which he has rendered his name celebrated forever. It was certainly a presentiment of his approaching death which actuated him in his ardent desire to be removed to this place, where he died hard by the boat in which he had made his voyage. Many of the inhabitants of the place, who had known him well during his repeated visits to the village, bitterly lamented his death, and no doubt the "tabíb," as he was called, will long be remembered by them.

Dejected, and full of sad reflections on my lonely situation, I returned into the town in the evening; but our dwelling, which during my stay in Bagírmi my companion had greatly improved, and embellished by whitewashing it with a kind of gypsum, of which he found a layer in our court-yard, now appeared to me desolate and melancholy in the extreme. While, therefore, originally it had been my plan to make another trial along the eastern shores of the Tsád, any longer stay in this place had now become so intolerable to me that I determined to set out as soon as possible on my journey toward the Niger—to new countries and new people.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX I.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE, CONTAINING A LIST OF THE SE'FUWA, OR KINGS OF BO'RNU DESCENDED FROM SE'F, WITH THE FEW HISTORICAL FACTS AND EVENTS UNDER THEIR RESPECTIVE REIGNS THAT HAVE COME TO OUR KNOWLEDGE.

[The length of the reigns is given in lunar years.]

SÉF, [said to be] son of Dhu Yazan and of a woman of Mekka. Died at Sámina, a place in the territory of the Dájó (?)* Reigned 20 years.

Is said to have come to Kánem, where he founded a new dynasty, and reigned over several tribes, viz., the Berbers (Begháma?), Tebu or Tedá, Kánembú, and others. Imám A'hmed states expressly that he came to Njímiye.

IBRAHÍM or BÍRAM, son of Séf and 'Aáisha. Reigned 16 years.

"Father of the Sultan."—*Imám A'hmed.*

DÚKU or DÚGU, son of I'brahím and Ghafalúwa, of the tribe of the Kaye. Died at Yéri A'rfasá, a place said by the Bórnu people (I have no doubt erroneously) to lie S. from Túburi, in the Músgu country. We shall find a place Yira in Kánem. Reigned [250] (?) years; probably second half of the 9th century A.D.

Seems to be generally recognized as the first king of this dynasty; and for this reason, his father I'brahím is called "father of the Sultan." There is still in Bórnu a numerous family called Dúguwa, who refer their origin to Dúgu; and it would seem that Dúguwa is the name which really belongs to the dynasty, as is intimated by the chronicle itself further on.

FUNÉ, son of Dúgu. Died at Malána, a place in Kánem. Reigned 60 years.

A powerful and successful prince.

ARITSÓ, son of Funé and Fukálshi. Reigned 50 years.

KATÚRI, son of Aritsó ben Funé. Died at Kaluwána. Reigned [250] (?) years.

ADYÓMA, AYÓMA, or WAYÁMA, son of Katúri and Tumáyu, of the tribe of the Bení Ghalgha. Died at Tatnúri, with an uncertain surname, Bereríya. (Berberíya?) Reigned 20 years.

His reign evidently falls in the last years of the 4th and the first of the 5th century of the Hejra; most probably in 390–410, or A.D. 1000–1019.

BULÚ, son of Adyóma and Ghanjáya, of the tribe of the Kaye. Died at Dheghjabadmi or Meghjibadmi. Reigned 16 years.

* See Edrísí, translated by Jaubert, vol. i., p. 25, 119. Jaubert reads Semnah; but the name Sámina is of frequent occurrence on the border of Negroland.

A'RKI, son of Bulú and Azisenna, of the tribe of the Temágheri. Died at Rílana or Zílana. Reigned 44 years.

Had plenty of slaves, of whom he settled 300 in Dirká (probably Dirki), 300 in Síggedim, both in Kawár; and 300 in Rílana or Zílana, the place where he died. From this it is evident that he was master of the Tebu country.

SHÚ or HÚWA,* son of A'rki and Tefsú, of the tribe of the Temágheri. Died at Ghanta Kamna. Reigned 4 years.

Distinguished by his fine figure. If we knew that he "reigned by a viceroy or khalífa," we should conclude that he was an effeminate man; but that is only M. Blau's misapprehension.†

SELMA or 'ABD EL JELÍL, son of Shú and of a woman of the tribe of the Ghemarma (Maghárma?). Died at Ghumzú, with the surname Ridha (?). Reigned 4 years.

Was the last king of the dynasty of the Dúguwa or Bení Dúgu, if we understand this name as coincident with idolatry. For although the chronicle distinguishes plainly between the Bení Dúgu and the Bení Humé, nevertheless it is evident that Humé, the successor of 'Abd el Jelíl, and the first Mohammedan king of Kánem, was his son. It is therefore clear that Bení Humé means nothing else than the Mohammedan kings, as contradistinguished from the Dúguwa, the pagans.‡

HUMÉ or UMÉ, son of 'Abd el Jelíl and Tikramma, of the tribe of the Kaye. Died at Masr (Egypt). Reigned 12 years: A.H. 479–490; A.D. 1086–1097.

Founded a new dynasty by the profession of Islám. Makrízi's (*Hamaker*, p. 206) statement, that the first Mohammedan king of Kánem was Mohammed Ben Jebel (or rather Jíl), refers most probably to the later dynasty of Kánem, namely, the Bulála, while he counted all the members of this and the older Bórnu dynasty together, and made up the number of forty kings who had preceded him. (See what I have said above on this point, p. 22.) The missionary who introduced Islám into Kánem, according to the same Makrízi, was Hádí el 'Othmání. From the place where Humé died, it may be inferred that he intended, or even accomplished, a pilgrimage.

DÚNAMA, son of Humé and Kintá, of the tribe of the Tebu or Tedá (not Tíh). Died in Egypt, or rather the Gulf of Suez. Reigned 55 years: A.H. 491–545; A.D. 1098–1150.

A very powerful king; according to the chronicle, the most powerful of the Bení Humé, who had a strong and very numerous army, horse and foot, and made thrice the pilgrimage to Mekka with a numerous retinue. Having excited the suspicions of the inhabitants of Egypt, he is said to have been drowned by them when embarking at Suez for Mekka; and in the very turbulent state in which Egypt was at that time, under the reign of e' Dhafer be ámr-Illah, this is

* The name of Húwa, as the name of a man, appears also in Imám A'hmed's history.

† ولي بالخليفة means only he ascended the throne, the Bórnu people regarding the dignity of the ruler of Kánem as a khalifate.

‡ It is very remarkable, and confirms the dates of the chronicle marvelously, that El Bekri, who wrote toward the end of the dynasty of the Dúguwa, in the reign of A'rki, A.D. 1067, says expressly (p. 456) that the inhabitants of Kánem were at that time idolaters.

by no means so improbable as it might otherwise appear to be. The capital Njímiye, notwithstanding the strength of the empire, seems to have been at that time still a very small place.*

Bíri, son of Dúnama and Fasáme, of the tribe of the Kaye. Died at Ghamtilú? Bela Ghanna (billa ghaná?). Reigned 27 years: A.H. 546–572; A.D. 1151–1176.

Seems to have been at first entirely under the influence of his mother, who even imprisoned him. If he had not much energy, he must have been at least a very learned man, for Imám A'hmed calls him "el fáki e' táki," p. 31; and it would seem from the report of the chronicle that part of the ceremonial of the court dates from his time, even if through the influence of his mother.

'Abd Allah or Dála, son of Bíkoru ben Bíri and of Zíneb, of the tribe of the Tebu or Tubu (not Túba). Died at Fafsa. Reigned 17 years: A.H. 573–589; A.D. 1177–1193.

Selma or 'Abd el Jelíl, son of Bíkoru and Húwa, of the tribe of the Débirí. Died at Jejéska Ghazrwána. Reigned 28 years: A.H. 590–617; A.D. 1194–1220.

As he lived in the most flourishing period of the Bení Háfis, the Tunisian princes who, by their friendship, are said to have occasioned the ascendency of the Bórnu kings over the whole desert,† he must have been one of the most powerful of the latter. He is said to have been the first *black* king of this dynasty, all the Bórnu kings before him having had a light complexion like the Arabs. But this latter assertion seems to be contradicted by the fact that a preceding king had borne the name of Selma or Tselma, which means "the black" (properly tsélima), from tsélim or tsílim, "black."

Dúnama or A'hmed, son of Selma and Díbalá (therefore his full name Díbalámi Dúnama Selmámi), of the tribe of the Maghárma. Died at Zamtam, a little W. from Ghambarú. Reigned 40 years: A.H. 618–657; A.D. 1221–1259.

A very warlike prince, who waged many wars, which were generally conducted by his sons, who in consequence formed themselves into parties and factions. His strength, like that of his ancestor Dúnama, seems to have consisted chiefly in cavalry, of which he is said in the chronicle to have possessed 41,000; but, according to the more credible testimony of Wanúma Mohammed Ghaná, cited by Imám A'hmed (p. 77, 78), he had 30,000; and that ought not to appear so exaggerated, although the king in Leo's time had only 3000, for that was a very different period, when the empire was almost ruined. Dúnama's most celebrated deed of which we are informed is the war he waged against the Tebu for more than seven years; according to tradition, 7 years, 7 months, and 7 days. And it is most probable that it was this enterprising and restless king who extended the empire of Kánem over the whole of Fezzán, a state of things which lasted till about the middle of the 14th century.‡ He likewise is the king who, in the

* Edrísí, translated by Jaubert, vol. i., p. 24, where انجمى is to be read instead of الحمى.

† E'bn Khaldún, *l. c.*

‡ A'bú 'l Fedá, texte Arabe, p. 245, compared with p. 127, where in speaking of Wadán, he says distinctly, و الجميع الان فى طاعة ملك الكانم "And the whole of

time of E'bn S'aíd, A.H. 650 (A.D. 1252–3), invaded the well-watered populous country of Mabiná,* which it is difficult to identify, although the name bears some resemblance to Fúmbiná, the indigenous name of A'damáwa, while the geographer's account of the situation of that country agrees well with Fúmbiná; but we shall find another name closely related to it. It is also E'bn S'aíd who first calls Bórnu—that is, the country on the southwestern side of the Tsád as far as Díkowa—part of Kánem. The empire of Kánem at that time extended, according to Imám A'hmed, from the Nile, near Dhúwi, as far as the rivulet Baramuwása, in the west, which most probably is identical with what Clapperton (Second Journey, p. 63) calls the River Moussa (bahr Músa), the river which divides the territories of Yóruba and Bórgu, and we may add, from Mábiná in the south to Wadán in the north. (See what I have said, p. 22; also, with regard to the present sent by the King of Bórnu to the ruler of Tunis in A.H. 665.) But Dúnama laid the foundation for the ensuing disasters of the empire by opening, as the Bórnu people say, the "munni" or "talisman of Bórnu." What it was it is difficult to say;† but what it meant may be more easily conjectured, chiefly from the words of the Imám A'hmed, who expresses himself thus (p. 123, 124): "When the thing which was in it (the talisman) escaped, it called forth and provoked every powerful man to ambition and intrigues, in the government and in high charges." Indeed, from this time, civil wars, murders of kings, and changes in the dynasty succeeded each other without interruption.

"The true faith, in his time," according to E'bn S'aíd, "was largely disseminated in Kánem"—a remarkable change effected since the time when El Bekri wrote his account. It was under his reign (A.H. 640) that the inhabitants of Kánem built the Médreset E'bn Rashik at Cairo, where their travelers might alight.‡

Kadé or 'Abd el Kadím, son of Dúnama (?) and Máthala, of the tribe of the Meghárma. Died at Dhurríya Ghimútú. Reigned 29 years: A.H. 658–686; A.D. 1259–1285.

Murdered by a man of the name of 'Andákama Dúnama. We know nothing further of his reign.

Bíri (I'brahím), son of Dúnama and Zineb, of the tribe of the Lekmamma. Died at Njímiye. Reigned 20 years: A.H. 687–706; A.D. 1288–1306.

"A conqueror," but unfortunately it is not known in what quarter he made his conquests. It is an important fact, gleaned from the chronicle, that two

the country is at present under the dominion of the King of Kánem." In the time of Makrízi the empire of Kánem extended from Zála, the well-known place eight days' march from Aújila, and the same distance from the syrtis (Edrísi, p. 288; A'bú 'l Fedá, p. 128), as far as Kaká (Gógo), on the meridian of Maghreb el aúsat.—*Quatremère, Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, vol. ii., p. 28.

* E'bn S'aíd, cited by Makrízi. Hamaker, Specimen Catal., p. 206. It is to be remarked that in both instances where the name is mentioned, a ع precedes, which might have taken away the ب.

† Mr. Blau (p. 311), in translating this passage of the chronicle, which he did not understand, has made a most ridiculous mistake.

‡ Makrízi, in Burckhardt's Travels in Nubia, Appendix III., p. 450; Quatremère, Mémoires sur l'Egypte, vol. ii., p. 28.

religious chiefs of the Fúlbe or Felláta of Mélle came to him.* Known to Makrízí.

(I'BRAHÍM) NIKÁLE, son of (Bíri) I'brahím and of Kakúdi, of the tribe of the Kúnkuna. Died at Dískama, a place on the Bórnu River, one day's march from the later capital, or Bírni. Reigned 20 years: A.H. 707–726; A.D. 1307–1326.

Killed one of his sons, who most probably had revolted against him; was murdered himself, and thrown into the River Wáú, the so-called Yeou, by Yeráma Mohammed. From the title "Háj" given to him by Makrízi, we see that he made a pilgrimage to Mekka.

'ABD ALLAH, son of Kadé and Fátima. Died at Njímiye. Reigned 20 years: A.H. 727–746; A.D. 1326–1345.

A just prince, who, having punished the murderers of the former king, and after having successfully vanquished his rival, the Bagharíma (see further down, and not as Blau, p. 326, n. 18, translates, "Prince of Bagharmi," a state not existing at that time), seems to have established his power with a strong hand.

SELMA, son of 'Abd Allah and of Kamma. Died at Yúsub. Reigned 4 years: A.H. 747–750; A.D. 1346–1349.

Fell in a war with the Só, or Soy,† the original inhabitants of the greater part of the country between the Wáú (Yeou) and the Shárí. This powerful nation, whom the former kings seem to have greatly reduced, but without taking and destroying their strongholds, appears to have risen at that period in a successful war against their aggressors, vanquishing and killing four successive Bórnu kings, all sons of the unfortunate 'Abd Allah, whom an afflicted mother is said to have cursed.

KURÉ GHANÁ, son of 'Abd Allah. Died at Ghaliwá (?). Reigned 1 year: A.H. 751; A.D. 1350.

Vanquished and killed by the Só.

KURÉ KURÁ, son of 'Abd Allah. Died at Ghaliwá. Reigned 1 year: A.H. 752; A.D. 1351.

Vanquished and killed by the Só, at the same place as his brother and predecessor.

MOHAMMED, son of 'Abd Allah. Died at Nánigham. Reigned 1 year: A.H. 753; A.D. 1352.

Vanquished and killed by the Só.

EDRÍS, son of Nikále (I'brahím) and Hafsa. Died at Njímiye. This is the current tradition; but some maintained that he died at Dámmasak.‡ Reigned 25 years: A.H. 754–778; A.D. 1353–1376.

* Mr. Blau has also misunderstood this passage. بيلدهم ملى means nothing else but that their native country was Melle.

† Mr. Blau, of course, who had no knowledge of the Soy, must be excused for having read in all these passages سوق, although the second و belongs to the following sentence, the dots in his copy being added by negligence.

‡ The place Dámmasak may still be identified from a basin of the komádugu which has been called after it. It is at present generally called Fátoghaná (see *ante*, vol. i., p. 582).—*Denham* (who writes Dúmmasak), vol. i., p. 160; but in the map the name is correctly spelled from Clapperton's account.

Reigned in the middle of A.D. 1353 (A.H. 754), when E'bn Batúta, who calls him King of Bórnu, returned from his visit to Mélle and Sónghay by way of Tekádda. It is evident that the sons of 'Abd Allah having all died, the royal dignity reverted to the family of Nikále (I'brahím). Whether Edrís was more successful than his predecessors against the Só we are not informed, nor do we know any thing of his reign; and, indeed, the great uncertainty which prevails as to the place where he died seems to intimate rather a quiet reign, at least as regards its latter period, though, as Dámmasak was one of the chief strongholds of the Só, it would have been of some importance for us to know positively whether he died there.

He made a pilgrimage to Mekka, and is therefore called "Háj Edrís" by Makrízi.

Dáúd, son of Nikále (I'brahím) and Fátima, a sister of Hafsa, the mother of his brother and predecessor Edrís. Died at Mélfala. Reigned 10 years: A.H. 779–788; A.D. 1377–1386.

A very important, but rather unfortunate reign, bearing the germs of the expulsion of the Bórnu dynasty from Kánem, their original seat, and of the transference of their residence to Bórnu. The successful aggressors were the Búlala (as the name is written in the chronicle), or rather Bulála (as Imám A'hmed constantly writes it, and as the name is pronounced generally), who, originating from a branch line of the royal family of Kánem, by their forefather Jíl Shikomémi (a son of Dúnama Díbalámi?), had founded a powerful principality in the territory of Fittrí ("the lake"), over the numerous tribes of the Kúka (Leo's Gaoga). As to the period of the rise of this dynasty we have the distinct testimony of Imám A'hmed that it was after the time of Dúnama Díbalámi.*

Weakened by a civil war with one or more of his sons, who, having been beaten, seem to have taken refuge with the pagans of the tribe of Ghammúwa, where Edrís Alawóma found their progeny, Dáúd ben Nikále was driven out of Njímiye, the old capital, and finally killed by 'Abd el Jelíl, the Bulála king.

'Othman, son of Dáúd. Died at Njímiye. Reigned 4 years: A.H. 789–792; A.D. 1387–1390.

Seems to have waged the war with the Bulála at first with some success, and even to have retaken Njímiye, when he likewise succumbed. He, as well as his successor, became known to Makrízi.

'Othmán, son of Edrís and Famáfa. Reigned 2 years: A.H. 793–794; A.D. 1391–1392.

Sustained the struggle for two years, when he met the same fate as his uncle and his cousin. During this time there was a prince in Háusa, or Afunú, called Mastúr, in a certain degree of dependency on Kánem. (Makrízi.)

A'bú Bakr Liyátu, son of Dáúd. Died at Shefiyári, in Kánem. Reigned 9 months: A.H. 795; A.D. 1392.

Was killed by the Bulála, after a reign of a few months.

'Omár, son of Edrís. Died at Demaghíya (not, as it seems, Maghíya). Reigned 5 years: A.H. 796–800; A.D. 1394–1398.

* P. 77 of my MS. copy.

This prince was at length so hardly pressed by the Bulála that he finally, with the consent of his 'ulama, gave up Kánem entirely, transferring his residence to Kaghá, a district of some forty miles in extent, between Újé and Gújeba, notorious in Bórnu as the refuge of every defeated party during the civil wars, where they went to recruit their strength. And though, in the course of time, Bórnu recovered from intestine troubles, and flourished once more under mighty princes, who even vanquished the Bulála, none of them ever returned to Kánem in order to fix his residence there.

S'AÍD. Died at Dekakíya. Reigned 1 year: A.H. 801; A.D. 1398–9.

A usurper, as it would seem; for the chronicle does not give him the usual title of sultan, but calls him merely "melek," and does not name his father. Nevertheless, he must be reckoned in the list of the Bórnu kings. The Bulála, not content with having wrested Kánem from the hands of their enemies, followed them into their new retreat, and vanquished and killed S'aíd near Dekakíya.

KADÉ A'FUNÚ, son of Edrís. Died at Ghadhurú (?) (not Ghumuzú). Reigned 1 year: A.H. 802; A.D. 1399–1400.

Fell likewise in the war with the Bulála in the course of a year, having, as it would seem, resumed the offensive. Why the surname "A'fnó" or "A'funú" was given to him is not clear; perhaps from his mother being of A'fno (Háusa) origin.

BÍRI, son of Edrís. Died at Kanántú (in Bagharmi?). Reigned 33 years: A.H. 803–835; A.D. 1400–1432.

A long reign, after several short and unfortunate ones; but the only fact with regard to it of which we are informed, namely, a civil war between the king and the keghámma or seraskier, Mohammed ben Diltu, is not of a kind to give an idea of repose and happiness. The ensuing period of the history of Bórnu may be called a period of civil war and of the greatest distress.

'OTHMÁN KALNAMA, son of Dáúd. Died at A'funú, Kanó.* Reigned 9 months: A.H. 836; A.D. 1432.

Succumbed, after a short reign of a few months, to the party of the keghámma Nikále ben Ibrahím and the yerima Kadé; and, deprived of his throne, he appears to have been obliged to seek refuge in the A'fnó (Háusa) province of Kanó, where he died, or more probably was killed.

DÚNAMA, son of 'Omár. Died at Nánigham. Reigned 2 years: A.H. 836–838; A.D. 1433–4.

Was murdered after a short reign.

'ABD ALLAH or DÁLA, son of 'Omár, with the surname Dakumúni. Died at Famelfa. Reigned 8 years: A.H. 838–846; A.D. 1435–1442.

Was embroiled in a civil war with the keghámma 'Abd Allah Dighelma, who even dethroned him, and made I'brahím, the son of 'Othmán, king, but, on the death of the latter, restored him to the throne. The eight years attributed to his reign by the negligently-written chronicle seem to comprise the two periods of his reign before and after I'brahím; or it must be understood that I'brahím placed 'Abd Allah again upon the throne after the death of keghámma.

* The name is clearly written in my MS.; and there is not the least doubt that Kanó is meant. Blau, *l. c.*, reads Kuttu.

I'BRAHÍM, son of 'Othmán. Died at Zamtam, one day N. from Ghámbarú. Reigned 8 years: A.H. 846–854; A.D. 1442–1450.

Seems to have excited the discontent of his subjects by neither keeping a regular court nor showing himself to his people. After a reign of eight years he was murdered by Kadé (his brother?). Though this is the only king of the name of I'brahím in the list of Bórnu kings of the end of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century, it is evident that he could not have been a contemporary of Leo Africanus, and that the latter erred, from lapse of memory, in the account of Africa which he composed several years after his visit to those countries, in calling the king who reigned over Bórnu during the time of his visit I'brahím.

KADÉ, son of 'Othmán. Died at Amará or Amazá. Reigned 1 year: A.H. 854–5; A.D. 1450–1.

Succumbed, after a short reign, to a rival, Dúnama, son of Bíri.

DÚNAMA, son of Bíri. Died at Aghakúwah. Reigned 4 years: A.H. 855–859; A.D. 1451–1455.

MOHAMMED, son of Mátala. Died at Mazá. Reigned 5 months: A.H. 859; A.D. 1455.

MER or AMER, son of 'Aáisha, daughter of 'Othmán. Died at Tármata. Reigned 1 year: A.H. 860; A.D. 1456.

MOHAMMED, son of Kadé. Died at Meghjibád-Nerí-Kerbúri (?).

A very cruel and sanguinary prince; probably reigned but a very short time, only a few days.

GHAJÍ, son of Amála or Imáta. Died at Matakla Ghamer. Reigned 5 years: AH. 861–865; A.D. 1456–1461.

Defeated in battle, and killed by Mohammed, son of 'Abd Allah, the king of Kánem.

'OTHMAN, son of Kadé. Died at Mikidhá. Reigned 5 years: A.H. 866–870; A.D. 1461–1466.

Notwithstanding his excellent qualities as a prince, he was dethroned in consequence of a civil war with 'Alí Ghajidéni, who, though he apparently had the upper hand, by some unknown circumstances, or from some unknown reasons of his own, to which we have no key, allowed another person to occupy the throne that had thus become vacant.

'OMÁR, son of 'Abd Allah. Died at Ghomtalú (Reká?). Reigned 1 year: A.H. 871; A.D. 1466.

A despotical reign, spent in dispute with a more powerful and successful rival, Mohammed ben Mohammed, who, in the course of a year, gained the upper hand, and probably killed 'Omár.

MOHAMMED, son of Mohammed. Died at Breda.* Reigned 5 years: A.H. 872–876; A.D. 1467–1471.

A courageous and powerful prince.

'ALÍ, son of Dúnama, known generally in Bórnu under the name of Mai 'Alí Ghajidéni. Died at Ghasréggomo. Reigned 33 years: A.H. 877–909; A.D. 1472–1504.

* Thus the name is clearly written in my copy; but in another copy it seems to be Bérberá.

A glorious reign, beginning a new epoch in the history of Bórnu. First of all, 'Alí Ghajidéni made an end of the civil wars which had torn and wasted the kingdom for so long a period, having vanquished and killed his old rival 'Othmán ben Kadé, whom he had formerly dethroned, and who began the struggle once more. He then restored the equilibrium between the different officers of high rank, the excessive power of some of these officers, particularly that of the keghámma,* having been the principal cause of all those disturbances; and in order to concentrate the government, he built a large capital, Ghasréggomo, generally called Birni, the future residence of the kings of Bórnu, on the River Wáú, three days west from the modern town Kúkawa; for until this period the Bórnu people lived only in temporary encampments in the conquered country, although Nánigham had been the ordinary residence of the kings. It was in this king's reign, doubtless, that Leo visited Bórnu; and it is by this author that we are informed of one of the many wars which the prince carried on, who, on this account alone, of all the kings of Bórnu, seems to have obtained the surname "El Ghází"—"the warrior," or rather "the conqueror." Wángara—that is, the country of the Eastern Mandingoes, about the name and extent of which we shall not leave any doubt in our further inquiries—seems, indeed, to be rather distant from Bórnu, particularly if it be taken into consideration that the nearest provinces were ill subjected; but if the Baramuwása be identical, as can scarcely be doubted, with the frontier river between Bórgu and Yóruba, Wángara was close to the western frontier of the tributary provinces of Bórnu; and it is only to be attributed to the miserable character of the chronicle, and to the general scantiness of our sources, that we hear nothing of the several expeditions which the Bórnu kings made into the provinces of the Kwára, and of the interesting relation which appears to have existed between Bórnu and some of the Bórgu places, particularly Brúsa. It is, moreover, to be taken into account that Wángara probably extended at that time more to the east, and almost reached the Kwára.

But the Bulála, the old and inveterate enemies of Bórnu, were not yet humiliated; and it was an inroad of the king of that empire into Bórnu which obliged 'Ali Ghajidéni (assuming him to be identical, as he certainly is, with Leo's I'brahím) to give up the conquest of Wángara. That the name of this king of the Bulála was 'Omár, as Leo says, we have strong reasons to doubt, and think it another lapse of memory. It was probably Selma, or 'Abd el Jelíl, the father of the prince whom Edrís, 'Alí's son and successor, vanquished. The name 'Omár seems not to occur at all in the dynasty of the Bulála.

But we have another account, which gives us a glance into the warlike career of 'Alí Ghajidéni, and informs us of one of his expeditions into the far west. For this account we are indebted to Sultan Béllo, who relates in his "Enfák el misúri fi fatha belád el Tekrúri"† that Kantá, whose age as a contemporary of 'Alí ben Dúnama is fixed by the fact that he lived in the time of Háj Mohammed A'skiá, "having oppressed the inhabitants of the provinces conquered by him," Sultan "'Alí Alij," as he is called in the translation, marched from Bórnu against

* What an immense power this officer must at one time have enjoyed is amply and clearly illustrated by the fact that his sons were entitled princes ("mai-na"), and his daughters princesses ("mai-ram"), like the children of the sultan, the difference of rank being only expressed by adding the word "keghámma-ram."

† Denham and Clapperton's Narrative, Appendix, vol. ii., p. 164.

him, and beat him near Suráme, his capital (see vol. iii.), on the 'Aíd el kebír; but, not being able to reduce this strong place, 'Alí was obliged to retire, when Kantá, having collected a large army, followed him till he reached Onghoor (most probably Ngarú), "where they met and fought together, and Kantá won the battle," without, however, being able to follow up his victory. This war must fall about the very end of the reign of 'Alí Ghajidéni.

The glory of this reign makes it intelligible how Bórnu or Bernu appears in Portuguese maps as early as the year 1489.

Edrís, son of 'Alí and 'Aáisha, with the surname of Katarkamábi. Died at Waláma. Reigned 23 years: A.H. 910–932; A.D. 1504–1526.

The worthy son and successor of 'Alí, who accomplished what remained necessary for the greatness and the peace of the Bórnu empire, viz., the humiliation and subjection of the Bulála. A short time, therefore, after he had ascended the throne, he went with a strong army to Kánem, beat the Bulála prince Dúnama, son of 'Abd el Jelíl or Selma, at Gharni Kiyála, and entered Njímiye, the old capital of the empire of Kánem and Bórnu, 122 years after King Dáúd had abandoned it (see above, p. 17). Having then heard, on his return to Bórnu, that A'dim, another son of 'Abd el Jelíl, had usurped the throne after his brother's death, he returned once more, vanquished A'dim, and established for a long period the dependency of Kánem upon Bórnu. (Imám A'hmed.) It could only have been Edrís, and not Músa—a name which does not at all occur in the list of the kings of Bórnu—who sent an embassy to Tripoli in the year 1512,* a circumstance which clearly shows the elevated political views of that king. Of the other achievements of his brilliant career we are unfortunately deprived by the loss or concealment of the contemporaneous account of his reign by the fákih Masfárma 'Omar ben 'Othmán, though I still entertain hopes that the work may some day or other come to light.

Mohammed, son of Edrís and Zíneb. Died at Ghasréggomo. Reigned 19 years: A.H. 933–951; A.D. 1526–1545.

A very powerful and mighty king, successful in all directions. He vanquished and killed Kadé, the son of 'Abd el Jelíl and Lifya, who, only forty days after Mohammed had ascended the throne, came to attack him at Nathá; and, in consequence of this victory, kept Kánem in a state of strict obedience. His reign is very important to us, because he is one of the Kings of Bórnu of whose conquests and activity toward the west we have obtained some positive account; for, as we learn from the Christian captive in Tripoli,† Mohammed fought a great and celebrated battle with the King of Kébbi—probably Tómo, of the dynasty of the Kantá, who founded Birni-n-Kebbi. The "captive," unfortunately, does not state what was the issue of the battle; but, although we can not agree with Mr. Blau, who interprets the words of our chronicle, "gareb hú ila hedúd el Kabará bememlekettihi,"‡ as if Mohammed had extended his empire as far as Kabara,

* Bulletin de la Soc. Géogr. Paris, 1849, p. 252. † Ibid.

‡ The words mean evidently nothing else than that under him the empire of Bórnu reached its highest pitch of *greatness*. The name of the town of Kabara is written كابرة, and was never a town of great importance; indeed, it is absurd to suppose that the name of a small harbor should have been mentioned here in preference to that of the capital, Gágho or Gógó, or at least Timbúktu.

the harbor of Timbúktu, we must conclude that he was victorious. Finally, to speak of the little we know, it must have been he who sent the embassy to Tripoli in the year 1534, if the date be correct.

There is certainly, in the passage of our chronicle which relates to the reign of this king, some degree of confusion; and it is very unfortunate that, after having aspired to a little more completeness, it just becomes exceedingly brief and dry in the most interesting part of the history of the Bornu kingdom. The confused passage has been taken into account in a preceding comment; and we are not able at present to explain why this energetic prince, who waged war on the opposite borders of his extensive empire, at immense distances from each other, can be said to have resided "nineteen [years] in Ladé." But the fact may simply have been that he did not like to reside in the large capital or birni, Ghasréggomo, but preferred dwelling in a small neighboring town; or perhaps it was one of the objects of his ambition to transfer the seat of government from the place chosen by his predecessors to some new place of his own choice. Even at the present day there is a place of the name of Ladé in the neighborhood of Ghambarú; and another one is mentioned by Imám A'hmed at four short days' journey on the road to Kánem.

Be this as it may, "the kingdom of Bórnu reached under Mohammed the highest pitch of its greatness." I here, therefore, add a list of the twelve great offices or álám which constituted the chief machinery of the empire, and which are already indicated by Makrízi* in the words "and they have twelve princes." Imám A'hmed calls these high officers generally "el akáber el á'alám," or "erbáb e' dúleh," or "el omrá." They are all mentioned by him except the gháladíma, the fugúma, and the kaghustémma:

Kaygháma or *Keghámma*, corresponding to the seraskier (or commander-in-chief) of the Turkish empire, and possessing very great power.

Yeríma or *Hiríma* (both forms occur indiscriminately in Imám A'hmed's history), the governor of Yerí or "tsidí Yerí be," the district between Birni Ghasréggomo and Múniyó,† the inhabitants of which are called by Imám A'hmed "áhel e' shemál."

Gháladíma, the governor of the Gháladí, a province comprising the western countries from Ngarú as far as the Kwára (called, by the Kanúri, Kwalla).

Chiróma (generally written by Imám A'hmed Thiróma or Shiróma), the heir apparent, son or brother of the king.

Fugúma, the governor in the interior of Ghasréggomo, with power over life and death.

Bágharíma, sometimes mentioned as an officer of some importance, who, in the time of the civil wars, often raised his ambition even to the throne; but I have not been able to make out what the department or province called bághari really was. It has nothing whatever to do with Bagírmi.

Síntelma. This title seems to belong originally to some department connected with the government of Kánem, but what were the duties of its office I can not say. The title is still common in Bórnu, and will frequently occur in my narrative, though at present it is of little importance.

Kásalma or *Kájelma*, governor of the eastern provinces of Kánem.

* Hamaker, p. 206.

† After this country, also, the wool-bearing sheep of Bórnu are called "dimí yerirám."

Kaghustémma, governor of Kaghústi, one of the western districts of Kánem. (See App. III.)

Arjinóma. His province is not exactly known to me, except that it appears from Imám A'hmed that he belonged to the governors of the northern provinces of the empire, "el omrá e' shemalíyín."

Mestréma or *Metréma*, chief eunuch of the harím.

Yíroma (not to be confounded with the Yeríma), under the mestréma, but nevertheless, at least in the time of Edrís Alawóma, an office of importance.

The governors of large towns, such as Wúdi, Díkowa, etc., had the title "mainta;" and there were many smaller charges, such as "búma," probably signifying "a judge of life and death," from "bú," the blood. The king had forty lifeguards—in a narrower sense, men of great authority, called "góma," twenty at his left hand and twenty at his right.

I now proceed with the list of the succeeding kings.

'Alí, son of Edrís and Zíneb. Died at Zamtam. Reigned 1 year: A.H. 952; A.D. 1545.

A just prince, who kept Kánem in strict subjection, but whose reign was too short to be of any importance.

Dúnama, surnamed Ghamarámi, son of Mohammed. Died at Ghasréggomo. Reigned 19 years: A.H. 953–971; A.D. 1546–1563.

Vanquished 'Abd el Jelíl, the son of Kadé, the King of Kánem, who, once more assuming the offensive, had come to attack him in his own kingdom at Berberuwá, where Dúnama defeated him, followed him thence to Kánem, and beat him in another battle, in which fell the heir apparent of the throne of Kánem, and several other great men of the Bulála. After this, Kanem once more remained quiet and in a state of subjection; but the people of that country, nevertheless, continued to make predatory incursions into Bórnu. The only other fact which we know of his reign is that he fortified Ghasréggomo, the capital or birni, built by 'Alí ben Dúnama. The chronicle, moreover, states that in his reign there was a great famine in Bórnu. It must have been he also who concluded a treaty with Dragút, the famous renegade, in 1555.

'Abd Allah or Dála, son of Dúnama. Died at Kítaba. Reigned 7 years: A.H. 972–978; A.D. 1564–1570.

Under him nothing very remarkable seems to have happened. After some time, 'Abd el Jelíl, king of Kánem, whose officers never ceased to make predatory incursions into Bórnu, died, and was succeeded by his son, 'Abd Allah. It is, however, a fact of the highest importance that, under the reign of this Bórnu king, we get the first intimation of the settlements of the Fúlbe, or, as they are called by the Kanúri, the Fellátah ("kabílet el Felatíye"), in Bórnu.* In 'Abd Allah's reign, also, there is said to have been a great famine in the land.

Edrís Amsámi, or, as he is more generally called, from Aláwo, his place of burial, Alawóma, son of 'Alí ben Edrís ben 'Alí ben A'hmed Dúnama ben 'Othmán ben el Háj Edrís. Died at Aláwo. Reigned 33 years (not 53): A.H. 979–1011; A.D. 1571–1603.

This is certainly the most important reign for us, as this excellent and energetic

* Imám A'hmed.

prince found in his imám, A'hmed ben Fúrtua (or ben Sofíya), a trustworthy and able historian, whose work has outlived the dynasty of the Séfuwa, and fallen into my hands. But, unfortunately, it comprises only the first twelve years of his reign, so that of the remaining twenty-one years, equally rich in events, we know nothing at all. The Imám A'hmed wrote one part of his work evidently in the year of the Hejra 990 or 991, at the end of Rejeb, in the capital Ghasréggomo; the other part, which contains an account of the expeditions to Kánem, which likewise belong to the first years of the long reign of Edrís, a little later.

Edrís Alawóma seems to have ascended the throne after a short interregnum, during which the reins of government were held by the queen mother or mágira, 'Aáisha Kel-eghrármarám,* who appears to have been a very distinguished woman, probably of Berber origin, realizing to the Kanúri the ideal perfection of a female, and therefore called "mai kámobe." Probably it was she who instilled into her son that harmonious union of warlike courage and vigor on the one hand, with mildness and justice on the other, which were the characteristic qualities of this excellent prince. Not long after his accession to the throne, he appears to have sent, probably under the influence of his mother, an embassy to Tripoli, the secure intercourse with which place was very important for any enterprising prince of Bórnu; and to this intercourse we evidently have to ascribe the very remarkable fact that this king possessed already a good many musketeers, who decided the issue of the most serious battles. We find also in the imám's history an interesting account of a numerous caravan arriving from the north with a great many Arab horses for sale. I have no doubt that the French prisoner in Tripoli was mistaken in ascribing the embassy which, in the year 1578, arrived in that place to 'Abd Allah instead of to the new prince, who had only a few years previously ascended the throne, and was not yet known on the coast.

With regard to the interior affairs of the kingdom, the principal object of Edrís Alawóma seems to have been to subdue entirely, or even to exterminate, if possible, those heterogeneous elements of which the kingdom had been formed, and which had been allowed by his predecessors (intent on the superficial advantages of distant conquests) to undermine the very strength of the empire. He therefore seems to have turned his attention immediately to the Só or Soy, who, though evidently greatly reduced from their former predominance and power, yet still possessed many extensive districts and numerous strongholds in the immediate neighborhood of the principal settlements of the Bórnu people, against whom they not only successfully vindicated their independence, but even continually harassed them by inroads. He therefore first attacked that division of this great tribe which inhabited the fertile districts on the river (Komádugu Wáúbe), and was called Ghâffate (Ngaufate?), with several subdivisions, among which we find the names of the Ghidama and the Dughúti. In order to conquer their extensive and strong capital, Dámasak, he built at some distance from it a large and fortified camp, where he placed a great part of his army, and further north another smaller one. Having harassed the enemy for some time by daily attacks from these places, cutting down their corn and their trees, he at length undertook to besiege the place; and having succeeded in taking it, he killed or carried away its inhabitants, after which the smaller places around shared the same fate. The rest of the people of Dughúti fled to Kánem. He then attacked another large

* The name Kel-eghrármar seems to indicate Berber origin.

and strong pagan fortress called A'msaka or A'masak, situated between Gamerghú and Mándará, and succeeded in taking it chiefly by means of his muskets. He then proceeded against the tribe of the Gamerghú, who had been left undisturbed by all the preceding kings, and took several of their towns.

Having in this way strengthened the loose structure of his empire toward the east, he turned westward against Kanó,* a name which by the historian is evidently used only to denote the whole province, and not a single town. Indeed, from what he says about Dalá, it is evident that there was no large *town* named Kanó at that time. The king succeeded in destroying all the strongholds of the province, which our author expressly states the Kanáwa had then first built, viz., Kadrá, Kelmasana (this seems a Berber name), Majíya, Ukluya, Dulúwo, Auzáki, Ajíyajiya, Sa'ayá, Ghálaki, Kayí, and others; but as for Dalá,† the strongest of these "shokíya" or stockades, he was unable to take it. This Dalá was evidently the village built at the foot of the rocky mount of the same name, which at present forms, for the most part, the quarter of the Arabs in the town of Kanó. After Edrís had humiliated and weakened in this way the inhabitants of Kanó, the people of Bornu continually made predatory expeditions against them.

From this circumstance we are enabled to judge of the state of affairs in these loosely aggregated empires; for Kanó had certainly been long before this period a province of Bórnu.

Edrís Alawóma then directed his efforts toward the northwest, and undertook three expeditions against the Tawárek (Imóshagh) or Berbers, whom he reduced to obedience. The first of these expeditions was called the kerígu or ghazzia of Síktala or Bútírsa; the second was named after the tribe Dinkir (the Diggera?), settled only two days' march from Kulíya, against whom it was directed, or after the place Targhígha. These two expeditions seem to have been of secondary importance; the third, however, was directed against the Berbers of Aïr, on which occasion, starting from A't-rébisa,‡ and passing the town Ghamarama, he overtook a numerous host of the inhabitants of Ahír or Aïr in the open desert, between the town Tádsa and Aïr, and having, as the imám says, made a great slaughter of them, returned to Zibdúwa, thence to the town Susubáki, and, having remained there a while, retired to Muniyó.§ Already, at an earlier date than these three expeditions led by him in person, his vizier, Kúrsuwa ben Harún, had fought a battle with the Tawárek, who had come with a numerous host of Tildhin (?)‖ and other people to attack him at Aghalwen. Having thus broken the strength of those Berber tribes, he ordered the Kil-yíti, or rather Kélwáti,¶ who were liv-

* This name is written in three different ways: sometimes كُنهُ, at others كون or كنو.

† دلا. In Bórnu also there was a large town of this name; or it seems rather that Ghasréggomo was sometimes called by this name, as will appear from the following passage:

و توجه تلفا برنوا الى ان بلغ المدينه الكبيره برأنيِ دلـــا

‡ اْتربِسْه من كُتسِه. § مُنبوه.

‖ مع جمعهم من تلظٍ وغيرها.

¶ جميع من فى الارض من قبيله كَلِيتِه. They are mentioned also in

ing in his dominions, to make continual inroads into their territory, till they were obliged to sue for peace, when they were allowed to return to their former seats, vowing a qualified allegiance to the King of Bórnu, while they ceased to yield obedience to the ruler of Aïr.* It is to be lamented that the Imám A'hmed does not call the inhabitants of Aïr by the name of their tribe, as it would have been a matter of the greatest interest for us to know what tribe of Berbers had possession of the country at the time. It seems that the Kilyíti or Kélwáti are identical with the Keléti or Jotko, who, intermixed with Tebu, are living on the north side of the komádugu, between Dúchi and Yó.

I will here also mention the interesting expedition which Edrís Alawóma undertook some time previously, as it seems, against the Tebu or Tedá, of the province of Durku or Dirki, and of A'ghram† (or Tashi), when, after subjugating the whole country—a measure so important for the communications with the coast—he made a long stay in Bilma or Bulma. Here we have an example of a similar state of things to those in Kanó; for all this country had long before been tributary to Bórnu. In order to secure facility of access to these distant and inhospitable regions, he built large boats on the komádugu, and collected great herds of camels.

Having thus secured his influence in the far distant northern provinces, Edrís again turned southward against the rebellious Marghí prince Maghaya, and having made an inroad into Kufshi or Kubshi,‡ Mitku, and Humdi (these two last places being situated on or at the foot of a rock), and having made captive a part of the prince's family, the latter came to Birni and threw dust upon his head. After this the ex-ruler of Mándará (Wándalá), having come to ask his assistance against an uncle who had deprived him of his throne, Edrís marched against Karáwa,§ then the capital of Mándará; but the inhabitants having retreated to the summit of the high mountain which is to the west of the town, he was obliged to retrace his steps without effecting his purpose. However, the next year he returned better prepared, and, sitting down at the foot of the rock, compelled the people of Mándará and their chief to quit their retreat and make their submission; and he then reinstated the rightful prince.

After this King Edrís led his victorious army against the Eastern Nghizim, who had first directed their predatory forays against the Felláta settled in Bórnu,‖ but had soon ceased to make any distinction between foreigners and natives, and attacked all who fell in their way. For two years he laid waste their fields, destroying even the plantations of cotton and sesamum, while his vizier Kúrsuwa

another passage as قومه من قبيله كلِوَتِهِ; and this latter form of the word is probably the right one.

* صاحب اهير.

† اغَرْم—والى بلد اقاليم دُرْكُه كلها.

‡ كُبْسِه.

§ كَراوا.

‖ It is remarkable how closely this picture of the great high road of Negroland and its troubled state resembles that drawn by Leo, l. vii., c. ix.: "E ciascuno de' mercatanti tiene gran quantità di schiavi per valersi dell' ajuto loro ne' passi da Cano a Borno; come da Zingani poverissima e ladra gente." Whether, under the general name of Zingani, Leo understood the Nghizim, I can not say; but that may be the case.

ransacked the town Meghúluma till he reduced the inhabitants to obedience. He then without delay proceeded against the western Nghizim, called Bináwa by Imám A'hmed. These Binawa infested all the neighboring provinces of the empire, and wholly interrupted the communication between Bórnu and an important trading-place in the west, called by our historian Fágha, and probably identical with the Ragha or Ragháy mentioned by E'bn Batúta, just in the same quarter, lying between Góber—that is, the original country of that name, with the capital Tinshamán—and Bornu. Having conquered all their strongholds—viz., Máwa, A'gham, Báni, and Ghujémbiná*—he so terrified the people around that all, even those of Katágum† included, made their submission. The Nghizim are identical with the tribe now generally called Nkizám, which is at present greatly reduced, living in the following places, all lying between Auyok and Katágum: Táshiná, U'nik, Shágató, Chibiay, Belangu, Badda, Romeri, Zongolom, Melebétiye, U'marí, and a few more.

After all these warlike undertakings, this active prince, having rested for a little more than a year, undertook a pilgrimage to Mekka, probably in the ninth year of his reign. Having returned from thence, "Háj Edrís," as he is now to be styled, led his army against the Tetála or Telála,‡ a warlike and high-spirited pagan tribe settled in the neighborhood and on the islands of the Tsád (probably identical with the Yediná, or, as they are generally named, Búdduma), and whose hatred against their oppressors was so intense that they refused fellowship at meals to those among themselves who had not killed a Mohammedan. They prided themselves chiefly on their white spears. This is exactly in harmony with the custom of the Búdduma. Edrís, in order to subdue them, made use of the Katakú or Kótokó,§ whom he ordered to harass the enemy by continual incursions with their boats, exactly in the same manner as the Sheikh of Bórnu at the present day, when he wants to trouble the Búdduma, orders the people of Máfate to make an inroad against them. The Tetála retreated into the swampy grounds of the Tsád.‖ Edrís then beat the Governor of Mafaté,¶ who came to attack him with a number of boats, destroyed the town of Kansa-Kusku, as he had also destroyed Saya** and Taghálaghá, belonging to the tribe of the Ghamá or Ngamá, and other places, and built several fortified encampments or "sansanne" in the neighborhood. The Mákari,†† who seem to be identical with the Kótokó, appear to have

* غُجَمْبِنا. It is remarkable that this name, in its latter part, closely resembles that of Mábiná, the country mentioned by Makrízi as invaded by a Bórnu king (Dúnama Selmámi) in the year 1250. See above, p. 20.

† كتاكُم. ‡ The name in my MS. is sometimes written تتاله, at others قلاله.

§ القبيله كَتكُوا.

‖ The name is sometimes written الخر سَادْ, sometimes البجر ثادْ.

¶ صاحب مَفَتى.

** A town of the same name on the Tsád is mentioned, together with Kúri, by Denham, i., p. 192.

†† مَكَرِ. Mákari and Kótokó are but different names of the same country, just as A'fno and Háusa, Mákari being the name used by the Kanúri.

offered him friendship or submission, with the exception of the people of Kúsuri,* whose governor he succeeded in taking prisoner, and of Sabálghutu. He then proceeded once more against Mandará, and vanquished that rebellious and stubborn nation.

We shall now notice, but briefly, the expeditions of Edrís to Kánem, which likewise fall within the first twelve years of his reign, but have been described separately by the imám. I can dismiss this subject here in a few words, as I have had occasion to make use of the rich geographical materials contained in this account in the course of my narrative. Edrís, during the first twelve years of his reign, went five times to Kánem; and he may have gone there frequently again in the following years. We have seen above that Kánem, after having been for more than a century entirely torn off from the empire, had been again subdued by preceding Bornu kings. Edrís Alawóma, on ascending the throne of Bórnu, concluded a treaty of peace with 'Abd Allah, the ruling prince of Kánem; and, what is very remarkable as a commentary on the state of civilization in these countries, the conditions of this treaty were diplomatically exhibited in two written copies, nothing remaining to be settled but a dispute about three places, viz., Kálliya, 'Akúta, and Belúji, which the people of Bórnu wished to obtain. But 'Abd Allah died; and his son Mohammed, who succeeded him, was, after a short time, dethroned by his uncle, 'Abd el Jelíl ben 'Abd el Jelíl, who broke off the negotiation and refused allegiance. In the struggle which ensued, Edrís was, on the whole, victorious, although the Bórnu army apparently sustained some heavy losses; Njímiye, and all the country even further east, was taken from Kánem; but as soon as Edrís turned his back, 'Abd el Jelíl, with his light troops, was again there, till the Bórnu king at last conferred the crown of Kánem again upon Mohammed, attaching to him a strong party of native chiefs, chiefly Arabs. However, he was obliged to return once more to that country, so difficult to manage, Mohammed having been beaten by his restless adversary. Subsequently he was more successful, and, by a stipulation, the whole of Kánem, as far as Babáliyá, was attached to Bórnu. Of subsequent events we are wholly ignorant, and hear no more of Kánem till a recent period. During these expeditions Edrís inflicted severe blows upon the Tebu population of Kánem; and we have already seen that, in consequence, a great number of them migrated to Bórnu.

Of the events of the one-and-twenty years which followed these first twelve years of this excellent prince, we at present know nothing. But I do not doubt that zealous research may hereafter bring some more documents to light. From the manner of Edrís's death, it may be concluded that he waged war till his last moment; for he died, according to tradition, on the battle-field, being wounded in his breast by a hand-bill or góliyó, thrown at him by a pagan concealed in a tree, while waging war with a tribe on the borders of Bagírmi—perhaps the Ghamergú. We only know for certain that he was buried in Aláwo, a place in the district of Ujé, which I have touched upon on my journey to A'damáwa.

But, notwithstanding these continual wars in which the Bórnu hero was engaged, "he promoted the prosperity of the country and the wealth of the towns." Indeed, this is the only particular which the meagre chronicle relates of him besides men-

* كُسُرِ.

tioning the war with 'Abd el Jelíl; and we know from Imám A'hmed that he built the mosques of clay in Birni Ghasréggomo, superseding those of reeds; and it is to him probably that we must refer the brick ruins in that town as well as in Ghambarú.

Altogether, Edrís Alawóma appears to have been an excellent prince, uniting in himself the most opposite qualities: warlike energy, combined with mildness and intelligence; courage, with circumspection and patience; severity, with pious feelings. And I hope my readers will draw more favorable conclusions from this example as to the general character of the Bórnu kings than Denham did from the degenerate shadow of his time, when he says* that "a sultan of Bórnu carries no arms, and it is beneath his dignity to defend himself." Certainly such a man as Edrís rarely stands alone; and we can not refuse to join with his name that of his first minister, the warlike and intelligent Edrís ben Harún, who succeeded in that office his elder brother Kúrsuwa, and who, by his excellent arrangements, as well as by his courage, guaranteed the success of many of his master's undertakings.

Mohammed, with the surname Bukalmarámi, son of Edrís and Fanna. Died at Dekána (?)† (perhaps in the territory of the Duggana). Reigned 16 years and 7 months: A.H. 1011–1027; A.D. 1602–1618.

An excellent prince, but less warlike and enterprising, as it would seem, than his father, whose vigor was no longer necessary, the empire being well established.

Ibrahím, son of Edrís and Ghumsu. Died at Ghasréggomo. Reigned 7 years and 7 months: A.H. 1027–1035; A.D. 1618–1625.

Sent an embassy to Tripoli in the year 1627.

Háj 'Omár, son of Edrís and Fisháma. Died at Ghasréggomo. Reigned 19 years and 9 months: A.H. 1036–1055; A.D. 1625–1645.

Made the pilgrimage to Mekka in the year 1642, having ascended the throne, according to the French document, in the year 1634 (1624?).

'Alí ben el Haj 'Omár. Died at Ghasréggomo. Reigned 40 years: A.H. 1055–1095; A.D. 1645–1684.

A valiant and intelligent man, who thrice made the pilgrimage to Mekka, viz., in the years 1648, 1656, and 1667; when returning on the last occasion from his distant journey, he had to extinguish a revolution. He waged several wars with the Sultan of Aïr, residing in A'gades, and was once besieged in his capital at the same time by the Tawárek and by the Köana or Kwona, a division of the Kororofa, who had long been subjected to Bórnu, when he managed to set the latter against the former, and then destroyed them also. It seems that in his reign the country was afflicted by several long famines, which distressed the inhabitants greatly, and which can scarcely be explained but by supposing an unsettled state of the country, which did not allow the people to cultivate the ground.

Edrís ben 'Alí. Reigned 20 years: A.H. 1096–1115; A.D. 1685–1704.

This is the king who has been omitted by mistake in the chronicle.

Dúnama ben 'Alí. Died at Ghasréggomo. Reigned 19 years: A.H. 1115–1134; A.D. 1704–1722.

Another long famine of seven years is mentioned by the chronicle.

* Denham, vol. i., p. 327.

† دكانا.

Háj Hamdún ben Dúnama. Died at Ghasréggomo. Reigned 14 years: A.H. 1135–1148; A.D. 1723–1736.

A pious and indolent king, who appears to have made a pilgrimage.

Mohammed, with the surname Erghámma, son of El Háj Hamdún. Died at Ghasréggomo. Reigned 16 years: A.H. 1149–1164; A.D. 1737–1751.

Of his reign likewise we know nothing but of a famine which lasted two years. These princes, indeed, seem in general to have seldom left their favorite residence, where they indulged in luxury and ostentation, while the kingdom was falling to pieces, and became unable to resist any shock which might come from without.

Dúnama, with the surname Ghaná, "the little," the young son of Mohammed. Died at Ghasréggomo. Reigned 2 years and 7 months: A.H. 1165–1168; A.D. 1752–1755.

The chronicle mentions, under his short reign, a very severe famine.

'Alí ben el Háj Dúnama. Reigned 40 years: A.H. 1168–1207; A.D. 1755–1793.

Is greatly praised by the chronicle as a most excellent prince; but it is evident that he was such only from a monkish point of view. He seems, however, to have excelled in a peculiar kind of energy, being mentioned by Lucas as the father of three hundred male children.* I can not say with absolute certainty whether it was he who made a most unfortunate expedition against Mándará, to the ill success of which most of the intelligent Bórnu people attribute the weakness of the empire under the following reign, when it was attacked by the fanatic troops of the Felláta, the best part of the army having been slain by the inhabitants of Mándará. 'Alí seems also to have made several expeditions against the Bedde.

A'hmed ben 'Alí. Died at Ghasréggomo. Reigned 17 years: A.H. 1208–1225; A.D. 1793–1810.

"A learned prince, liberal toward the 'ulama; a prodigal dispenser of alms, a friend of science and religion, gracious and compassionate toward the poor." So says the chronicle. However well deserved this praise may be, certainly A'hmed was not the man to save the kingdom from the dangers which surrounded it.

But, although the empire was already prepared for ruin, there supervened a powerful cause of weakness; for under A'hmed a very severe pestilence visited Bornu, carrying off a great number of people. This plague is said to have been announced by an eclipse of the sun, which preceded it by two years.

About 1808 began the inroads of the Fúlbe or Felláta, who had conquered successfully the ancient Háusa kingdoms, which, till then, had been in a sort of tributary dependence upon Bórnu. The consequence was that their countrymen, settled in Bórnu from ancient times, as we have seen, being harassed by persecution, collected together in Gújebá, and from that point began their conquests, vanquishing all the officers whom A'hmed sent against them; they then marched against Ghasréggomo, led on by Mála Rída, Mukhtár, and Hanníma, defeated the army of the sultan, who escaped by the eastern gate while they entered the town from the west side. A'hmed then went to reside in Kurnáwa. This happened in the year of the Hejra 1224, or 1809 of our era, on a Sunday, but I can not say in what month. From that place the distressed king sent a message to the fáki Mohammed el Amín el Kánemí, who, on account of his marriage with the

* Lucas, Proceedings of the African Association, vol. i., p. 2.7.

daughter of the Governor of Ngála, had begun to oppose himself to the progress of the conquerors; for, having begged his father-in-law to allow him to take his wife and daughter with him to Fezzan, the latter refused, so that the fáki, together with his friends, Mohammed Tiráb and Ibrahím Wáday, collected in Bínder, on the west border of the Tsád, a small force, said to have consisted of five horsemen and two hundred spearmen, with whom he successfully attacked the Fúlbe, who were disposed to laugh at his threats. Having collected more adventurers and patriotic men round him, he then vanquished the whole force of the conquerors in a battle near Ngórnu, when he is said to have had under his command two hundred men on horseback and two thousand on foot. Having thus liberated the whole eastern part of Bórnu, he sat down quietly, when A'hmed sent for him. Assisted by the inspiring fanaticism of the fáki, and by the courage and valor of his Kánembú spearmen, A'hmed was enabled to re-enter his capital, but soon after died,* in the beginning, as it seems, of A.H. 1225.

Dúnama, son of A'hmed, and Mohammed el Amín el Kánemí. Died at Ngála. Reigned 8 years: A.H. 1225–1233; A.D. 1810–1817, 1818.

Dúnama followed his father, who had already, in his lifetime, chosen him for his successor, and for a short time waged successful war against the enemy, till he too was driven out of his capital by the Fúlbe of Katágum, as it seems, in the end of 1226 or beginning of 1227. He then went wandering about in his own kingdom, changing his residence every few months, first residing in Majé, near Fátóghaná (the ancient Dámasak), then in a place called Aséggа, then near Múngonó, then in Bérberuwá, till he placed himself under the protection of the powerful fáki, who alone had proved himself capable of resisting the victorious impulse which attended the march of the Felláta. Indeed, a covenant was then made, assigning half of the revenue of the liberated provinces to Mohammed el Amín. The fáki now resided in the large town of Ngórnu ("the blessing"), where he seems to have found zealous support from the many Tebu residing there, while the sultan held his court in some other place.

But matters could not long remain in this state; the population were not able to serve two masters, but they were obliged to decide for the one or the other. When, therefore, the people all flocked to the man who had liberated them from a foreign yoke, the old party excited the sultan's jealousy, and instigated him to rid himself of his troublesome rival. Mohammed el Amín's authority, however, was so well established in the good-will of the people, that, on being cited before the sultan, he was able to appear before him unattended, while the latter dared not hurt him. The consequence was that the fáki's, or, rather, the sheikh's (shékho—for this title he now began to adopt) influence increased every day, and Dúnama, with his party, made a last effort to release himself from that influence, and to preserve the royal dignity. Indeed, he might hope that, if he succeeded in establishing his court at a certain distance, he might rally around

* From the report given to Mr. Koelle by the Bórnu slave 'Alí Eisámi (*African Native Literature*, 1854, p. 93), it would seem that A'hmed died before entering Ghasréggomo; but, although these narratives teem with interest, they have no historical authority for the time which succeeded 'Alí's capture in the year 1814–15, and even no paramount authority for the preceding period. And the other story, as told in p. 99, *et seqq.*, agrees entirely with our statement. The account of the inroad of Wáday and the death of Ibrám (both which events happened in the time of Sheikh 'Omár), as given by that Negro, is quite absurd and full of confusion.

himself the old partisans of royalty; but, before he reached Wúdí, the place he had selected for his residence, one of the principal settlements of the Temaghera, and which had been the abode of several of the old Bórnu kings, Mohammed el Amín, who perceived that the time was now come when he must decide whether he was to be subject or ruler, even though he did not aspire to the title of king, had him arrested on the road, and brought back to Bérberuwá. But, finding him still obstinate, he deposed him altogether, reproaching him with a wish to betray his country; and then he transferred the title and pomp of a sultan to Mohammed, a brother of Ahmed, and uncle of Dúnama. Mohammed then began to build himself a new residence, which is called by the Arabs Birni jedíd, two miles and a half northwest from Ngórnu. But when Mohammed el Amín saw that this man was no less obstinate than Dúnama, he reinstated the latter again. So that Mohammed, having reigned but a short time, and that only by the will of the usurper, is not mentioned at all by the chronicle.

We may therefore reckon the commencement of the present dynasty of the Kánemíyín from the year 1814 of our era. It is a very remarkable fact that an utter stranger to the country should become its ruler; but the struggle was not yet at an end, and could not well be ended without much bloodshed, as soon as the fascinating personal influence of the liberator was gone by. The sheikh then, having gone so far, in order to separate his position as far as possible from the memory of the ancient times, founded likewise a new residence, which, from the name of the *Adansonia digitata*, a specimen of which stood on the spot where he wished to build his house, received the name of Kúka, or rather Kúkawa.* Being now fairly installed in the government of a vast but very distracted country, while he allowed the pomp of royalty to be borne by the descendant of the Séfuwa, and perhaps purposely exaggerated it in order to make it ridiculous, he was anxious at the same time to recover the lost provinces, and to defend the country against its southeastern neighbor, who, from having been a vassal, had become a dangerous enemy. Indeed, he had to sustain a long and sanguinary struggle with Bagírmi, in which he was not always successful. He undertook at first to reduce the overbearing and lawless Burgománda, the ruler of that province, to obedience, with the assistance of 'Abd el Kerím Sabún, the powerful and intelligent Prince of Wáday; but the latter chose rather to consult his own interests, and after carrying away all the treasures, and even many of the inhabitants of Bagírmi, he even granted to Burgománda some sort of protection in return for an annual tribute to be paid to Wáday, as we shall see a little farther on. At the same time, the intelligent Sabún, whose predecessor, Mohammed Sáleh, by the conquest of the province of Fittri, had stepped into the place of the pretensions raised by the Bulála, endeavored to gain more ground in Kanem. Meanwhile the powerful King of Wáday died (A.D. 1815); but even this event did not relieve the situation of El Kánemí; for, in a sudden and unexpected encounter of the two armies in Kótokó, the eldest and most beloved son of the sheikh was slain in 1816, and in 1817 a bloody battle was lost by him at Ngála, on which occasion the titular sultan Dúnama was slain. Mohammed el Kánemí being frustrated in this way, then entered into a covenant with the ruler of Fezzán; and a com-

* It seems almost incredible that, although the members of the late mission have distinctly stated that Kúka is a new town, yet even at the present day this place is identified by learned men with some ancient places having similar names.

bined expedition was organized in the year 1818, which was altogether very successful. The whole of the northern part of Bagírmi was overrun, the large towns of Babáliyá and Gáwi were destroyed, and the sheikh spent a day or two in Más-eñá, the capital of the country; but no decisive blow could be struck, the king with his whole army having retired to Mankhfa, and taken up a very strong position, defended by the river and a great number of boats.

Ibrahím. A.H. 1233–1263; A.D. 1818–1846.

Installing in the deceased sultan's place Ibrám or Ibrahím, Dúnama's brother, the sheikh continued the struggle with Bagírmi, and on the 24th of March of the year 1824, as we know from the report of Denham's expedition, was so fortunate as to gain, on the same battle-field of Ngála, a decided victory over his valiant southeastern neighbor, which seems to have set him at once at rest. Having thus obtained leisure on this side, and having extinguished a revolt of the Manga, Mohammed el Kánemí seems to have turned his attention westward, in order to recover, if possible, some of the provinces of the old empire of Bórnu. At first he was very successful, and penetrated far into the interior of the province of Bauchi; but in the year 1826 the officers of Sultan Bélło beat his army, and he himself had a narrow escape. He seems to have then concluded a peace. He made also several attempts to reduce Kánem to a state of obedience, and here had to contend with Wadáy. Mohammed el Kánemí died in 1835,* leaving forty-three sons, and having named for his successor his eldest son 'Omár, who was to be succeeded, if he should die early, by 'Abd e' Rahmán, and then by Yusuf.

Sheikh 'Omár, son of Mohammed el Kánemí. A.H. 1251; A.D. 1835.

'Omár's reign is remarkable on account of his having made an end of the Séfuwa altogether. He seemed from the first desirous of peace in every direction, and had the great advantage, in endeavoring to obtain this object from Bagírmi, that his mother belonged to that country. Having also made peace with the Fúlbe, after an unsuccessful expedition against them, he had some difficulty in restraining the governors of the western provinces, who are almost independent vassals, from making incursions into their territory. It was on this account that he was obliged, in the beginning of 1846, to send a strong army, commanded by his brother, 'Abd e' Rahmán, against Ibrám, the restless governor of Zínder, whose obstinate disregard of the peace with the Fúlbe proceeded to open rebellion.

This opportunity, when all the best troops were about to march to the distant west, was seized on by the numerous partisans of the old dynasty, to aim a mortal blow at the house of the sheikh by secretly inviting the King of Wádáy, Mohammed e' Sherif, to re-establish the Séfuwa on the throne of Bornu. Mohammed, listening to this invitation, collected his army, and in Mulúd or Rebí el awel, 1262, that is, in March, 1846, reached Kúsuri. The sheikh never heard of his approach till he was very near. He at once summoned the Sultan Ibrám from Birni, and, denouncing him as a traitor, placed him in irons; he then hastily collected what troops remained behind, having no one with him upon whom he could rely except Tiráb, his faithful minister (the intimate friend of his father), his brother the valorous 'Alí, together with from five to six hundred

* The exact date of his death I can not find at present.

Arabs and Tebu. With this little band, swelled by a crowd of faithless Shúwa, he encamped on the western bank of the River of Logón, not far from the town of Kúsuri, while Wádáy was encamped on the eastern bank of the Shárí. The inhabitants of Kúsuri locked the gates of their town against both armies, but secretly communicated with Wádáy; and when Mohammed e' Sherif was unable to force the passage of the river in the face of the enemy, who did great execution with two cannons, the Wádáy having none, they sent to him, offering to lead part of his army round by a ford which was protected only by Shúwa. This was the ford of Síña Fácha, at the headland a little below Kúsuri, where the Shárí and the River of Logón unite to form one stream, which joins the Tsád. When the corps sent by the people of Wádáy tried to cross the river here, the Shúwa, who had been ordered to defend the ford, gave way, and, thinking this a favorable opportunity to pilfer, joined the enemy, killing many of the sheikh's people in the flank, till Kashélla Belál brought their chief to the ground. In the slaughter which ensued Tiráb fell, and a great many of the Bórnu people. The valorous 'Alí penetrated into the town of Kúsuri, but was delivered by the townspeople into the hands of the King of Wádáy; the rest took to flight, except the Tebu and Arabs, who maintained their position, so that Sheikh 'Omár was able to say his prayers of the dhohor and the 'aser before he left the battle-field. But the encampment fell into the hands of the enemy, as well as the two cannons. However, in crossing the river, the Wádáy army sustained severe losses. All this happened on Tuesday, the 11th of Rebí el awel, or March 8, 1846. On Thursday Sheikh 'Omar put to death Ibrahím, the titular sultan of Bórnu, whom he had laid in chains before going to battle. He then hastily left Kúkawa, and retreated into the western provinces; the host of Wádáy followed him as far as Ngórnu, where they encamped, and remained about forty days, while their skirmishers plundered all the neighboring places, and particularly Kúkawa, from whence they carried away a considerable booty, and then set fire to the town. Indeed, the capital for about two months remained a desert.

But this was not all. The King of Wádáy took 'Alí, the son of the late Sultan Ibrám, and enthroned him in Bírni as Sultan of Bórnu, summoning all the partisans of the old dynasty to defend their new king. However, he soon found that he was not strong enough to carry his point, and hearing that 'Abd e' Rahmán, the sheikh's brother, was approaching from the west with a numerous host, and being afraid lest, if he staid longer, his retreat might be cut off by the river, he sent Ibrahím Wádáy as a messenger of peace to the sheikh, declaring that he had not undertaken this expedition from any desire of conquest, but at the instigation of a great many of the noblest kokanáwa or grandees of Bórnu, whose letters he forwarded to the sheikh. He then, in the last days of April or the first days of May, 1846, left Ngórnu, commencing his retreat to his far-distant residence, and leaving the recently-elevated sultan to his fate.

But it appears that 'Alí, the son of Ibrám, was a courageous young prince; for he thought himself strong enough to march against the sheikh, whom he encountered at Minárem, but was quickly vanquished and slain. Thus the last of the Séfuwa died an honorable death on the battle-field. It was now evident that the family of Mohammed el Kánemí, who had liberated the country from a warlike and successful enemy, was well established in the place of the ancient rulers, who had degenerated into mere puppets, and were totally unable to de-

fend themselves and their subjects. A great slaughter of all the partisans of the old dynasty followed, and principally of the Sugúrti, who had risen as their especial upholders; and a little later, in order to efface as far as possible all recollection of those times, the destruction of New Bírni was decided on, and fell to the lot of Háj Beshír, the son of Tiráb, who had succeeded his father as the first minister and most confidential servant of the sheikh. From this time, people say, dated the great wealth of the vizier. Meanwhile Sheikh 'Omár went in person to castigate Serkí Ibrám, the governor of Zínder, who had risen in open revolt, and took and plundered the town, though he pardoned and reinstated the governor, while 'Abd e' Rahmán quelled the rebellion of the Manga, who, ever restless and inclined to insurrection, had thought this an excellent opportunity of asserting their independence. 'Omár himself brought the then large town of Surríkulo to obedience,* and the country soon became quieter than before. Scarcely any vestige of the old dynasty was left; even the records of it were purposely destroyed—a most unfortunate circumstance, which made it very difficult for me to obtain what little information I have been able to collect.

The Kúka, built by Mohammed el Kánemí, having been destroyed by the people of Wáday, 'Omár and his vizier built two towns in its place, one the eastern town, "bílla gedíbe," as the especial residence of the court; the other, the western town, "bílla futébe." Thus Kúka has become Kúkawa.†

Sheikh 'Omár was now in a much more favorable position than his father, being sole and indisputable master of the country and really the king, though he disdained the title. He might have given it a new organization, ruling it with a strong and impartial hand; but while he is an upright and straightforward man, who certainly would like to see the country well administered, he lacks that far-sighted vigor which is necessary for ruling an extensive kingdom based on a loose state of things, with arbitrary power above and turbulent habits beneath. Indeed, it is most deplorable that he has allowed the Tawárek, or rather Imóshagh, those inveterate enemies of well-governed communities, to persist in their desolating predatory habits. In the time of his father there were Tebu settlements near all the wells on the Fezzán road as far as Beduwáram; all these have been deserted successively since the beginning of the reign of 'Omár, the towns of Lárí and Wúdí have been ransacked by the Tawárek, and not a living soul left, and the whole of Kánem has become the desolate abode of a few unfortunate communities, and the wild hunting-ground of continual adventurous ghazzias from every quarter; indeed, not only the considerable town of Bárruwa, one day's march north of the komádugu, on the road to Kánem, but even other places in the middle of Bórnu, as will be seen in the course of my narrative, have to buy their peace by a sort of tribute to be paid to the Tawárek freebooters.

But, besides his own personal weakness and inclination to ascetic piety, there was a dangerous cancer undermining the health of the new dynasty: this was the rivalry which soon arose between him and his brother 'Abd e' Rahmán, on account of the vizier El Háj Beshír, who enjoyed the whole confidence of the

* 'Omár, however, made several other expeditions; one against Gújeba, which is very famous among the inhabitants.

† It might be that even before this time the people who spoke more correctly would call the town Kúkawa; that is, properly, "bílla kúkawa," the "town filled with kúka-trees," and not Kúka, which is, in truth, only the name of the tree after which the place was called.

sheikh, and employed his authority too exclusively. The results of this unfortunate quarrel I will here report to their end, although they fall after the time of my arrival in Bórnu. I have already observed above that, on leaving Múrzuk, we were informed that a quarrel was about to break out between 'Omár and 'Abd e' Rahmán; but, happily, matters were then adjusted, and the rivalry did not proceed to a civil war before the winter of 1853, when 'Abd e' Rahmán, with his partisans, left Kúkawa and went to Gújebá. The shiekh and his vizier followed him, but being betrayed by many of the courtiers, who were badly disposed against the vizier, they were defeated in an irregular skirmish; and Háj Beshír, certainly with very little show of courage, was the first who turned his back, and, collecting his most valuable treasures, started for Wádáy. Being detained by the Shúwá, who would not allow him to cross the Shárí, he was induced to return to Kúkawa, on safe-conduct being promised to him by 'Abd e' Rahmán, but, having been found guilty of treason, was strangled. 'Omár meanwhile was allowed to reside as a private man in the house of his former vizier till, in the summer of 1854, 'Abd e' Rahmán ordered him to go to reside in Díkowa. He then collected the malcontents, and on the 'Aíd el kebír vanquished his brother in the open place between the two towns, and made him prisoner, and in the first days of December killed him. Thus he is once more ruler of the country, but having lost his vizier, upon whose advice he was formerly wont to rely entirely, he has nobody to supply his want of energy. Time will show whether Bórnu is again to flourish under this dynasty, or whether it has to undergo another revolution. From the sequel of my narrative it will sufficiently appear that it is not in such a state as it ought to be; but it has the advantage that all over Negroland there is no warlike and energetic king at the present time.

APPENDIX II.

ACCOUNT OF THE EASTERN PARTS OF KA'NEM, FROM NATIVE INFORMATION.

In attempting to give a description of those parts of Kánem which I have not visited myself, I must express my regret that, when in that country, I had no knowledge of the manuscript history of the expeditions of Edrís Alawóma into the same region, as, with the assistance of the rich supply of the important historical as well as geographical data contained in that work, I should have been enabled to give a far more interesting description of the country, and even perhaps to identify the sites of many of its former remarkable places.

The former capital of Kánem, as has been seen, was Njímí or Njímiye, a place whose approximate situation will be pointed out hereafter; the present capital, if we may still employ this title in such a country as Kánem is at the present time, is Máwó,* or rather M'awó, a place which already, in the time of Edrís Alawóma, was of great importance.

This town, which it was our ardent desire to visit, and which we most probably should have reached if the Welád Slimán had undertaken that expedition, on which we accompanied them, with the whole of their little troop, instead of allowing half of it to go to Kúkuwa, seems to be situated about 20 miles S.S.E. from Hénderi Síggesi, and is at present only thinly inhabited, its population probably not exceeding 3000 or 4000, though the circuit of the town is said to be still of considerable magnitude. It is surrounded with a wall, and is adorned with a great many date-trees. It is the residence of a khalífa, whose power is of the most precarious and uncertain condition, as its existence depends entirely on the relative supremacy of either Wáday or Bórnu. The consequence is, that there are generally two khalífas—one actually in power, and the other watching to expel him at the first opportunity, with the assistance of one of the patronizing powers—Mohammed Sáleh, the father of the celebrated King of Wáday, 'Abd el Kerím Sabún, having succeeded to the pretensions which the Bulála, the princes of the provinces of Fittrí and Kúka (then swallowed by the empire of Wáday), possessed by conquest over the kingdom of Kánem.

But, to return to M'awó, there is a market held in the town every Wednesday; but, on account of the very insecure state of the country, it can not possibly be now of any great importance. The inhabitants seem to belong to a peculiar race;

* The name is written in Arabic in very different ways, the MS. account of the expeditions of Edrís sometimes having the form معوا, at others ماوا; but the real indigenous form seems to be M'awó, a name exactly similar to G'awó, that of the capital of the Sónghay empire, and Y'awó, the residence of the Bulála princes. It is not improbable that, by corruption, the name Mátán, which by E'bn S'aid and Abú 'l Fedá (p. 162) is given to a well-known place in Kánem, has originated in the name of M'awó, although they place it close on the shore of the Tsád (bahíret Kúrí), and north from Njímiye.

for the Tedá Gur'aán call them by the name of Beránema, the origin and meaning of which I was not able to make out with certainty, but which may seem to have some connection with the name Bórnu, although it can scarcely have any relation to the name Beráuni, given to the Tedá themselves by the Kél-owí and other foreigners.

Between M'awó and Hénderi Síggesi there appear to be several favored valleys, where the date-tree grows in more or less abundance. The most famous are the large valley called Kárafu or Kárfu, a few miles from M'awó, under the authority of Keghámma Gúrde, who succeeded to Keghámma Síntal; on the west side of Kárfu, at a short distance from it, Yégi; and not far from it the valley Badánga, stated to be very rich in date-trees, and Kédalá, belonging to the chief Chéfandé;* then the valleys Hamáji (belonging to Fúgo?), Gáltará, and Mápal.

The valley of Mápal is said to form the limit of the date-tree in that direction. On the west side of M'awó is likewise an inhabited place called Kajídi, but without date-trees.

The upper part of the valley Gésgi, which is said to stretch from south to north, is called Télerí-Chemó, and is the dwelling-place of the Shírí, to whom belong the Fugábú (or, as the name is often pronounced, Fégubó†) Shírí, who are the inveterate enemies of the Woghda, the inhabitants of Gésgi. In this neighborhood is also a valley called Lillowa.

North from M'awó, at no great distance from Aláli, toward the east, is the place Kulakulá, inhabited likewise by Kánembú. How Beráda, a place stated to be also on the north side of M'awó, and to be inhabited by a tribe called Kemálla, who are under the authority of a keghámma, is situated in relation to these places, I am unable to say. In various valleys on the same side of M'awó are also stated to be the dwelling-places of the Médelé, a nomadic tribe who possess a great many herds and flocks. In this neighborhood is also the valley called Gúmsa, inhabited by a Tebu tribe called Gúmsuwa, and who seem to be different from the Gúmsu mentioned further on.

E.N.E. from M'awó are the inhabited places Kámmegrí and Jugó, inhabited by a peculiar tribe called El M'allemín by the Arabs. What their indigenous name is I did not learn; they are most probably identical with the tribe called Haddáda, whose original name is Búngu.

The dwelling-places of the Shitáti are very numerous, and at a greater distance west from M'awó: several of them, indeed, we visited, such as Yégil, Aghó (formerly an important place, of great antiquity), Arnánko, Burkadrússo, Bóró. Besides these, the following are the most renowned places of their temporary residence: Bérindé, Línkero, Kínti, Hedérke, Din, Géringé, Tyíro, Kúlla, Laríska, two different places called Núnku, Kaú or Kó, Líshegó, Kélemrí, Delé, Tawáder, Géno, Lérgeji, Yíggela, Maina, Yíggu, Yakúlge, Bágalé,‡ Búni, Chánga, Nduró, Lódoré, two places with the name Kiyala (with one of which we shall soon become acquainted as Gharni Kiyala), Bolleli, Kúttuwa, My, Kájiró, A'ddufó, Yeró.

I now proceed southward from M'awó toward the southeastern border of Lake

* In this last statement there may be some error.

† May the name Fúgó, Fugábú, have any connection with the tribe of the Fúgu mentioned by Masúdi (*Golden Meadows*, chap. xxxiii., p. 138, MS. transl. R. Asiatic Society)?

‡ Bágalé is certainly an interesting example of the homonymy of African names in distant countries.

Tsád, the interior basin of which being tolerably well established by Mr. Overweg's navigation, its outline can be laid down according to these data with a great deal of approximative accuracy, though it is certainly much to be regretted that we did not succeed in reaching this district ourselves, and deciding the principal points by ocular demonstration.

I. Itinerary from M'awó to Tághghel, directly South.

Day.

1st. Róyendú, a place inhabited by a peculiar tribe of Tedá or Tebu, called Vgýgim.

2d. Belangara, a place inhabited by the Dibberi, who speak the Kanúri language,* and are said to be the original tribe of the Fugábú. Arrive before the heat of the day.

3d. Ghalá, a considerable village of huts inhabited by the Kúbberi or Kobber, who speak the Kanúri language.

4th. Jékeré, a place at present inconsiderable, but once of large size, inhabited by the Kánku (identical with the Kúnkuná?), a tribe or section of the Kánembú.

5th. Arrive, before the heat is great, at the well Lefádu, without inhabitants, make a short halt, and reach Mailo, a place with a lake full of fish, and inhabited by a peculiar tribe called Haddáda or Búngu, who are said to speak the Kanúri language, but go almost naked, being only clothed with a leather wrapper round their loins, and are armed with bows and arrows and the góliyó. They are very expert bowmen, and, when attacked, withdraw into the dense forests of their district (to which seems to apply the general name of Bárí), and know well how to defend their independence in politics as well as in religion—for they are pagans. To them belong the famous clan called, at least by the Welád Slimán, Dwárda Hájra. A celebrated town of the Haddáda is Dímári, the residence of Malá Díma. In Bárí there is a market held every Thursday, as it seems, in that part of it which is nearest to M'awó. In 1853 the Welád Slimán made a strict alliance with the Haddáda, and in consequence defeated, in their woody district, the officer of Wáday, called Agíd el Bahr.

For the general outlines of this little-known region, the following itinerary from Kúsuri to M'awó, according to the Kánemma chief A'msakay, is of great importance:

Day.

1st. Sleep in the wilderness.

2d. Sleep near Káú Abúddala, a rocky eminence near the lake (see Denham, vol. i., p. 261). Two routes, connecting this important spot with A'bú-Gher and Mélé, will be given in another place.

3d. Yámanúk Kaléma, a large, open, straggling village, apparently named from the warlike chief A'manúk or Yámanúk, well known from Denham's narrative.

4th. Bárí, a large place or district formerly under the authority of the Sheikh of Bórnu, near the shore of the lake.

* From the origin of the people the name of the place is probably derived; for Bille Ngáre is the name which the inhabitants of Logón give to the Kanúri.

Day.
5th. Dímári, a considerable place belonging to Díma, called by A′msakay a vice-governor of Kánem.
6th. Gúmsu, a place situated in a valley rich in date-trees, inhabited by Kánembú and Shúwa.
7th. Mandó or Mondó, a large market-place, formerly under the Khalífa of Bórnu.
8th. M′awó.

Day.
6th. Tághghel, a place situated on the border of the lagoon, and inhabited by the Kajídi, who cultivate a good deal of corn, and have large herds of camels. Arrive before the heat of the day. If agreeable, you can go on from Jékeré without stopping, and reach Tághghel the same day at sunset.

N.B.—The direction of all the wádiyán or valleys which you cross on this route is from west to east.

II. From Berí to Tághghel, going along the border of the Lake.

1st. Kólogó.
2d. Késkawa, inhabited by the Kúbberi, with much cultivation of corn, principally "masr" (*Zea maïs*), besides beans; much cattle. There was formerly also a village or district Késkawa on the southern shore of the lake, one day from Ngála.
3d. Kóskodó.
4th. Talgín, a considerable open village. At no great distance from this place is a valley with date-trees. A man on foot can easily reach Talgín in two days from Berí, sleeping in Késkawa. From Talgín the direct road leads to M′awó in three days:
1st. Mánigá, a place inhabited by Tebu and Kánembú, and situated, as it seems, on a creek of the lake.
2d. A village inhabited by Tebu, under the authority of Kashélla Bacha, with a market of some importance, where a great many dates are sold.
3d. Reach M′awó at sunset, after having passed the heat in an open valley-plain with date-trees.
5th. Vuli or Fúli. From here another route leads to M′awó.
6th. Kúnunú.
7th. Kánaná.
8th. Forrom, a place on *terra firma*, not to be confounded with the island of the same name.
9th. Ngíllewá.
10th. Medí.
11th. Tághghel.

I will here only just mention that Tághghel can not be identical with Denham's Tangalia, because the latter was situate about one day's journey south (see Denham, vol. i., p. 265*), or rather S.W. from the Bahr el Ghazál, and Tághghel lies a day and a half to the north of it.

* In this passage, however, it seems almost as if there were a misunderstanding, "in a day" instead of "once."

III. The Bahr el Ghazál, called "burrum" by the Kánembú, and "fédé" by the Tebu Gur'aán.

All the accounts which I received with regard to this much-talked-of valley, which it had been our ardent desire to visit, agreed in the very remarkable statement that its inclination was not from the desert toward the lake, but from the lake toward the desert. All my informants stated that it is now dry, but that less than a hundred years ago it formed the bed of a river or channel opening a communication by water between the Tsád and Búrgu. Indeed, some people asserted that there was still living a very old man, who, in his early youth, had made this journey by water. The spot where this very large wadi, now dry and densely clothed with trees, joins the Tsád, is near the south side of a place called 'Alimarí, distant one day and a half from Tághghel, in a southerly direction. Start from Tághghel, sleep at Kirchímma, before noon arrive at 'Alimarí. But at present this connection between the lake and the valley is said to be blocked up by sand-hills near a spot called Súggera or Mezrák by the Arabs, which prevents the water of the lake, even in its highest state, from entering into the Burrum. However, more inward, another basin is here formed, which is occasionally called Hédebá.

From 'Alimarí to Moító.

Day.
1st. Kedáda, a large place, entirely inhabited by runaway slaves, who have asserted their liberty.
2d. Kédigi, inhabited by La Sál'a or El As'ale' Arabs.
3d. Moító (see Appendix IX.).

'Alimarí to Kárnak Lógone, two and a half days.

Though a few of my informants were of opinion that there was a branch wadi uniting the Bahr el Ghazál with Lake Fittrí, nevertheless most of them stated uniformly that they have no connection whatever, but that several independent valleys intervene between them. This statement is borne out by many circumstances.

The direction of the Burrum, for a considerable part of its course, is given by the route from M'awó to Y'awó, the capital of the province Fittrí (according to my informants, due east).

Day.
1st (short). Kálkalá, different from the place Kulákulá mentioned above.
2d. Gújer. Pass here the heat; start again in the afternoon; sleep on the road. This whole district appears to have the general appellation of Sagóre, which I think can not be different from Yagóre, the name of the country in which Mondó is situated.
3d. Toróro, a well in the Burrum; before the kaila. A man on horseback is said to go on in one day from M'awó to the wadi. Pass here the heat; start again at dhohor, and encamp at sunset, still in the wadi.
4th. Encamp at the beginning of the heat, still in the same wadi.
5th. In another (?) wadi.
6th. Shégeráye, a well with much water (and, according to other informants, in the Burrum).

Day.
7th. Hájiját.
8th. Encamp between the rocks in Wadi Fáli.
9th. Fittrí.

Itinerary from Y'awó to M'awó, according to the Bulála Ibrahím.

1st. Fáli, a rocky valley belonging to Bagírmi.
2d. Aúni, a hamlet inhabited by Bagírmi people.
3d. Búkko.
4th. Shégeráye, a valley inhabited by Tebu Gur'aán.
5th. Bahr el Ghazál.
6th. Kedáda, a place inhabited by Týnjur. It is a question of some importance whether this Kedáda be identical with the Kedáda mentioned above.
7th. Mondó, a considerable place in the district Yagóre, and therefore sometimes called Mondó Yagóre, inhabited by Týnjur (about this curious race of people I shall have occasion to say more in another place), Wáday people, and Arabs. In the same district of Yagóre lies also the place Bugárma, governed by the chief Kedl Adúmmo. Mondó is mentioned by Denham repeatedly under the form Mendoo or Kanem Mendoo, and was computed by him to be distant about ten hours' ride from his station in the camp of the Dúggana.* Mondó is the residence of a governor formerly under the authority of Bórnu, but at present (at least in 1851) under that of Wáday. The present governor is Fúgobo Bakr or A'bakr (properly A'bú Bakr); and very often the agíd el bahr resides here.
8th. Yagúbberi (the name, probably, connected with that of the Kánembú tribe Kúbberi), inhabited by Týnjur.
9th. M'awó.

Here may be conveniently mentioned the stations along the celebrated Burrum, as given to us by the Welád Slimán, which, checked by the itineraries mentioned above, will give an approximate outline of the windings of the valley, as laid down in the map.

Beginning at 'Alímarí, always keeping along the Burrum, the usual stations are the following:

Gerén, Hebál, Shégeráye, Fajája, Múnarak, Shéddera, Torórí, Haradíbe, Gélemní, Hagéji, Tylb-bahr (Túl el bahr?), Chúwaru, Egé.

The situation of Egé is decided by an itinerary from Ngégimi to that place, which shall be given further on. But first I must mention one difficulty, which leaves a little uncertainty in the configuration of this part of the country. This difficulty regards the place Shégeráye, which in this piece of information is mentioned as a spot and well in the Burrum itself, while in the itineraries (p. 613) it is indicated rather as a different valley; but it does not seem so difficult to account for this difference, the large valley apparently dividing repeatedly into several branches.

About the identity of Torórí there can not be the least doubt, as the road from M'awó to this place leads by Kálkalá and Gújer.

* Denham's Journal, vol. i., p. 262, ff. It is not quite clear whether Denham reckons the fifty miles (p. 267) to Mendoo or to M'awó, but probably to M'awó. The name Korata Mendooby (p. 267) means the Keráda (Fugábú) of Mondó.

Short Itinerary from Ngégimi to Egé.

Mayiját, bír Nefása, bír Sherífa, bír el Hósha, el Hamír, bír Hadúj, bír el 'Atesh, bír ben Mússebí, bír Sali, Kéderi, Díra or Díri, Bírfo (I am not sure whether originally bír Fó), Egé.

Another Itinerary from Bír el Kurna to Egé, touching at Bír el 'Atesh and Mússebí.

Day.

1st. A long march; at sunset arrive at bír el 'Atesh, north.
2d. At dhohor encamp in the wilderness.
3d. After four hours' march arrive at bír ben Mússebí.
4th. About 'aser (about half past four o'clock P.M.) encamp in the wilderness.
5th. After four or five hours' march, arrive at bír el Borfó, which is already beyond the boundaries of Kánem. It is evident that this well is not identical with Bírfo.
6th. Encamp in a place with plenty of hád, but only few trees.
7th. At sunset arrive in Egé.

Egé is a very celebrated locality (one prominent spot of which is called Kukúrde) with the nomadic inhabitants of these regions, and is temporarily frequented by a variety of tribes, who visit it in order to water their camels from the famous wells (which are believed to promote the growth of the camel), and to collect the fruit of the siwák or *Capparis*, which grows in very great abundance in this part of the valley, while higher up it seems to be more scanty. The strongest among these tribes in former times were the Bultu or Biltu, who will be mentioned presently in the list of the Tebu tribes, and had formerly the supremacy over the Nakássa, the Halál el debús (an Arab nickname, the proper name of the tribe not being known to me), both of whom frequent likewise Egé, and the Khiyát e' rih (another nickname). Besides the tribes above mentioned, Egé is generally frequented by the Músu, the Sakérda, by that section of the Fugábu which is under the supremacy of Kédl Lawáti, and occasionally by the Welád Slimán. But Egé, of course, on account of its being resorted to by many tribes as a fine place for their herds of camels, is also a marked point for predatory expeditions.

From Egé the Burrum or Bahr el Ghazál seems to turn to the N.W., or at least to the N.N.W., going to Tangúr, a famous place two days from Egé. Tangúr (where the country seems to form a large basin) is generally regarded as the end of the Burrum; and a hypsometrical observation made here would immediately decide the question about the inclination of the Burrum, and show whether the very remarkable statement of the natives be correct or not. Some people contend that the wadi extends still further into Búrku or Búrgu. North from Tangúr, a day or two's march, is the famous place Báteli, not less celebrated than Egé for its fine breed of camels, generally of a dark brown or a rather blackish color, of which I myself had occasionally a specimen in my train, and Degírshim.

After having given this piece of information with regard to the southeast part of Kánem and the Burrum, I now proceed to give some itineraries from the quarters of which information has been obtained in this way, to the country of

Búrku or Búrgu, about which Captain Lyon has given so many interesting details. I will only add that Dr. Overweg took down, from the mouth of a well-informed native, a very exact itinerary of the route from Múrzuk to this country, which, together with the other data and the information collected by Mr. Fresnel, goes far to establish its position with great approximative precision.

FROM EGÉ TO YEN OR BELED EL 'OMIYÁN, THE CHIEF PLACE IN BÚRKU. N.N.E.

Day.

1st. Taró or Tró, a valley with bitter water.

2d. Karó; before the heat of the day.

2d. Aúdánga, a well, with plenty of excellent brushwood.

4th. Tungúrki; before the heat of the day.

5th. Yaiyó el kebír, a well, with dúm-palms, and near to it Yaiyó elsghír. Yaiyó is nine days from Só, on the Búlma road, reaching Gíri in two days, A'rraka in two more days, and from hence Só in five days.

8th. Yen, having entered the limits of Búrku on the 6th day, when you first come to the source called 'Aín Telékka. The neighborhood of Yen is rich in herbage and palm-trees. The village in general consists of houses or cottages built of stone; but the number of the inhabitants fluctuates. Galakka is another of the principal places in Búrku. There are several chiefs of authority in the place, the most influential of whom seems to be Lénga, or, with his title, Táwa Lénga. There is, besides Yówórde, another chief called Kálemé, and a third one called Bíddu, belonging to the tribe or family of the Bídduwa. As for the Kédl-Agré, the chief of the Búltu, he also occasionally resides here. In Téki, a locality fertilized by a large spring, another chief resides, belonging to the Tiyówa, and called Gehénni.

Yen is eleven days from 'Arádha, the seat of the Máhamíd, the position of which may be determined with great precision by the distance from Wára (see Appendix, No. VII.): 1st day, Wen; 3d, Chirógia; 7th, Oshim; 11th, 'Arádha.

I will now say a word about the tribes and families of the Tebu and their present settlements, referring to my account of the history of the Bórnu kingdom (*ante*, p. 30), and to my journey homeward in 1855 for further particulars.

The Tebu, Tubu, or rather Tedá, I think myself still justified in considering, as I have stated on a former occasion,* as nearly related to the Kanúri; and the historical relations between the two nations, which I have had occasion to elucidate above, serve to corroborate my opinion. The Arabs, especially the Welád Slimán, generally add to the name Tebu the word "Gr'aán" or "Gur'aán," which I think myself justified in referring to the district Goran, so often referred to by Leo Africanus, while Marmol writes it Gorhan. The Tebu themselves I never heard use the name, and forgot to ask the meaning of the word. I will here only add that in their own language they call the Kanúri by the name of Túgubá, while they give to the Imoshagh or Tawárek the name of Yéburdé. I shall first mention those Tebu tribes who live in and near Kánem, and have already been mentioned occasionally, then proceed northward, and from thence to the southeast.

* See *ante*, p. 30, note †.

The principal tribes settled in Kánem are the Woghda, the Dogórda, the Gádeá, the Yewórma,* and the Fídda; in Lúmna, on the komádugu Wáúbe, the E'deré or E'durí; north of the komádugu, as far as Beduwáram, the Búlgudá, called by the Arabs and Bórnu people Dáza; near Beduwáram the Wandala, a tribe already mentioned by Captain Lyon, as well as by Major Denham;† near them the Aússa; about the well of A'ghadem the Bolodúwa, called (by the Kanúri) ám Wadébe; along the Burrum, called "féde" by the Tebu, the Kárda, called generally Kréda, separated into several families, the principal of which are the Gelímma, the Grasón (this I think rather the name of a chief, all the names of tribes ending with a vowel), and Bukóshelé; the Shindakóra, with the chief A'bú Nakúr; the Sakerda, with Bakáikoré; the Médemá and the Noreá, generally called Nwórmá;‡ in Egé and Báteli, the Músu, with their chief Wúdda; in Tongúr, the Nakássa, a section of whom are the Un, with the chief Maina; in Bilma or Bulma (which probably is the right form), and the wadi Kawár, or rather "hénderi Tedá," as it is called by the natives, the tribe of the Gésera or Gésedi.

In Tibésti (a general name which once seems to have had a wider range than it has at present) and Báteli: the Temághera,§ as they are generally called, a very interesting tribe, of ancient historical importance (which I have already mentioned on a former occasion as probably having given the name to the province of Demágherim, and which, in the time of Edrís Alawóma, was settled in Ngurúti [written Ghugúti] in Kánem), with the chief Gurdé, who has succeeded to Tehárke; the Gonda or Gunda, whose old chief, Taher Asar, died some time ago (the same who wanted to write a letter to King George in Denham's time) in Borde (the Berdai of Captain Lyon), one of the principal localities in Tibésti, and in other places; the A'rindá in Dírkemáwu, another locality of Tibésti, with the chief Kénemé. North from Tibésti, in the valley T'awó, the Abó, a name which has often, by Lyon, and even by Mr. Overweg, in the itinerary just mentioned, been mistaken for that of a place.

These latter tribes together, I think, form the group generally called Tebu Reshàde, but with the indigenous appellation "Tedetú."

In O'jánga or Wajanga,‖ eastward from Tibésti, and northeastward from Búrku, in the direction of Kúffara, with Kebábo, which latter place, by the people of Búrgu, is called Tesser: the tribe of the Wónya, with the chief Onókke; the Matátena or Gúrin, to the south of them, in fertile valleys producing even figs.

In Búrku: the Búltu, called by the Arabs by the nickname of Nej'a el Keléb, with their powerful chief the kedl-Agré, and residing part of the year in Yen, but, after the dates have been gathered, generally settled in the district called Keré Búrku, and at other seasons in Egé; under the authority of the kedl-Agré

* The Yewórma, as well as the Tymmélme and Yéggada, have been almost annihilated by the Tawárek.

† As for the Traita, mentioned by Lyon, p. 265, and by Major Denham repeatedly, vol. i., p. 42, *et seq.*, I think that this name is not indigenous; at least I have been unsuccessful in getting information respecting a people so called. Denham himself calls them once "the people of Traita."

‡ Under this form they came also under Burckhardt's notice. (Travels in Nubia, 2d ed., Appendix I., p. 435.)

§ There seems to be some Berber element in the word; but I think it is more apparent than real, for the word is distinctly written by Imám A'hmed Tumághira.

‖ See Captain Lyon's Narrative, p. 266, where a rather exaggerated account is given of the irrigation of the country, which seems certainly not to be at all sterile throughout.

are also the Kírdidá in Kírdi,* the Guruwá in Gur, and the Elbuwéda in Elbuwé; the Yenowá, with their chief Alánga, or rather Lénga, in Yen; the Dóza, with their chief Kálema, in Búdda, a valley east of Yen; the Yerda, in a locality of the same name, about half a day's march east from Yen, with the chief Yíle; the Téyewá in Téke, a favored spot or valley at present under the authority of Gehénni, their former chief, Sahávi, the father of a numerous family, having died; in the large valley 'Arádha, on the borders of Wáday, the Mohéde, formerly under 'Othmán Beléde, who died some time ago, and, further on, the Zogháwa, a very numerous and powerful tribe.

I should have now to enumerate the tribe of the Terauye or Bédeyát (or, as they are called by the Arabs, A'uwa), who live in the district E'nnedi, intersected with a great many valleys, one of which is called Káúle, and another in the neighborhood of Wáday, Níyu, if I were sure that they belong to the nation of the Tebu. But the few words of their language which I was able to ascertain, such as water, fire, are entirely different from the corresponding words in módi Tedá: "water," mí (Terauye), éyi (Tedá); "fire," jó (Terauye), wuëni (Tedá). One of their chiefs is Rúzzi, who has become well known on account of his connection with the mercantile enterprise of 'Abd el Kerím Sabún, the King of Wáday.† This chief, who was still living in 1851, is a Moslim, while most of the Terauye are pagans.

* This name has obviously nothing to do with the name which the Kanúri give to pagans; the Tebu called pagans "érdi."

† See Fresnel, *Bulletin de la Soc. de Géogr.*, 1849, 3me série, t. xi., p. 53.

APPENDIX III.

GEOGRAPHICAL DETAILS CONTAINED IN "THE DIVAN," OR ACCOUNT GIVEN BY THE IMA'M A'HMED BEN SOFI'YA * OF THE EXPEDITIONS OF THE KING EDRI'S ALAWO'MA FROM BO'RNU TO KA'NEM.

First Expedition.

1 day, Ghambarú غَمْبَرُوا, starting from Birni Ghasréggomo.

,, Zantam زَنْتَم

,, Kishímuwa كسموه (returning westward).

,, Zantam (returning eastward).

,, Ghotúwa غتوه

Several days, Berí برى *, having made short marches. However, the king did not encamp in the town of Berí itself, but round about a fortified place (شوكيه) called Ghátigha غَاتِغْه, which according to other accounts was situated at some little distance from the town of Berí. Berí was a celebrated place, on account of its situation, and of great importance in the intercourse between Bórnu and Kánem.†

* See *ante*, page 20. I remark once for all that the names in the MS. are written in the Maghrebi or Warash style; but they shall here be given in the Eastern or A'bú 'Omár character.

† و هو بلد مشهور عند كل من يذ هب الى بلد كانم من اهل برنوا

1 day, Furtú فُرتُوا (arrival at the time of the káila, or kiyúla), passing by Sakala سكله, a locality (مكان), not an inhabited place, and by the town Ghayawá غَيَوا. The town of Furtú or Furtúwa is of the greatest importance in the geography of Kánem, as it is identical with the I'klí or I'kelí mentioned by Makrízí.* Imám A'hmed writes اِكْلِهْ. But it had besides a third name, viz. Gháljadú, or Gháljadúwá غَلْجَدُوا.

„ Alále, أَلالَه, with easterly direction.

„ Ghibúwa-kanjiyíz غِبُوَ كَنْجِيز, a locality, not an inhabited place.

„ Daghál دغال

„ Burum بُرُم

„ Róro رُورُ بلد

„ Keswadá كَسوَدا

„ Ghumámí غُمَامى

„ Súlú or Súlúwá سُولُوا. This place in another passage† is called by the author a seat of the Kenaníya, a tribe which in former times seems to have formed the principal stock of the population of Kánem, and who were hostile to the people of Bórnu, but who appear to have suffered greatly by the expeditions of Edrís. See further on.

„ Múlghim مُولْغِم

„ Kurú or Kurúwá كُرُوا

„ Melajerá, a river بِملَجرَا النحر المسمى.‡

„ Rimbawá رِمبَوا

„ Ma'wó, written here معوا, but soon afterwards ماوا and p. 16, ماُو (even مَاوُو by mistake). He arrived here

* See *ante*, page 31.

† MS, p. 101.

‡ This river is a very important feature in the country, and would be easily identified if a traveller were to visit those southern regions of Kánem.

a little before zawál. The situation of Berí being ascertained by ourselves, and that of Ma'wó being laid down with approximative certainty, the whole route, supposing that it runs in a tolerably straight line, could be described with some approach to exactness in a map. Of course the uncertainty increases as we pass beyond this place into the south-eastern quarter of Kánem. Ma'wó was then a place celebrated throughout the whole of Kánem ; but it was not the residence of any powerful chief. 'Abd el Jelíl the Bulála prince at that time resided in Yitúkurma (or Yutúkurma, for both forms appear * يِتُوكُرمَه and يُتُوكُرْمَهْ) distant from Ma'wó "megíl" (that is to say, from five to six hours' march, at a very swift rate), in a S.E. direction, as it seems.

From Ma'wó Edrís directed his course to Wasámí وَسَامِى in a northerly direction (p. 18), distant about zawál, while the host of the Bulála came to Kírsila كِرْسِلَه, which probably† lay west of Wasámi. The Bulála fled (at the dhahúwe) ; Edrís went towards the southern parts of Kánem, arrived between dhohor and a'ser at Mánmana مَنْمَنَه, where there was no water.

From hence to Tasa تَسه or Tusa تُسه. Arrived about zawál. Evidently a large place, as he remained here eight days. Here the Bulála fled a second time.

From Tasa, Njímiye or Shímiye (here written السِيمِ, a little further on الجِيم, and a few lines previously السِيمَ), before zawál ; the old capital before the time of

* These two different forms occur in many Kanúri and Tebu names :—Bulma and Bilma, burni (as Imám A'hmed always writes) and birni, and so on.

† Very questionable ; the Bulála when flying retired eastward.

Dáúd. Unfortunately he does not add in what direction he went.

Here Edrís had the Kurán read thrice at the sepulchres of the old kings of Bórnu.

From Njímiye Edrís went to A'gháfí الاغافى, where there was a fortified place of the Bulála; arrived at dhohor (after a short delay on the march), met the hostile army there, who instantly turned their backs.

From A'gháfí to Sendú سَنْدُوه

From Sendú to I'kima اكِمَهَ

From I'kima returned to A'gháfí, and celebrated there the ʿAíd el Fotr according to the old fashion of Bórnu.

From A'gháfí to Fifísi فِفِيسِه, starting in the evening; marched the whole night, and arrived in the morning. Made here much booty, ʿAbd el Jelíl having taken to flight.

From Fifísi returned to A'gháfí in two days and a half, while ʿAbd el Jelíl was in Ghasikú غَسكُوا north from A'gháfí.

From A'gháfí Edrís went to Njímiye, starting at the beginning of aʿser and arriving at el aʿshá.

From Njímiye he then went to Melíma مَلِيمَه from dhohor till mughreb at a swift rate.

From Melíma to Ghasikú.

From Ghasikú returned to A'gháfí by Melíma and Njímiye, and resided there for a long time, collecting the chiefs of the Bulála and even the Arabs and the tribe of Fittrí, and conferring the government of Kánem on the fáki Mohammed ben ʿAbd-Allah.

From A'gháfí Edrís went to Ghamtilú the burial-place of Bíri ben Dúnama.

From Ghamtilú, southwards to Belághi بَلَاغ

(While the King Edrís went to Belághi, his imám, A'hmed ben Sofíya, the author of the history of Edrís' expedi-

tions, keeping more to the west, visited an old mosque called مسجد اَرِمّى apparently one of the first places of Mohammedan worship in the country.)

From Belághi Edrís went again southwards, in the direction of the lake الى جهة النكر من اليمين to Fisla فِسلَه where he remained a long time, receiving embassies from Arabs and Kúka, or rather Kúkú كوكوا and Fittrí.

From Fisla Edrís turned westwards towards Bórnu :

First to Díyawá ديوَا where he made some stay.

From Diyawá to Ghalá, or rather Ngalá, غَلَا

From Ngalá to A'wano, اوَنُه

From A'wano to ʿAlúwa, علُوَة

From ʿAlúwa (returned ?) to Ngalá.

From Ngalá to Madaghama مَدَغَمه where he was joined by Mohammed ben ʿAbd-Allah and his army.

From Madaghama, having heard that ʿAbd el Jelíl had come again to Yitukurma, Edrís returned once more eastward to Ngalá, thence again to Madaghama.

From Madaghama, proceeding straight for Bórnu, in one long day, to Súlú.

From Súlú to Keghusiti, كغُسِطِه

From Keghusiti to Síki, البلد سِيكِه, which at that time formed the frontier between Bórnu and Kánem, on which account the drum was there beaten.

From Síki to the district of the Sugurti or Sukurti ارض سُكُرْت

From Sugurti to Bulúghi بُلُوغِ

From Bulúghi to Ngughúti (Ngurúti) غوغوته, further on غُغُوته

From Ngughúti to Berí.

But his return to Bórnu was frustrated ; for, having learnt in Berí the news of a battle fought between ʿAbd el Jelíl and

Mohammed, whom he had made governor of Kánem, near Yitukurma, in which the latter was apparently vanquished, he returned once more to the east, dividing his army into two portions, and taking only one division with him.

From Berí to Ghátíghi (here written غاتيغه) the same fortified place which has been before mentioned as lying quite in the neighbourhood of Berí, and where the armies used to assemble.

From Ghátíghi or Ghátiga to Ngughúti.

From Ngughúti to Bulúghi.

From Bulúghi to Kirteti (?) كرتتى

From Kirteti to Keghusiti.

From Keghusiti to Ririkmi رركمه

From Ririkmi to Gharni-Kiyála غَرْنى كِيالَهَ a large walled town, evidently one of the two Kiyála mentioned (p. 484) as belonging to Shitáti.

From Gharni-Kiyála to Yesembú يسَمبُوا starting in the night, at a swift rate, and reaching the place after sunrise ; but apparently it did not lie in his way, as he returned from thence into the direct road.

From hence to Wasámi.

From Wasámi to Melima, reaching it at the káila (about eleven o'clock).

From Melíma to Njímiye (east), arriving in the evening.

From Njímiye to A'ghátí, or the fortress of A'ghátí, starting after midnight, and arriving before sunrise. Pursuing thence ʿAbd el Jelíl, he caught part of his Zmála, with the queen Ghumsu Wábi.

From A'ghátí returned to Njímiye.

(The khalífa Yerima Yaghá, whom Edrís had left with the sick in Wasámi, pursuing his march from thence at a slow rate towards the north (الى جهة الشمال), went first to Díru دِيرُ

From Díru to Madhímí مَضِيمِ

From Madhími to Njímiye, where he met Edrís.)

From Njímiye Edrís went eastwards to Kawál كَوَالْ Arrived at dhahawe (about nine o'clock A.M.).

From Kawál he started at midnight; went first south, at dawn turned eastwards gradually towards the north, and fell upon the Tebu (evidently about the Bahr el Ghazál).

Returned from this predatory excursion to Kawál.

From Kawál returning to Njímiye [apparently by a long detour], went first to Saghi (Sheghi, Shiri ?) سَغِه which he reached at sunset.

From Saghi, starting before sunrise, reached Njímiye by way of I'kma اِكْمَه and Ghurfala غُرْفَلَ

The return of Edrís to Njímiye happened just at the right time; for the Bulála king, who had received the news of Edrís' return to Kánem on his way to Bagírmi, or as it is here written, in the form usual to the Kanúri, Bagharmí بَغَرْمِى led his host against the Bórnu army, and had almost succeeded in taking the camp by surprise, when Edrís arrived and compelled him to fly.

From Njímiye Edrís now went to Ghimará غِمَرا

From Ghimará, in a southerly direction, to Satóm سَتُوم a place close to Yitukurma.

From Satóm to Daghelú or Daghelwá دغلوا, where 'Abd el Jelíl had taken up his residence, but fled. [Daghelú, most probably, is identical with Taghghel.]

Returning from Daghelú to Satóm, Edrís met his vizier in Kargha-Simsim كرغه سِمسِم* [consequently Daghelú lay south from Kargha, or in the southern part of Kargha].

In Simsim, Edrís had a conference with some Arabs

* In my MS., before this name there is a slight mistake, caused by a repetition of the first part of the name.

[Shúwa] and Tebu or Tubu تُبْ as A'hmed generally writes the name. The latter chose to migrate to Bórnu, while the former, who enjoyed a strict alliance with the Bórnu king, remained behind in Kánem.

From Simsim Edrís went northwards to Bárí بارى [evidently the district mentioned above]. (The vizier also, whom Edrís had left behind in Satóm, in order to meet his master in Simsim, had traversed Bárí).*

From Bárí Edrís went to Mandó مندو [Mandó Yagóre].

From Mandó Edrís went northwards, when he became aware that the enemy was marching westwards, and changed his march till he came to Kitaki (?) البلد كِطَكِي

'Abd el Jelíl, being pursued, fled into the desert.

(The officer Mídalá ben Fátima, left in Mandó, followed his king slowly, but nevertheless, on starting from Mandó, did not encamp before he had passed Ma'wó.

Having in this encampment received the order to come to Yira, he went first to Yíkima يِكِمه

Thence to Yira يِرَهَ where he arrived at the time of the hejír, that is to say, a little past twelve o'clock.

From hence he went to Sitati (probably Shitáti) سِطَطِ (thus written thrice).†

From Shitáti Edrís turned westwards on his home-journey to Bórnu, but encamped the first day quite near, where the Arabs (Shúwa) took leave of him.

* In Bárí the vizier fell in with a kafila of strangers whom he plundered: الذى وجد فيه الرفقا الذين كانوا مع كَوُمه من اهل الارمى

Kaúma probably was a governor of the town Kaú, the place of Shitáti mentioned p. 607. A'hel el A'rmi has evidently a connection with the mesjed A'rmi mentioned before.

† It is evident from this, that the name كِطَكِي above is a mere lapse of the pen.

From hence he proceeded slowly to Berí,* where the booty was divided, and all those among the captives who were free men allowed to return to their families or tribes, without any ransom, according to a very remarkable custom observed from ancient times by the Bulála, in their predatory incursions into Bórnu—a first germ of international law.

Second Expedition.

Scarcely had Edrís Alawóma dismissed his governors and officers, in order to prepare all that was wanted for another expedition into Kánem, when he received the news that his indefatigable and harassing enemy had come into the neighbourhood of Bulúji, or Bulúghi.

Edrís therefore hastened back from his favourite town Ghambarú, when ʿAbd el Jelíl turned off towards the north to Kara كَرَهْ or Kura كُرِه and Jitkú جِتْكُوا [probably so called from the Tebu tribe of that name], while Edrís ben Harún, the faithful and valiant vizier of the Bórnu king, was stationed in the neighbouring town of Butti بُتِّه.

Edrís came from Berí to Ghayawá غَيَوا, where he met his vizier.

From Ghayawá he came to the district of the Sugurti arriving about the aʿshá.

From Sugurti he went to "the red water" الما لاحمر.

From this place, instead of taking the road by Súlú, he kept more to the north, reached a copious well at zawál (between twelve and one o'clock), started again at aʿser, and reached at sunset the well Rubki رُبْكِه or Rubku رُبْكُه with irrigated plantations (khattatír).

* Berí is here once written بارى by mistake; in another place it is written برية.

From Rubku, starting at midnight, reached I'kerima إكريمه where ʿAbd el Jelíl had taken up his residence, about zawál, made a great booty ; the Bulála king fled.

Edrís returned from I'kerima to Rubku in two days and a half.

From Rubku he returned to Berí, and from thence returned to Ghambarú, as it would seem from Imám A'hmed's account, at an enormously swift rate, traversing the space from Berí to Ghambarú, 130 geogr. miles in a straight line, in about 25 hours' actual march.

Start from Berí at aʿser, arrive at Kebúwa كَبُوَة at the aʿshá.

Start from Kebúwa in the morning, arrive at Kikeri كِكَرِه at the káila.

Start from Kikeri in the afternoon, arrive at Debúbu دبوبو or دبوبة at the aʿshá.

Start from Debúbu in the morning, arrive at Ruwáyah رُوَايَة at the káila.

From hence Ghambarú, a few miles, from the beginning till the end of aʿser.

Third Expedition.

Edrís having rested but a short time, immediately prepared another expedition, in order to return to Kánem before the gathering in of the dates.

The army collected in Ghátigha close to Berí.

Setting out from thence, along the shores of the Tsáde, or Tsádi ثَادِ النكر يسير بطرف he went to Ngughúti.

From Ngughúti to Bulúji.

From Bulúji to the district of the Sugurti.

From hence to Róro, from whence he sent his light and choice cavalry in advance.

From Róro to Kimisno كِمِسّنو البلد arrived at zawál.

From Kimisnó, starting at the beginning of the a'ser, at a very swift rate, reached before sunset Lebá لَبا, a celebrated locality with artificial irrigation.

From Lebá, proceeding in an easterly direction, to Gharni Kiyála, in two days and a half.

From Gharni Kiyála, starting at a'ser, following an easterly direction, for I'sembú, or Yisembú, dismounting only at sunset to cook, and feed the horses; and thus continuing on the whole night, and only dismounting again to say the prayer of dawn, Edrís continued his march till he had passed Wasámi, which was near Yisembú, evidently towards the west, and made a rich booty.

From Yisembú he went to Delli دَلّي البلد which was famous on account of its richness in dates, and its general exuberance. Here he gathered the dates in all the different stages of maturity.

From Delli, Edrís turned westwards, in order to join the officer Yíruma Yaghá, when, receiving intelligence that the Tebu wanted to cut him off, he attacked them, and made an immense slaughter.

Went from hence to "the great well"—name not given.

From hence to Gharni Kiyála, following an experienced Tebu guide.

From Gharni Kiyála Edrís turned eastward towards the places or valleys rich in date-trees. Encamped in a vale بقعة

From hence he went without stopping till he reached Yídh يِضْ or Yídhi يِضِه a place especially famous on account of its dates.

From hence he turned southwards, and went to Fógha فوغه likewise rich in dates. (Another place with date-trees is here mentioned, of the name of Debekú.)

From Fógha back to Delli, or rather a little beyond it.

From hence in several days, in a southerly direction, he went to I'wana إِوَنه, in the southern part of Kánem.

From hence, by way of Delmi, he went to Daghelú or Daghulwá, here written دَغُلوا, the place above-mentioned, but which, on this occasion, the historian represents as a place especially celebrated with the people of Kánem, and at that time extremely wealthy. Slept on the shore of the lagoons, as his whole road led through numbers of lagoons or ponds, just then full of water; arriving the next morning at the town, found it empty, but the Koyám, and those of his army who were mounted upon camels, followed the people northwards, and made rich booty.

The king of the Bulála and his party meanwhile fled into the desert.

Edrís returned homewards towards Bórnu.

First to Ngalá, a cluster of villages, or rather district البلد غلا او القليم غلا

From Ngalá to Tentebú تَنتَبُوا

From Tentebú to Róro.

From Róro northwards to Siru سِرُه. In going, Edrís employed a day and a night يوما و ليلا but on returning from Siru to Róro only marched from morning till sunset, so that the distance cannot be very great, as he was then laden with spoil (a great booty in cattle and goats, but no camels).

From Róro to Limárá لِمَارَا, where he stopped two days.

From thence to Ghayáwa.

From Ghayáwa he took another road to Dilárá دِلارا where he left half of his army, returning with the other half to Ghambarú.

Fourth* Expedition.

The next year, on the first Sunday in Shawál, Edrís again left Ghambarú, reached Kesúdá by way of Zamtam, I'tanáwa, Berí, Ngurúti or Ngughúti, Sugurti, Róro.

From Kesúda, leaving the road to Ghumámi on one side, he went to Síki.

From Síki to Ríkma ريركمه

From Ríkma to Wagham وَغَم

From Wagham to Wasámi.

From Wasámi to Ma'wó or Máwó, here written ماوا

From Ma'wó to Ghamirá غَمِرَا

From Ghamirá to Njímiye, the chief town of Kánem المدينه الكبيره البلد الكبير

From Njímiye to Belághi, taking with him a great provision of water.

From Belághi to A'ghófí ; starting at a'ser, arrived before sunset.

From A'ghófí to Ghanjáya, arriving near zawál.

From Ghanjáya to Ragharkú رغَرْكوا

In their fortified encampment near this place the Bórnu army on the 25th Dhu el kadá, was attacked at night by the Bulála, when a very severe struggle ensued, and the camp was almost taken by the enemy with great slaughter of the Bórnu people, and considerable loss of property.

From Ragharkú Edrís went to Delli, when the Bulála gave up their last stronghold, Aghó اغو or اغوا, a very old place which they had rebuilt and restored after Edrís had destroyed all their strongholds in Kánem, even the two other most famous places I'kima and A'ghófí.†

* According to Imám A'hmed, this was the fifth expedition which the king had undertaken.

† I shall here insert the whole passage of the historian, which is of the highest importance. (See following page.)

Aghó was evidently situated on the brink of the vale or hollow (بقعة) which we passed on our march, the 10th of October; and Delli is identical with the place mentioned above among the most important inhabited spots of Shitáti.

From Delli Edrís went southwards towards Kelu كَلُهْ very slowly, till they crossed the river which divides Kánem Kelu,* and he pursued his march till he came to Listerí

سار السلطان الى كانم اربع مرات قبل هذا السير الذه فيه القتال بيننا و بينهم حهارا ليلا و نهارا فخرب فيها البقاع الثلاثه الكبيرة المشهورة حتى مرت كالفضا الواسع احدها البلدة الكبيرة اكمه ثانتيتها شوكية الاغافى ثالثتها البلدة اغوا ولما خرب تلك البقاع الثلثة اصاب هم الغم العظيمُ و مع ذلك خرب البلاد كلها و ايضا فقد نقل القوم لساكنين بكانمُ الى بلد برَنوا حتى اهل البلد كَلُه الذى كان فى جهة اليمين العيدَةِ من النكر و ما بقيت فى بلد كانم قبيلة من القبايل الذين اتوا الى بلد بَرنُوا البعض اَقوامهم و ما اتوا الى برنوا عن طيب و اذعان قلوبهم بل بالخبر القاهر و الخوف الظاحر و لولا قبيله تُبُ الذين ارادوا تاكيد السلطان عبد الجليل و امانته لما سرنا الى كانم الا سَيرةً واحدةً و الله اعلم بحقيقة الحال.

* This passage is of the highest interest; and I therefore give the words of the author:

الى ناحية اليمين من بلد كَلُه مهلا مهلا الى ان جاوزوا النكر الذى بين كان البلد كَلُه و بين كانم و ما زلنا سايرين الى وصلنا البلد لسترى.

The author evidently speaks of a watercourse, and not of a dry valley; but it is not clear whether it be an independent river or part of the Tsád. Compare the passage in the preceding note, where he speaks about this same Kelu, and calls it العيدَةِ من النكر, and the note (*) on the following page.

لِسْتِرِى a place which is stated to have belonged formerly to the tribe of the Kilábetí كِلَابِتِى and which contained a great number of cottages or tents كثيرة البيوت. I should believe that Kelu is the country of the Kaleáma in the south-eastern quarter of the Tsád, if anything were said about his having crossed Bárí and Kargha; but at least it is evident that it was a distant march of several days.

From Kelu, Edrís returned northwards, and fought a sanguinary battle with 'Abd el Jelíl, the Bulála king, before Kiyáyaka كِيَايَكَهْ (a little further on less correct كِيَاكَهْ).

Kiyáyaka was a district where the Bulála, after their other strongholds I'kima, A'ghófi, and Aghó had been destroyed, had built a new fortress, at the instigation, it is said, of the princesses. This fortification, or rather group of three different forts, Yekí يَكِى, Makaranna مَكَرَنَّه, and Kurkuriwa كُرْكُرُوَهَ,* became a large and important place, the Bulála transferring thither by force the inhabitants from all parts of Kánem, with the exception of those of Tetálúwa or Tetálú تتالوا and A'fági افاقِ.† But principally they settled there

* I give here this passage, which is curious:

ان يبنوا الشوكية بالبلد كِيَايَكه ـ فيها موضع يَكِى و موضع مَكَرَنّه و موضع كُرْكُرُوَهَ و هكذا بنوا حدود الارض التى كانت ماصفة بالنحر من بلد كُله و بنوا بالبلد الذه فيه الحصن الكثير فكل قبلةٍ حصنا من الا شجار الا ناحية اليمين فقط.

† The first of these names is evidently connected with the name of the tribe of the Tetála, a section of the large nation of the Só or Soy, who, having been almost annihilated by this same king Edrís, retired into the swampy grounds of the Tsád, see *ante*, page 586. The name A'fági reminds one of A'fagé; but this is not a town of Kánem, and cannot certainly be meant here.

all the Tebu, even the Keserdá (كسَرِدًا) most probably a mistake instead of Sakerdá, so that but few of this tribe remained behind in Kánem. The Bulála made, moreover, strict alliance with the people of the south (اهل جهة اليمين), the people of Kargha, in order to provide them with corn, which they bought with tobes and cattle. This intercourse ceased only when Edrís came to Ragharkú.

The battle which was fought near this important place of Kiyáyaka, was won by the king Edrís through his personal valour, after much slaughter on both sides, when he entered the town, and having encamped there for two days, all the time beating the drum, burnt the whole place.

From Kiyáyaka Edrís went eastward to Mi مِع بلد probably the place of this name mentioned above as belonging to Shitáti, although this would carry back the situation of Kiyáyaka very far westward, as from the author's words it appears that the distance between both places was considerable.

(Meanwhile his vizier pursued ʿAbd el Jelíl to Kawál, evidently the place mentioned above ;

From Kawál to Kuwáka كواكه

From Kuwáka to I'tanáwa, also mentioned on a former occasion.

From I'tanáwa, while ʿAbd el Jelíl fled into the open desert, the vizier Edrís fell upon the Tebu and made great plunder. He went thence and joined his master the sultan in Mi, where they celebrated the ʿAíd el kebír.)

From Mi, Edrís returned to Kiyáyaka.

(From Kiyáyaka the king sent Farkama Mohammed to Kála گالَة الى البلد.)

Edrís himself went from Kiyáyaka to Gharikú, where he had a long conference with the Arabs.

From Gharikú he proceeded a great distance northwards on an expedition against the Tebu, while he sent the heavy part of his army to Njímiye.

Having vanquished the Tebu, he returned to Tínu تِينُهْ

From Tínu to Njímiye, south, from dhohor to sunset, and from morning to zawál.

In Njímiye the Tebu came to make their submission, and in the sansanne (evidently the fortified camp of his army), which the sultan then entered, he received legations from the inhabitants of Fittrí فِتِرِّى اهل البلد and from the Arab or Shúwa chief ʿAli ben Yerdha, and a messenger from the tribe of the Kúka مِلهِ من قبيله كوكو (what Mili is I do not know, but suppose it to be the name of a particular spot or division of the Kúka). During his stay here he was plentifully supplied with corn by the Arabs.

(From Njímiye Edrís sent part of his army in pursuit of ʿAbd el Jelíl, who had turned westwards, and then probably to the north, for the Bórnu men directed their course first to the northward, but, having gone to a great distance without finding ʿAbd el Jelíl, gave up their pursuit, and ransacked the town Kiríwa كِرِيوَه

From Kiríwa they went to Maʿwó to wait for the sultan.)

Edrís himself went from Njímiye westward to Ghamirá غِمرَا made an alliance with its inhabitants.

From Ghamirá southward to (?*), and remained there some time.

From this place, which is somewhere in the south about Kargha, Edrís returned to Maʿwó, where he met his people.

From Maʿwó Edrís began his home-journey to Bórnu:

First to Málehí مالَهِى

From Málehí to Múlí Ghim and Múlí Fúlí

الى المولِيين مُولِى غم و مُولِى فولِ

* Here is an omission in the text, p. 99.

From Múlí to Súlú سولوا where he fixed his camp in a place called Fíyú فيو

From Súlú to Kesúdá كسودا

From Kesúdá, by the well-known places Róró, Sugurti, Bulúji, Ngughúti, to the celebrated place Ghátigha, or Ghátighi, near Berí.

From Ghátigha to I'tanáwa, starting at a'ser and arriving at ashá.

From I'tanáwa to Ruwáya.

From Ruwáya to Ghambarú.

Fifth Expedition.

Having spent ten days in his favourite place Ghambarú in great festivity, Edrís prepared another expedition to Kánem against the tribe of the Kenáníye قبيلة الكنانية. I have already spoken of this tribe on a former occasion;* and I must confess that I doubt whether the name Kenáníye be indigenous, but rather think that the people who bear it are identical with the Haddáda, or Bongu, who seem to have once formed a very numerous tribe, and may have been the original inhabitants of Kánem altogether. At that time the principal seat of this remarkable tribe was Súlú, the place mentioned already repeatedly, and were therefore generally known under the name of "the people of Súlú اهل سولوا. But being afraid of the Bórnu king, whose wrath they had provoked by their predatory habits, they left their seats, while he was returning from Kánem, and retired to Kargha كَرْغَه.†

Edrís collected his army in Fakará about middle of Jumád I.

* *Ante*, p. 31.

† The author adds the interesting words (p. 103):

و هو المكان الحاطى بالما من النحر ثاد الذى وراه الحشيش للرعى

From Fakará he went to Dalikina دَلِكِنِه ; arrived at káila.

From Dalikina to Madáwa مداوَه ; arrived at káila.

From Madáwa to Keri Kurúku كَرِه كُرُوكُ, arriving at noon.

From Keri Kurúku to Keri or Kuri Keramnú كُرِه كَرَمْنُوه

From Keramnú to Wurni وُرِنِه, arriving at kaila.

From Wurni to Lebúdu, arriving at noon.

From Lebúdu to Kesúdá.

Then by Bulúji Berí [erroneously written for Burrum], to Róro.

Having arrived at Róro at noon, he left it again at a'ser, said the prayers of mughreb at a ghadír called Kitanáka كِتَناكَهْ, started again in the evening, and arrived at Síki about two o'clock in the morning.

In Síki he divided his army into three parts, one going with the keghámma southwards to Ríríkma رِيرِيكْمَهَ and other places of the Kenáníye, another with the Yeríma, northwards, to Máy and the district thereabouts, inhabited by the same tribe.

Edrís himself took the middle road towards Dídí دِيدِي and other places in the neighbourhood, made a great plunder (about one thousand slaves), and then turned back.

From Dídí to Ríríkma, where he arrived at a'ser.

From Ríríkma he went and encamped near a celebrated ethel-tree which marked the very frontier of Kánem, having rested during the heat a couple of hours at the ghadír or pond of Kitanáka, where he arrived at zawál.

From the frontier (which must have been somewhere near Síki ; see above) to Róro.

(From thence by the great road to Birni.)

From Róro to Burrum [here again by mistake Berí is written].

From Burrum to Bulúji.

From Bulúji to Fúrtu.

From Fúrtu to Melfifí (not a town, but a pond or basin الحوض المسمى بملفيفى), apparently not far from Berí.

From Melfifí to the place Merdalí البلد مَرِدَلِى

From Merdalí to Ghuwi Kefúkwa غُوهِ كفوكوَة, where he met a caravan of Bórnu and Tebu merchants with plenty of horses.

From thence to Ghíghir البلد المعروف بغيغِو, starting at dhohor, and arriving at the end of aʿser.

From Ghíghir to Ghiskirú البلد غِسكِرُوا

From thence to Zamtam.

From Zamtam to Ghambarú, having crossed the river البحر الكبير

From Ghambarú to Birni, or Burni, in the evening.

The result of this expedition had been that the tribe of the Kenaníye, which had hitherto been the most numerous in Kánem, was entirely humiliated.

Last Expedition to the Borders of Kánem.

When Edrís received the news in Birni that Mohammed ben ʿAbd Allah, whom he had made king of Kánem, had vanquished the Bulála king ʿAbd el Jelíl, chiefly with the assistance of the Arabs, or Shúwa, and especially that of the powerful chief ʿAlí ben Yerdha, he returned once more to Kánem in shawál, going

From Ghambarú to Zamtam ;

From Zamtam to Ghetú ;

From Ghetú to Mílu ;

From Mílu to Ledá لدا

From Ledá to Burkumúwa بُركمُوه

From Burkumúwa to Ghawáli غَوَالِهِ

From Ghawáli to Milti ;

From Milti to Berí, here written بَرِيَه

From Berí to Ghayawá ;

From Ghayawá to Melhú مَلْهُوا

From Melhúwa to Dighimsil دِغمسل

From Dighimsil to Hughulghula حُغُلْغُلَه, near Dílaram دِيلَرَم

From Hughulghula to Róro ;

From Róro to Kesúdá.

From Kesúdá to Síki, here distinguished by the surname دانمَه (*sic*).

Here he met the new king of Kánem, Mohammed ben ʿAbd Allah, and had a conference with him on the subject of the borders of their respective kingdoms ; and they stipulated that the whole of Keghusti and the whole of Síru (Shíri), as well as Babáliyá, should belong to Bórnu.* The latter condition, in particular, is of great interest.

Mohammed ben ʿAbd Allah took an oath of obedience, and in conformity the officers of the Bulála took two oaths, —the first to the king of Bórnu, and the second to that of Kánem.

Having held a review of the army, Edrís returned by Síki, Róro, Dílaram, Bulúji, Ghayawá, Berí, Multi, Dídí, Mílu, Ruwáya, Berselma, Ghatawa, and across the komádugu النحر الجارى to Birni.

* فصار جميع كفُسطِه باقليمها من خط برنوا و كذلك جميع بلاد سِيرُه صارت بافا قها من نصيب بلدنا برنوا و كذلك صار البلد ببالیا من خط برنوا . . و اعطاهم سلطاننا من بقى من كانم لمكبة السلطان محمد بن عبد الله و لولا دلك ما اعطاهم شبرا من ارض كانم ابدا.

APPENDIX IV.

ACCOUNT OF THE VARIOUS DETACHMENTS OF CAVALRY COMPOSING THE BO'RNU ARMY IN THE EXPEDITION TO MU'SGU.

(*a.*) *The Shúwa or Native Arabs.*

Lawán Háji, the chief of the A'mjegé, who had his residence in A'mdagé.
Fúgo Dermán ('Abd e' Rahmán), from Bainge.
Fúgo A'digé, from M'alemrí, one of the villages belonging to the district Wolóje.
Fúgo I'nus (Yúnes), from Malewá.
Fúgo Dermán, from Wólamsáy.
Fúgo Kóloné, chief of the Sárají, from Yelówenni.
Mai Ashé, chief of the M'ayin, from A'shegrí.
Fúgo Pálama, from Pálamarí.
Fúgo Hamma, from Mágariyá.
Máfoníma, from Máfoní.
Fúgo Mohammed, from Aisárem.
Fúgo Kóre, from Keríngur.
Lawán Hámed, from Karawáru.
Lawán Mohammed, from Góbewó.
Fúgo A'dam, from Kajé.
Lawán Slímán, from Slímán.
Mai Kálama, from Kála.
Fúgo Hámed (generally called A'bú Dáúd), the chief of the Kohálema, from Kúmbedá, to the north of Yédí.*
Sheikh Sále, from Molút, with about one hundred horse.
Sheikh Tauru, from Ngomáti.
Fúgo Bádawe, son of Háj Beshír, with a few horses.

(*b.*) *Kanúri, free Men and Slaves.*

Slaves of the Sheikh:	Light Cavalry.	Heavy Cavalry, or Libbedi.
Kashélla Belál	200	30
'Alí Marghí	200	30
Kashélla Sále	100	20
K. 'Abdelléhi ('Abd-Allah)	80	16
K. Zay	150	20
K. 'Alí-Déndal	90	20
Three other petty officers, together, with	21	0

* Each of these Shúwa chiefs had some hundred horsemen with him. Only two great chiefs did not join the expedition, namely, Mohammed Kunéwu, the chief of Shegáwu, and Lawán Gíbdo, from Lerdó.

	Light Cavalry.	Heavy Cavalry, or Libbedi.
Slaves of the Vizier:		
K. Játo	200	34
K. Khéralla	150	20
K. Kóbtar A'jimé	140	25
K. Háji Kakáwu	80	15
K. Túmbedé	100	18
K. Báso	40	10
Mounted Musketeers of the Sheikh:		
K. Abdelléhi (different from the one mentioned)	20	0
K. Zérma	30	0
K. Mágaji	10	0
K. Billama (my friend)	32	0
K. Mállaré	20	0
Musketeers of the Vizier:		
K. Méhemé	10	0
K. Fatálla	8	0
K. Masúd	10	0
Háji Urfay	100	16
Háji Ramadhán	60	12
Bédawé	50	0
Malá Mása Mándará	30	0
Yagha Ghaná	80	20
M'allem Chádeli	100	10
Mohammed Gájemí	60	1
Mohammed Bú 'Alagh	20	0
Legiwódda	40	8
Kashélla 'Omár	50	6
K. 'Omár Dóra	30	0
Wáseli (an officer of Mestréma, the chief eunuch)	40	10
K. 'Alí Agún (attendant of Abaiso)	28	8
K. Bággar (another officer of the same)	40	0
A'mji (a man of Díghama)	30	1
K. Mohammed Marghí (an officer of 'Abd e' Rahmán)	80	5
Shitíma M'adu	30	0
Shitíma Yóma (governor of Yó, with the Mobber)	40	0
Shitíma Fugóma	50	0
Shitíma Zabeláuma	10	0
Shitíma Yáwama	40	0
Shitíma Bósoma	20	0
Shitíma 'Abdu	20	0
Shitíma 'Abadémma	10	0
Courtiers and partisans of the Vizier:		
Gréma Milúd	200	33
Lamíno	150	21
Báshara (officer of Lamíno)	13	0
Dýnama Gajarémma	20	7
Sheikh 'Abbás	20	7
Hamza weled el Góni	60	3

	Light Cavalry.	Heavy Cavalry, or Libbedi.
Karaberíma	8	0
Balál	18	0
A'damu	8	0
'Abdelléhi Shíntiri	16	0
M'allem Malérama	6	0
Abrás	6	0
Kashélla S'aid (officer of M'allem Mohammed)	30	0
Abba Masta (son of the old sheikh Mohammed el Kánem)	60	10
Abba Bagar	90	13
Refáy	90	16
Beshír	10	0
Asan (grandson of Mohammed el Kánemí by 'Al.)	30	1
Kázelma	13	0
Yeríma	5	0
E'rima	10	0
U'noma (Tebu chieftain)	200	0
Fagodóma (chief of Koyám)	100	0
Murjúma (Koyám)	80	0
Káúma* (Koyám)	60	0
Senwa Babudma (Koyám)	40	0
Senwa Kindagoma (Koyám)	100	0
Kótoko (Kánemma chief)	30	0
Fúgo 'Ali (from Maduwari)	20	0
Zíntelma	10	0

Kanúri: Light cavalry 4181, say 4500, as many small detachments are omitted; heavy cavalry 472, say 500.

Shúwa: About 8000.

* An officer with this title, Káúma, is already mentioned in Imám A'hmed's history; he was most probably called so originally from the place Káú or Kow, in Shitáti in Káuem.

APPENDIX V.

TOWNS AND VILLAGES OF THE PROVINCE OF LOGO'N OR LO'GONE.

(*Large places, most of them walled; at present, indeed, generally in a state of decay.*)

In the northwestern part of the province: Kúndi, Gérle, Sína, Gódoní, Gemáng, Kokoñá, Kíddebá, Nguláwa, Mázerá, Delow, Kázeré, Unko-'alem, Thágulú, Kárse, Guwáfa, Díffil, another Thágulú, Múkhse, Gozenáke, Modeá (village of the mother of the ruling prince Y'suf), Biwál, Mágwy, Wanánukí, Matke, Finálle, Suwántegá, Tsí, Mosóggolí, U'lesémme, Ngáme, Dúggulá, Kutteláha, Ngázi, Sáude, Jilbé, Tildé, Kála, Húlluf or Hélib, Waká, Kásesá, and others hereabout.

In the southeastern part: Golónderá, Dégemé, Sigge, Bágeám, Bílle, Hóya, Hánnené, Wáza, Lábané, Gurfáy on the river, Chidé, Njéggere, Sigé, U'ltsemé, Slim, Kábe 'lmadhé or the Western Kábe, Bágе, a place rich in ivory; Jinna, the largest town of the little kingdom after the capital, and important on account of the quantity of ivory there brought to market, and of the fine mat-work there produced;* Kalásimó, one day west from Jinna; Kábe demá or ngólo, the "large Kábe," forming the frontier town toward Búgomán—the frontier itself being formed by a swamp called Kénkang—Sú, U'msa, Madeágo, Túmbalá, the largest place beyond the river, that is to say, the River of Logón or the Lagham; Mélé, to be distinguished from the place of the same name situated on the east side of the Shárí; Fuljí; Kuljí, with a governor who is almost independent; Fóngol and Mére, both on the river; Gofa, Diyá, Ngúltsemí, Wainálle, Jemádo, Wodeó, a large place; Ngóso, residence of a governor.

* See vol. i., p. 634.

APPENDIX VI.

COPY OF A DISPATCH FROM LORD PALMERSTON.

Foreign Office, October 7th, 1851.

"Sir,—I am directed by Viscount Palmerston to acknowledge and to thank you for your letter of the 19th of April last, from Kouka, in the Bornou country, in which you announce the lamentable event of the death of Mr. Richardson, on the night of the 2d and 3d of the preceding month of March, at Ungurutua, between Zinder and Kouka.

"The expedition being thus deprived of its head, just before the conclusion of that principal stage of its proceedings which was to terminate in the exploration of Lake Tchad, it appears to her majesty's government that the completion of that exploration is alone wanting to enable them to consider as accomplished the main objects of Mr. Richardson's expedition.

"I am therefore directed by Lord Palmerston to state to you that, whenever you may have finished your survey of Lake Tchad and its shores, his lordship wishes that you and Dr. Overweg should carry out the remainder of your projected proceedings in Africa exactly as you would have done if Mr. Richardson were still living, and you had separated from him as contemplated in the memorandum signed in triplicate in December, 1849, of which yourself and Dr. Overweg possess each a copy.

"At the period of your signature of that memorandum, you appear to have entertained the thought of pushing your further researches eastward toward the Nile, or southeastward toward Mombaz.

"Whether you may still adhere to that project, or may now see reason to prefer a westerly course in the direction of Timbuctoo, I am directed by Viscount Palmerston to state to you that he will be perfectly satisfied to intrust to you the duty of carrying on to its final completion the expedition heretofore confided to the charge of Mr. Richardson.

"You will therefore consider yourself hereby authorized to take upon yourself the whole charge of the expedition, and to pursue that course which, upon full consideration, may appear to you best fitted to effect the general objects which her majesty's government had in view when they set on foot the expedition into the interior of Africa.

"Those objects you will find stated in the original instructions furnished to Mr. Richardson, of which a copy is herewith inclosed for your use and guidance.

"I am, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"H. Waddington.

"Dr. Barth."

APPENDIX VII.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF WA'DA'Y.

In the chapter wherein we have treated of the history of Bagírmi, we have seen that the tribe of the Týnjur founded a large empire, which, as it consisted of an agglomeration of heterogeneous elements loosely connected together, was overwhelmed and torn to pieces in less than one hundred years after its foundation. The first part which separated from the body comprises the eastern regions; Kúru, the third predecessor of Slimán, who was the first Moslim king of Dár-Fúr, vanquishing the Týnjur, and vindicating the dominion of those quarters to the tribe of Furáwy.

As for the centre of the empire of the Týnjur, it was overthrown by the founder of the Mohammedan empire of Wádáy, namely, 'Abd el Kerím, the son of Yáme, according to indigenous tradition, in the year 1020 of the Hejra.

Wóda, the son of Yáme, belonging to the tribe of the Gémir,* who at that time were settled in Shendy, and had embraced Islamism, had emigrated with his countrymen into the regions which afterward, in honor of him it is said, were comprised under the name of Wádáy; and here he is reported to have exercised considerable authority in the empire of the Týnjur. His grandson, 'Abd el Kerím, is said to have been governor of certain provinces of the empire of Dáúd, who at that time ruled the empire of the Týnjur, though he had already felt the mighty hand of his eastern neighbor Slimán, the first Mohammedan king of Dár-Fúr.

Instigated by a religious feeling, this man is said to have spent several years in Bídderi, a place about ten miles to the east of the capital of the kingdom of Bagírmi, which at that time, however, does not seem to have existed; for Bídderi was one of the places in that region where people belonging to the widely-spread nation of the Fúlbe had settled from early times, and among them a family which, by means of undisputed sanctity and learning, had begun to exercise a considerable influence in the introduction of Islamism upon a wide circumference of the surrounding provinces; and the head of this family, whose name was Mohammed, is said to have inspired 'Abd el Kerím, the grandson of Wóda, as well as his companions Amálek, chief of the Márfa, settled in Hóggené, Múmin the Masaláti, Dédebam the A'bú-Sharibáye, and Wúwel-Banán the Jellábi, with the idea of overthrowing the pagan dominion of the Týnjur, and of founding in its stead a new kingdom based on Islamism.

Having returned to his country, and spread his ideas of independence, 'Abd el Kerím, after some years, rose against his liege lord, Dáúd, and making Mádabá, a mountainous place situated about ten miles to the north of the later town of Wára, his residence, succeeded, after a desperate struggle, in laying the foundation of the kingdom of Wádáy, as he called the country, in honor of his grandfather. He is said to have died after a long reign, leaving as his successor his

* The derivation of this royal family from the 'Abbassíyin is altogether imaginary. I am in possession of a letter with the royal seal.

son Kharút, whom we may call Kharút the First. This is the king who founded Wára, and made this place, which is defended by natural ramparts (a circumstance which gave rise to its name, meaning "the town encircled by hills"), his residence. He, too, is said to have reigned several years, and was succeeded by his eldest son Kharíf, who was not so fortunate as his father and grandfather, but, in the third year of his reign, was killed by the warlike tribe of the Tama, whom he endeavored to subjugate.

The successor of Kharíf was Yakúb 'Arús, his younger brother, who felt himself strong enough to undertake an expedition into the interior of Dár-Fúr, where, on account of the advanced age of its king, Músa, the son and successor of Slimán, the illustrious founder of that Mohammedan kingdom, he may have expected little resistance; but he was beaten, and obliged to make a speedy retreat. This prince was succeeded by his son, Kharút II., who, during a reign of forty years, is said to have established greater tranquillity and happiness than were to be expected in a kingdom composed of such heterogeneous elements.

The son of this king was Jóda or Jáude, with the surname Kharíf e' Tímán, but better known under his honorary title, Mohammed Suláy or Sulé (meaning the deliverer)—a title which was given to him by his subjects in consequence of the victory by which he saved his country from the yoke of the Furáwy, who, under the command of A'bú 'l Kásem, the second son of A'hmed-Bókkor, and the sixth Mohammedan king of that country, had overrun Wáday with a powerful army, in order to make it tributary. It is from this victorious king, who has made Waday honored and respected by its neighbors, that the country has received its other name, viz., Dár Suláy. It is likewise this king who, at the close of his reign, wrested Kánem from the hands of the Sultan of Bórnu, or at least the better part of it, by conquering Mandó or Mondó, the town of the Týnjur, as well as M'awó, the residence of a khalífa, invested by the Sultan of Bórnu; and this is the commencement of the hostilities which are carried on between Bórnu and Wáday. Mohammed-Suláy is said to have reigned, like his father, forty years. To him succeeded his son Sáleh, with the surname Dérret, who has been almost unanimously represented to me as a bad sort of prince, although this seems to be owing to the circumstance of his having put to death a considerable number of 'ulama, a class of men who, in Wáday, enjoy great authority. This king hastened his death by giving offense to the mother of his eldest son, 'Abd el Kerím, who belonged to the tribe of the Málánga; for, instigated by her, it is said, her son, 'Abd el Kerím, took the field against his father, while the latter, in the eighth year of his reign, had marched with an army against the Mádalá, the inhabitants of a place close to Mádabá, and not far from the seats of the Málánga, and, after a sanguinary battle, the son succeeded in vanquishing his father, who was killed in the year 1805. These are well-known facts, which can not be denied.

'Abd el Kerím, better known under his surname Sabún, which he received at a later time, mounted the throne of Wáday, stained with the blood of his father, and began a reign which all agree in representing as one of the wisest ever known in this part of the world.

First, he enriched himself and his country by the spoil of Bagírmi, whose inhabitants were much further advanced in civilization than their eastern neighbors, and, by their predatory expeditions to Dirki, had amassed a great deal of riches

consisting not only of fine clothes, and merján or coral, but even of silver, of which 'Abd el Kerím is said by trustworthy persons to have carried away with him five camel-loads, being equal to about fifteen hundred pounds' weight. It was also during his reign, as I have stated before, that Bagírmi became forever a tributary province of Wáday. Having then founded a powerful kingdom, it formed the chief object of his exertions to establish a direct communication with the ports on the coast of the Mediterranean, in order to supply himself with those manufactures which, before the spoil of Bagírmi, had been almost unknown to the people of Waday.

But to the account of the exertions of 'Abd el Kerím in this field, such as has been given by the late M. Fresnel, in his memoir on Wáday, I have nothing to add, as it no doubt formed the chief subject of his inquiries; but the account given by that gentleman of the king's death, and of the reign of his successor, is full of errors. 'Abd el Kerím Sabún died in the tenth year of his reign, which falls in the year 1815, in a place close to Wára, called Júnne, where he had collected an army, in order, as I have been assured by well-informed persons, to make war upon the ruler of Bórnu, or rather on the Sheikh Mohammed el Kánemí, who, endeavoring to restore his adopted country Kánem to its former splendor, was anxious to rescue it from the hands of Wáday.

Sabún died so suddenly that he was unable to name his successor; but by all whom I have questioned on this point, I have been assured that the suspicion of poison is quite out of the question. Moreover, the circumstances, as related by M. Fresnel, are greatly misrepresented, Sabún having no son at all of the name of Seksán; for he left six sons, the eldest of whom, of the name of A'sed, was born of a mother from the tribe of the Kóndongó, while Yúsuf, the second son, and three more sons of 'Abd el Kerím, were born of one and the same mother, who belonged to the tribe of the Mádabá. As for J'afar, who, on account of his long residence in Tripoli, and his numerous interesting adventures, has become well known to the English public,* his mother belonged to another tribe.

When, therefore, Sabún had died without naming his successor, the partisans of the tribe of the Mádabá rose against the Kóndongó, or the faction of A'sed, and having succeeded in vanquishing their adversaries, and slaying A'sed, they placed on the throne Yúsuf, with the surname Kharífáyín, a name which, however, is not generally known in the country. This Yúsuf, partly under the guardianship of his uncle, A'bú Rokkhíyé, and partly by himself, after he had slain his uncle, together with Dómmo, the agíd of the Máhamíd, ruled for sixteen years in the most tyrannical manner over Wáday, till, about the beginning of the year 1830, he was put to death at the instigation of his own mother, whose name was Símbil. There has never ruled over Wáday a king of the name of 'Abd el Káder; and Major Denham was quite right when, in 1823, he called the then king of that country the immediate successor of Sabún.

Yúsuf was succeeded by his infant son Rákeb, who, after seventeen or eighteen months, died from the small-pox, when a man belonging to a lateral branch of the royal family, namely, 'Abd el 'Azíz, son of Rádama, whose father, Gándigin, was a younger son of Joda Mohammed Suláy, while his mother also belonged to the royal line, ascended the throne; and, being supported by the warlike tribe of the

* See Mr. Barker's, or rather Lieutenant (now Rear-Admiral) Sir Henry Smyth's story of J'afar in the United Service Journal, 1830.

Kodoyí (called by the Arabs Bú-senún, on account of their red teeth), among whom he had taken his residence, he succeeded in maintaining his position, in an almost continual struggle with his adversaries. The first conflict which he had to sustain was against the Kélingen, who put forth, not J'afar, the rightful claimant to the succession, but another pretender, named Kéde; they were, however, totally beaten, near a place in the vicinity of Wára, called Fólkotó.

'Abd el 'Azíz had hardly begun to enjoy some tranquillity, when the tribe of the Kondongó, leaving their mountain seats, marched against him; but they likewise were beaten, and almost annihilated, in a battle fought near a place called Búrtay. 'Abd el 'Azíz, who has been represented to me by my informants as a man of excellent qualities and of great intelligence, died likewise of the small-pox, after a reign of five years and a half, when his infant son A'dam was placed upon the throne, but, after a little more than a year, was dethroned, and carried into honorable captivity, into Dár-Fúr.

The circumstances which led to this revolution were as follows: Mohammed Sáleh, not quite correctly named e' Sheríf, who had stealthily entered Wádáy a long time previously, but had not been able to collect a party sufficiently strong to enable him to assert his claims openly as the brother of Sabún, had at length addressed himself to Mohammed Fádhl, the King of Dár-Fúr, and, under promise of a considerable tribute to be paid yearly, had induced that prince to assist him in obtaining the kingdom of Wádáy; and in the misery in which that country was just then plunged by a severe famine, it only required the assistance of two captains or ágade, viz., 'Abd e' Sid and 'Abd el Fat-ha, to conquer Wádáy, while none but the Kámkolák, of the tribe of the Kodoyí, made a serious resistance, though without success.

Mohammed Sáleh, who thus ascended the throne with the assistance of a foreign power, in the month Tóm el awel, in the year 1250 H., may certainly be said to have exerted himself for the benefit of his country, though the last years of his reign have been rather unfortunate, as well for himself as for his subjects.

The first enterprise which he undertook in order to enrich his subjects, or perhaps himself, and with the purpose of extending his dominion, was an expedition against Karká or Kargha, the district composed of islands and half-submerged meadow-lands and pasture-grounds in the southeast corner of the Tsád, which I have described in my account of Kánem, and from whence he carried away a great number of cattle. Perhaps, also, one reason why he undertook this expedition was the circumstance that another member of the royal family, namely, Núr e' Dín, who, by Yúsuf and Furba, was descended directly from Sáleh Dérret, had retired into that swampy and almost inaccessible district, and, owing to the influence which he obtained over the neighboring tribes, might have risen as a pretender at a future time. The next year Mohammed Saleh marched against the Táma, that very intractable and predatory tribe settled in a mountainous district four days N.E. from Wára, and, having conquered them and slain their chief, invested another man with his authority; but the Táma having driven this person away after the king had retraced his steps, Mohammed Sáleh was obliged to make another expedition against them the following year, when he subdued them once more, and made them acknowledge as their chief a person called I'brahím.

After this, in the year 1846, he undertook that expedition against Bórnu of

which I have given a short account in the chronological table of the history of that empire, and which had been greatly misrepresented by M. Fresnel; for although he penetrated to the very heart of that country, he did not attain his object of reinstating the family of the Sultan of Bórnu in its ancient right; and although he certainly carried away a great amount of spoil, yet he lost a considerable portion of his army, as well in the battle of Kúsuri as on his return home, principally while crossing the Shárí.

However, on his return, the king turned his arms against the Tebu tribes settled on the Bahr el Ghazál; and, conquering them, subjected them to an annual tribute. Having returned from this memorable campaign, Mohammed Sáleh did not undertake a second expedition, but, having kept quietly at home for three or four years, was obliged to waste the strength of one part of his empire in a bloody struggle against the other.

The origin and reason of this civil war, which, up to the time of my leaving Negroland, kept Waday in rather a weakened state, is to be sought for in the real or presumed blindness of the king, which gave to his adversaries the Kodoyí, who regard A'dam as their legitimate prince, some pretext for not acknowledging him any longer as their master, besides the general unpopularity produced by his avarice. It was on this account, in order to escape from his public and private enemies, that in the year 1850 he abandoned the old residence of all the former kings of Wáday, down from Kharút the First, and transferred the seat of government from Wára to Abéshr, a very inconsiderable place or village, about twenty miles to the south of Wára, where, on account of its being almost entirely destitute of water, and situated in the very territory of his partisans the Kélingen, he felt himself tolerably secure.

The contest, fomented for a long time, did not break out until 1851, when, in the month of Sh'abán, he was obliged to march against the Kodoyí, who, assisted by part of the A'byí or A'bú Shárib, awaited him in their mountains, from whence they rushed down upon him when he had closely approached them, on Friday, the 9th of Sh'aban, with great impetuosity, and breaking through all his lines, and killing a great many persons of high rank, among whom was A'bú Horra, the blind aged brother of the king, and his own daughter Fátima, penetrated to his very person, and were on the point of slaying him, when his people succeeded in saving his life. But, having become imboldened by this success, the enemy the next day ventured to leave their mountain fastnesses, and descended into the plain, and were in consequence overpowered by the greater numbers and the superior cavalry of the king's host, and, after a severe loss, which, however, cleared rather the ranks of their companions, the A'bú Shárib, than their own, sought refuge in the mountains. But, notwithstanding this shock received by them in the above-mentioned battle, which by the natives is called the battle of Tórbigen or Jálkam, being a warlike race, they have by no means given up their point, and were stated, during my stay in Bagírmi, to persist in the intention of renewing the struggle after the labors of the harvest should be over.

So far I have brought down the history of the country in the dispatch which I sent home after my return from Bagírmi; and the remarks with which I then concluded my account of the history of Wáday have been since confirmed in a very remarkable manner. My words were: "The discord which at present prevails in the centre of Wáday is the more considerable, as the king, Moham-

med Sáleh, seems to be on bad terms even with his eldest son Mohammed, the heir to the throne, who, having staid behind in Wára, and being repeatedly summoned to appear before his father, is said to have retired to the southern parts of the country." A few months after I wrote these lines we received the news of a civil war having broken out between the son and his father; and a long, sanguinary struggle ensued, in which Mohammed, the son of Mohammed Sáleh, vanquished not only his father, but also his brothers, who were supported by strong factions, while he himself, being born of a woman who was not a native of the country, but a Fellatníye from Kordofán, had solely to rely upon his own energy and courage; and it is said that he committed great havoc among the principal men of the country. What the present state of the country may be I do not know, but I have been told that this king has been overthrown by one of his brothers. If Mr. Vogel, who, according to the latest accounts, has succeeded in entering this country, should be so fortunate as to escape with his life, we shall soon hear more about this interesting region.

Such is the short account of the history of Wádáy, as far as my inquiries in Bagírmi enabled me to learn it, and for the general accuracy of which I can answer, although it may be at variance with other reports. As for the character of the country, which has been thus united into one extensive kingdom, stretching in its greatest extent from W.N.W. to E.S.E., and reaching from about 15° east long. to about 23°, and from about 15° north lat. to 10° south, I shall here only give a very short view of the most characteristic features, leaving the particulars to the itineraries, as all the knowledge which we possess of the country is derived from them, and not from ocular inspection.

Wádáy proper is rather a level country, but interspersed with a great many isolated mountains of a dry and sterile character, as it seems, without being capable of feeding constant springs of water, the only sources of whose existence in the country I have been able to obtain information being those near the place Hámiyen, in the wadi Waringék; and even these are said to contain hot water. The whole country has an inclination from east to west—in other words, from the foot of Jebel Márra, in Dár-Fúr, toward the basin of the Fittrí, the lake or lagoon of the Kúka, which receives all the moisture carried down during the rainy season by the smaller water-courses, and collected in the larger valley of the Bat-há; with the exception, as it seems, of the wadi Kíya, which, running from north to south, next to the above-mentioned range of mountains, is stated by most of my informants not to have any connection with that basin, and may possibly join some branch of the Nile. In the northern part, where the country is bordered by desert tracts, there are several smaller water-courses, or, as they are here called, "zaraf," which die away in the sands.

As for the country between (Lake) Fittrí and (Lake) Tsád, I have already shown it in another place to be an elevated district intercepting entirely the communication between the two lakes, or rather lagoons. The water-course and valleys form the natural high roads, along which the dwelling-places of men are established.

With respect to the outlying provinces of the empire, which are situated toward the south, their character is evidently much more varied and rich in perennial water-courses than the nucleus of the kingdom, but inquiries with regard to these water-courses have not as yet advanced far enough to enable us to take a general view of them.

APPENDIX VIII.

ETHNOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF WA'DA'Y.

WÁDÁY, in every respect, is as yet a young empire, where the most heterogeneous elements subsist together side by side, with almost unrestricted power, weakening and debilitating the whole body. Nevertheless, the variety of those elements, in a territory of so considerable an extent as Wádáy, is not at all marvelous and extraordinary in this part of the world, the number of the different languages spoken there not exceeding that of the different languages spoken in the circumference of Fúmbiná; and even in Bórnu, where, by a system of centralization, several tribes have in the course of time been almost entirely annihilated, the number of languages spoken at the present day exceeds fifteen.

As for Wádáy, there are first to be separated the two large groups of the indigenous or immigrant Negro tribes, on the one hand, and that of the Arab tribes on the other. I shall first consider the Negro tribes, of which I give a complete list, adding in each place a few observations with regard to their strength and their political power. As for their affinity to each other, little can as yet be stated with certainty, vocabularies of their languages not being at hand; and I myself was not able to procure more than three, namely, vocabularies of the language of the principal stock or the Mába, of the Kúka, and of the A'byí or A'bú Shárib. With regard to their dwelling-places, they will be better ascertained from the collection of itineraries than from this account.

I will first consider that body of tribes which inhabit Wádáy proper, or rather Dár Mába, speaking one and the same language, called Bora Mábang, of which I have been able to collect a tolerably correct vocabulary, comprising more than two thousand words, together with a great many phrases, including the Lord's Prayer. This group consists of the following tribes, or rather sections: first, the Kélingen,* inhabiting several villages, about one day south of Wára; the Kajánga, two days south of Wára; the Malánga,† to the N.E.; the Mádabá and the Madalá, close to the latter; the Kodoyí, or mountaineers (from "Kodók," the mountain), called by the Arabs "Bú-Senún" (in the singular form Sennawy), on account of their red teeth, which color is said to be produced by the quality of the water in their mountain residences, where they preserve their vigorous bodily frames and their intrepid state of mind, and are unanimously acknowledged to be the most valiant among all the tribes of Wádáy. The most conspicuous of their mountain seats, situated one day's march east of Wára, are Kúrungun, the residence of their chief; Búmdan, Mógum, Búrkulí, Mutúng, and Warshékr. Then follow the smaller sections of the Kunó, the Jámbo, the A'bú Gedám, the Ogodóngda, the Kawák, the A'shkiting, the Bíli, the Bílting, the 'Aín-Gámara, the Kóromboy, the Gírri, settled in A'm-dekík; the people of Shéferí, the Mánga, settled in the district called Fírsha; the Amírga, settled in Máshek; the people

* The name is written in Arabic كلن.

† Written ملك.

of A´ndobú, those of Shíbi, those of Tára—all localities situated in the neighborhood of Wara, and possibly a few others. All those I have mentioned are said to be entirely different sections, while the Kélingen, the Kajánga, the Malánga, and the Kodoyí are the most numerous, the priority of the former consisting in nothing else than the precarious circumstance that the present mómó, or queen-mother, who in Wáday exercises a certain influence, belongs to this tribe.

As for that tribe from which the kings of Wáday were originally derived, at least with regard to the male issue, these are neither the Kélingen, nor any other of those tribes constituting the group of Dár Mába, but one of an entirely different nationality, namely, the above-mentioned Gémir, to whom, from this reason, and not on account of their power, which is greatly diminished, I assign the second place as distinguished by a peculiar language.

I now enumerate the different clans of the A´bú Shárib or A´byí, who, taken collectively, are stated to exceed the whole group of Dár Mába in numbers; but they seem to have so many different dialects among themselves, that one clan is said scarcely to understand the other, and can only make themselves intelligible by means of the Bóra Mábang, known to all the respectable persons of the country, to whatever particular tribe they may belong. I first mention the A´bú Shárib Ménagón and Márarít, who have one and the same language, of which I have been able to make a select vocabulary, comprising about two hundred words, together with a translation of the Lord's Prayer; and I must rank with them the Táma, who are positively stated to be nearly related to the former, though the seats of these two tribes are widely separated, the Ménagón and Márarít being settled about six days south from Wára, while the Táma, as has been stated above, inhabit a mountainous district four days to the northeast of the capital.

This warlike tribe, distinguished principally by their ability in using the spear, seem at present to have lost, in some degree at least, their independence, for which they had been fighting for more than two centuries with success; for Ibrahím, the chief imposed on them by the present king after they had driven back another person called Bilbíldek, whom he had invested, instead of their former independent chief E' Núr, who was executed by him, seems to be really installed in one of their principal dwelling-places, called Nanáwa. Indeed, the Táma are said to frequent at present the markets of Wáday, while the "Kay Mába," or the people of Mába Proper, do not dare to visit theirs. The Táma possess a good many horses, but only a few cattle.

After the Táma I range the A´bú Shárib Gnórga* and Dárna, settled to the east of the Ménagón and Márarít; the A´bú Shárib Kúbu, settled in Goñánga, close to A´ndabú; the A´bú Shárib Sungóri,† inhabiting a considerable district toward the frontier of Dár-Fúr, intermingled with the Másalít: they are principally noted for their fine, tall horses; the A´bú Shárib Sháli, close to the Sungóri; the A´bú Shárib Shokhén, inhabiting principally the well-known place of the same name; the A´bú Shárib Búbala, intimate friends of the Kodoyí, whose eastern neighbors they are; and, finally, the Wela Gémma, belonging likewise to the large group of the A´bú Shárib, but distinguished, as it is asserted, by a peculiar language.

After this group I rank the Másalít, who are said to be the most numerous

* غرك † سنكور

next to the A'bú Shárib, and who may probably be found to have some affinity with the Sungóri, with whom they are promiscuously intermingled, although the state of barbarism into which they have sunk appears to be of the very lowest description, as they are even said to be guilty of devouring the flesh of human beings, an imputation made chiefly against that section of them established in the place called Nyéseré, close to the frontier of Dár-Fúr.

Having mentioned next in order to the Másalít, on account of the neighborhood of their dwelling-places, the tribe of the 'Alí, I shall retrace my steps, returning to the neighborhood of Wára, where I shall name first the Mimí, a tribe distinguished, it is said, by a peculiar language, and then rank a group comprising several tribes, the degree of whose affinity to each other can only be ascertained after vocabularies of their languages or dialects have been collected. These are the following tribes: the Moëwó* and the Márfa, the Kórunga, or, as they are called by the Arabs, Káringa, and the Kashémeré. It seems probable that there is some kind of relation between these tribes and the Másalít.

I now enumerate the Kóndongó, a tribe formerly of considerable strength, but at present much debilitated by the struggle sustained by them against 'Abd el 'Azíz, and by a famine which befell them in consequence of that struggle. They are principally famous on account of the excellency of their weaving. I now mention as separate tribes or nationalities the Kábágga, to the S.E. of Wára, close to the Kúbu; the Múbi, on the Bat-há; the Márta; the Dermúdi or Daramdutú; the Bákka, or Welád el Bákhkha, close to Malám; the Birkit, near the frontiers of Dár-Fúr, in which country they are more numerous; the Tála; Kajágse or Kajágase, near the S.S.W. frontier of Wádáy proper; and not far from them the Týnjur, the remainder of that powerful nation which once ruled over all these countries, at present chiefly settled in Mágará, a place belonging to Dár Zoyúd.

I now mention the Kúka, settled principally along the lower course of the Bat-há, and in Fittrí, where, as far as regards language, they form one group together with the Bulála, separated from the other tribes of Wádáy as above-mentioned, but intimately connected with the inhabitants of Bagírmi, with whose language, at least with regard to half of the elements of which it is composed, the language of the Kúka is identical.

After the Kúka must be ranked the Dájó, a tribe even at present, though their ancient power is gone, very numerous, and, as far as regards Wádáy, settled principally to the S.E. of the Kúka, with whom they have some distant affinity. Perhaps those elements in the language of the Kúka which do not harmonize with the language of the Bagírmi people may be identical with the language of the Dájó. As for the relation between the Dájó and the A'bú Telfán, inhabiting a mountainous district two days S.S.W. from Bírket Fátima, we are likewise not yet able to decide; at least, as far as regards civilization, the latter seem to occupy a very low stage, and are considered by the people of Wádáy as "jenákhéra," or pagans. They are very rich in horses and cattle.

In the province called Dár Zoyúd, on the middle course of the Bat-há, I have still to mention a separate tribe or clan, namely, the Kaúdara, residing in a considerable place called Kínne, and speaking a peculiar language.

* The name is written مبو or مبي.

Before enumerating the tribes inhabiting the outlying provinces to the south, who are only partly subdued, I shall first mention the Zoghâwa, or, as the name is pronounced in Wâdây, the Zokhâwa, and the Gur'aân, two of the great divisions of the Tebu or Tedâ, inhabiting the desert to the north of Wâdây, who are very rich in flocks, and have become dependent on and tributary to the ruler of that country.

In the provinces to the south there are the Sílla, in the mountainous country S.S.W. from Shenîni; the Bandalâ, close to Jéji; the Rúnga, inhabiting the country to the S.W. from Sílla, and fifteen days' march from Wára, and paying tribute as well to Dár-Fúr as to Wâdây; the Dâggel, whose capital is Mangára, to the north from Rúnga and west frem Sílla; the Gúlla, to the west from Rúnga, said to be of a fine bodily figure, and some of them copper-colored; the Fâña, south of Gúlla; the Bírrimbírri, to the S.S.E. of Wâdây; the Séli, south of Rúnga; and the Kutingára.

This is rather a dry list of the numerous tribes belonging to the black population of Wâdây, and nothing but further researches into the interior of the country itself, and the collecting of vocabularies of their languages, can establish the degree of relation or affinity existing between them. As for the other large group, viz., the Arab population of Wâdây, or the "'Arámka Dár Mábana," as they are called in the Wâdây language—for the Wâdây people never employ the term Shúwa or Shíwa, used in Bagirmi and Bórnu—it consists of the following tribes, who have been settled in Wâdây for about 500 years. First (the most powerful and richest of them all, as well in camels as in small cattle), the Máhamíd, settled in the wadiyán to the north of Wára, principally in Wadi 'Oradha, two days' march from that place, but leading a nomadic life like all the others; and near to them the Beni Hélba, who are said to have been politically united with the Týnjur; the Shiggegát, partly associated with the Máhamíd, partly settled near Jéji; the Sébbedi; the Séf e' dín; and the Beni Hassan. The latter, whom we have met already in Bórnu and in Kánem, where they are spread in considerable numbers—also in Wadây, are rather miserably off, a great many of them roving about Eastern Sudán in order to gain something by their labor, while the rest wander, in the rainy season, to a place called E tang, situated to the N.E. of Wára, between the Táma and Zoghháwa.

While all these tribes roam about to the north of Wára, I now class together those settled, at least part of the year, in the valley of the Bat-há. These are the Missiríye, the third tribe among the Wâdây Arabs in respect to numbers, and divided into two sections, viz., the Missiríye Zorúk, or the black (dark) ones, and the Missiríye Homr, or the red ones—Domboli is the chief place of residence of the Missiríye; then the Khozám, the next in point of numbers; the Zóyud, the J'aátena, the Zábbadé, and the 'Abidiye; to whom may be added the Nuw'aíbe, who keep more to the north of the Bat-há. Next in order may be named the Sabalát, a rather indigent tribe, who breed cattle for the king, and supply his household with milk. South of the Sungóri are the settlements of the Korobát, whose chief place is Ténjing, east of Týnjung, which is two days from Shenîni. On the rich pasture-grounds, fed by a shallow water called the bahr e' Tíni, four days S.E. from Birket Fátima, there are the wandering tribes of the Kólomat and the Térjem; while toward the S.W. extremity of the empire, on the borders of another shallow water, probably without any current, and called after the tribe

which I am just about to mention, there are the settlements of the Welád Rá-shid, close to the eastern borders of the pagan dependencies of Bagírmi, and part of them settled even in the midst of those pagan tribes, principally among the Búwa Kúli, with whom they are said even to intermarry; they are particularly rich in horses of small breed, and possess considerable property.

Finally, there is another group of Arab tribes, who pasture their cattle near another shallow water, which seems to me to have likewise very little inclination, and is generally called O'm e' Timán, but very often named after the tribes who are settled on its borders. There are toward the east, not far from the Bándála, the Sálamát, a rather numerous tribe; to the west of them the Hémád; and, finally, the Shárafa, who occasionally also visit the bahr e' Tími. Besides these, in the western extremity of the empire there are the Dúggana or Dághana, who were in former times dependent on Bórnu.

With regard to their color, all these Arab tribes may be distributed into two groups, namely, the "Zorúk" and the "Homr." To the first group—the dark-colored tribes—belong principally the Missiríye, the Zorúk, and the 'Abidíye; while the Máhamíd, the Ráshid, the Khozám, the Hamíde, and the others mentioned above, constitute the far more numerous group of the Homr.

APPENDIX IX.

GOVERNMENT OF WA'DA'Y.

It appears, from the above exposition of the various elements of which the population of the country of Wáday consists, that its government can not but be of a varied composition, and that it has not as yet assumed an harmoniously concentrated character. If we investigate the manner in which the government of this number of various nationalities is in general managed, we have first to observe that, no doubt in imitation of Dár-Fúr, the whole of the empire of Wáday is divided into four great sections, viz., the inhabitants of the western districts, or "Lulúl-endí;" those of the southern provinces, or "Motáy-endi;" those of the eastern districts, or "Talúnt-endí;" and, lastly, those of the northern ones, or "Túrtalú." Over these four large departments or provinces a like number of Kemákel or Kamkoláks have been placed, the Kamkolák of the west, at present K. Nehéd, having his residence in Gosbéda, a village belonging to Máshek, three days W.S.W. from Wára; the Kamkolák of the southern districts, at present Mohammed, having his residence in Kúrkutí, two days south from Wára, on the Betéhá; the Kamkolák of the east, at present Abákr (Abú Bakr) Weled Méram, residing near the frontier of Dár-Fúr; and, finally, that of the north, at present Sheikh el 'Arab, son of Tondó, residing in Mégeren, about twenty miles north from Wára.

Besides these four principal governors or Kamkoláks, there are four smaller ones, called Kamkolák-endikrék, who appear to be the substitutes of the former, but seem, besides, to have some particular duties to perform. Their names at present are Kamkolák Násr, belonging to K. Nehéd; K. Hejáb, stationed in the south; K. Kélingen, and Kamkolák Rákeb.

These Kamkoláks in general have the management of all public affairs in the provinces, and have the power of life and death, and wherever they go they levy the "dhiyáfa," properly the present of hospitality, a sort of tribute regulated according to the size of each respective place. However, they seem to have nothing to do with the Arab population, and even with regard to the indigenous tribes there are many exemptions from their authority, several of those clans, especially the Táma, the Kodoyí, the Bulála, the Míddogó, and some of the A'bú Sháribs, having powerful chiefs of their own, and some of the pagan tribes having retained their former princes. Moreover, a great many of the places inhabited by indigenous tribes have been allotted to the A'gade or Agíds, who were originally appointed as governors over the Arab tribes, so that on military expeditions the Kemákel have not nearly so large a force under their command as the A'gade.

Besides, as far as regards the eastern districts, a particular Agíd e' sybba (sábah) has been appointed, who exercises a distinct function from that of the Kamkolák of the east, and has his residence in Bír-Tawíl, a place near the frontier of Dár-Fúr, though originally his authority extended only over the Kórobát.

The following is a list of the present agíds or ágade, together with the tribes over which they rule, and the chiefs each tribe has of its own.

Name of the Agid.	Name of the Chief.	Name of the Tribe over which they rule.
Jérma, nephew of Mohammed Sáleh	'Abd e' Salám Hagár	Máhamíd.
	M'allem Búrma* Dendáni†	Bení Helba.
	Khamís Weled Zébe	Zébbedí.
	Tamóki	Shiggerát.
	Goddúm	Séf e' Dín.
		Bení Hassan.
	Músa Khabásh	Welád Jenúb.
	Sherf e' dín	Maharíye Welád 'Ali.
Mágené	Yarima	Missiríye Zorúk.
Dágga	Magáddam	Missiríye Homr.
(Kamkolák Nehéd)	Allajád	Zoyúd.
Mámmedí	Riyát	Nuwaíbe.
Fadalállah (Fadhl-Allah)	Sheikh Sáleh	J'aátena.
	Al Bahér	Dúggana.
Jérma Shógoma	(Not known to me)	Khozám.
Hanno	Dilla	Hamíde.
	Rádama	
Barka Méser	Sindur	'Abidíye.
Jérma 'Abd el Azíz	Sáleh	Kólomát.
Gádi	Fákih Yakúb	Térjem.
Bakhéd, Agíd e' sybba	(Chief not known)	Kórobát.
S'aíd	Diyáb, with the surname "sídí jénún"	Sálamát.
	Rekék, whose daughter is married to the king Jedd el Móla	Sháraf a.
		Hemád.
Horr	Sheikh Anje	Sábbada.
Danna	Halíb, a woman	Ráshid.
(Not known)	Máfer	Sábalát.
'Abd-el-Wáhed	Diyáb	Debába, a section of the tribe of this name.
Fákih 'Ali, or 'Alío, called Agíd-el-bahr; his father Beshára died at Kúsuri	A'dim, next to whom in authority is Kharith	Asále'.
		Tebu Tribes.
	A'b Kashélle	Kréda.
Bírre	A'bú Nakór	Shinnakóra.
		Sákerdá.
		Sákeré.
		Madamée.
		Famalle.

These agíds, the most powerful of whom is Jérma, to whom the half of Wá-

* Residing in Gálum Kúsha.

† Residing in A'm-Sidr, a zaraf, one day N.W. from Wára, and about the same distance from Gálum Kúsha.

dáy is said to belong, exercise a very great authority in times of peace, as well as in case of war; for they have not only to inspect the state of their respective districts, and to collect the tribute, but they have also to assemble the troops, and lead them into battle; and they are continually undertaking great expeditions on their own account. After Jérma, the agíd el bahr, to whom Moító, the northeasternmost town of Bagírmi, has still to pay a special tribute, besides the general one which Bagírmi pays to Wádáy, is the most powerful on account of his numerous cavalry; then follows, it seems, the Agíd of the J'aátena, and Dúggana. The Agíd-e'-sybba is very unpopular on account of the extortions and vexations to which he is continually subjecting travelers and pilgrims, who, on that account, shun his territory as they would the haunt of a wild beast.

Each of these agíds has a khalífa, or substitute, called agíd-el-birsh, whom he sends into his province if he does not wish to go himself, and some of whom exercise considerable authority by themselves; and, besides this person, an Emín is also added on the part of the sultan, in order to inspect and control the collection of the tribute, and to see that the due proportion, viz., half of the dhiyáfa, is sent to the sultan.

Tribute.—The tribute or tax, called here "diván," varies greatly, according to the wealth and character of the productions of the several districts. But, as a general rule, an inhabitant of any town in Wádáy proper, besides occasional contributions or presents, has to pay for himself two mudd—a measure containing twenty-two handfuls of corn, or rather dukhn; and, together with the other inhabitants of his town, a certain number of camels; while with regard to the Arabs, every chief of a family has to give a káffala of two heads of cattle every third year, and if he be a fákih, but one. But, besides this general tax, there are some smaller ones for the black natives; as, for example, on each of the great Mohammedan holidays, every village has to present to its Ajuwádi, that is to say, to the person upon whom it has been settled as an estate, one makhaláye—a measure containing three mudd or medád—of dukhn, and has also to make the same present to an officer in the palace called "Sídi-e'-derb," as well as to the "Sídi-el-alboye;" the larger villages or towns have to give more in proportion, as much as ten mekháli; and besides this, on bringing their tribute to the king, the smaller villages have to present their Ajuwádi with one camel-load of dukhn, and the larger ones with more. The native negro population of Wádáy proper have not to pay any cattle or tokáki (strips of cotton), except at the special request of the king; but certainly with them also the various character of the productions of their district, and the wealth they possess, are taken into account; the Sungóri, for instance, whose excellent race of horses I have mentioned above, are said to pay every year a tribute of one hundred horses; and the tribute of the Gémir and the Týnjur is entirely confined to rice—wild rice—with which they have to supply the household of the king.

As for the Arabs, besides the general tribute or káffala mentioned above, they have to give to the king himself the "nóba," that is to say, once in three years, every four men, one cow; and on each holiday, every encampment has to furnish a young cow; and, besides this, they are greatly annoyed by the expensive dhiyáfa, which, as I have stated above, they have to present to the agíd-el-birsh on his annual visit, while, on the whole, it is well-known that the Wádáy people keep the Arabs settled in their country in very strict subjection, and do not allow

them to collect any considerable property for themselves. As for the Máhamíd, they pay their tribute entirely in camels, and are said to make up every third year the number of one thousand camels, while the 'Abidíye, who have very little cattle for themselves, but breed cattle for the king, have to pay their tribute in butter.

With respect to the indigenous tribes in the outlying provinces of Wádáy proper, the tribute or diván imposed upon them varies greatly. For example, the Dájo have to give 1000 tokáki, besides honey, wherein consists the whole regular tribute paid by the provinces of Dággel, Kebáit, and of the Bándalá; while Sílla, besides honey, has to furnish a certain number of handsome female slaves; and Rúnga, in addition to a certain quantity of this favorite article (viz., honey), 100 large elephants' teeth every year, or half of the value in slaves. The tribute of Gúlla, and of the adjacent pagan states, consists solely of slaves. As for the Tebu tribes, the Zogháwa have to furnish a certain number of horses, while the tribute raised on the Gur'aán, as far as they are dependent on Wádáy, consists of camels.

Here, finally, I have to mention the diván paid by the King of Bagírmi, down from the period when 'Othmán, father of the present ruler of that country, solicited the assistance of Sabún, in order to reconquer his country from the facha, as I have stated in my account of Bagírmi. This tribute, which was levied the very year of my residence in Más-eñá, consists of 100 horses of indifferent description, 100 slaves, 30 serári or handsome female slaves, and 1000 shirts, or gumsán. This tribute, the whole value of which, in Bagírmi, is from 2500 to 3000 dollars, is paid every third year, besides a present of 10 serári, 4 horses, and 4 gumsán to Jérma, Weled el Méram, who has the superintendence of this dependency. For there is a superintendent, or, as the Wádáwy call it, a "Kursí," for every province without the borders of Wádáy proper; and Jérma, besides having all those Arab tribes above mentioned under him, is the Kursí, not only of Bagírmi, but likewise of the whole Fittrí, of the Dájó, and of Middogó. The present Kursí of Runga, whose name is Sheríf, has his residence in Sheníni, which, together with the neighboring villages, has to furnish him with necessaries; and he visits that province annually in order to levy the tribute. The Welád Ráshid, also, partly owing to their considerable distance from the capital, and partly, as it would seem, on account of their being deeply sunk in paganism, although they have a special agíd, have likewise, together with the Sálamát, had a kursí established over them.

The Fásher and Members of the Fásher.—After having given this short account of the external government of the country, if I may so call it, I now proceed to the interior; but, as there is naturally no civil government, I content myself with naming the persons composing the Fásher, or Royal Council, where the present sultan, Mohammed Sherif, however, never appears. This council is held in an open place, which is likewise called Fásher, where all public business is transacted. The president of the Fásher, and the first of the "Fásher-melé," or members of the Fásher in authority, is the Sing-melék, or, properly speaking, the master of the gate, but whose character and authority evidently approach those of a vizier, all business, as far as regards the internal operations of government, being principally transacted by him. The present Sing-melék is said to be a person of intelligence, of the name of Ashén, the younger brother of the power-

ful Jérma, Weled el Méram, who surpasses him in material power and wealth. But with regard to the composition of the Fásher this Jérma is to be ranked next to Sing-melék. Then comes Kamkolák Rákeb, who appears to have the authority of a major-domo, then Emín 'Abd-Alláhi, a brother of Sing-melék, who is the inspector of the shirts, that is to say, the private treasurer of the monarch; next in order is Kursí A'bú Bakr, son of A'bú Horra, the person mentioned above, at present stationed in the territory of the Kodoyí; Kursí 'Abd-Allahi, who has the inspection of the Welád Ráshid; the Agíd el Máhamíd; the Agíd of the Welád Ráshid; the Agíd el J'aátena; Agíd e' Sálamát; Agíd el Khozám; Agíd el Birsh; Agíd el E'ddería; Maigenék, a person whose duty it is to proceed with his troop in advance of the sultan, in case of an expedition, like the Jérma in the Bórnu army; Kamkolák Mohammed Wókilík, K. Nehéd, K. Tandó, K. A'bú Bakr, Agíd el 'Abidíye, Kursí Rúnga, Agíd e' sybba; K. 'Atamán ('Othmán), Agíd Ammárga, an officer of the household; Agíd Sálem, inspector of the corn supplied to the palace; Agíd Yúngo, likewise for the interior; Milleng-díme, khalífa of the Kamkolák of the southern provinces; Milleng-túri, khalífa of the governor of the eastern districts; Mohammed Jégeles, khalífa of the agíd of the Máhamíd; Mohammed Dahába Bodda, substitute of Kamkolák Mohammed, Khalífa Fód, whose station is toward the S.; Kubár, an Ajuwádi, who has his residence in A'bgudám, eleven days S. from Wára, and others of minor authority.

The order in which I have enumerated the members of the council is nearly that of their rank. As for the Mómó, or queen mother, she is sometimes asked to give her opinion, but she never appears in the assembly.

Army.—I shall add but a few words concerning the military department. After various minute inquiries, I think I shall not be wrong in stating the cavalry of Wáday, in which, as in almost all these countries, the strength of the army consists, at seven thousand horse. Of these, about one thousand appear to be clad in coats of mail or "derret," while, on account of the communication with Ben-Gházi, the number of these coats of mail are annualy increasing, every caravan bringing several camel-loads of them, which sell for one or two female slaves apiece. The horses are said to be excellent; and exposed as they are to storm and heat, never enjoying the protection of a roof or shade, they are able to support the greatest fatigue, while, at the same time, those of the great men at least are said to be fed sumptuously with rice and milk. All the horses of the sultan, which bear the special title of "aruwáil" (*sing.* rawáil), have each of them a particular name. The number of muskets in the army is very small, the Wádáwy themselves having assured me that there are not more than about 300; for the strength of the people of Wáday consists in their spears, while the Fúráwy trust almost entirely to their swords.

As for the commanders on an expedition, their rank, according to the number of the troops which they lead into the field, is as follows. After the sultan and the Sing-melék, certainly nobody can emulate Jérma, the agíd of the Máhamíd, after whom follows Jérma 'Abd el Azíz, and then Kamkolák Rákeb; these are free men; then follow the slaves, viz., the powerful agíd el Bahr; then Fadal-álle, the agíd of the J'aátena; S'aíd, agíd of the Sálamát; then Dánna; Dágga, who is the E'ddería of the army, that is to say, he has the command of the rear; then Mágené; El Horr; Hánno, the Agíd of the Hamíde, who is not a slave, but a native of Wáday; Jérma Shógoma; Káffa, and others.

There are several captains of the sultan's own cavalry with the title of Jérma; as Jérma Angarútú, Jérma Dhohob, J. Rebek, J. Kaukob, J. Hassan, J. Siyáde, J. Dháhab, J. Fudhl, who has his station generally in Kánem, J. Mongó, and J. Benáy.

Household of the Sultan.—The principal persons composing the household of the Sultan of Wáday are the kolótus and the mérams, the former title being given to every son of the monarch, and the latter to all his daughters. Of kolótus there were, during my stay in Bagírmi, five. Mohammed, the heir apparent, who already at that time was said not to be on good terms with his father, was born of a Púllo or Fellatníye woman, whom Mohammed Sáleh married in Kordofán, and for this reason the greater part of the people of Wáday did not wish him to succeed to the sovereign power. 'Alí and A'dim were born of one and the same mother, Mádem Shékoma. Khodr, the third son, and Makhmúdi, are by another mother. After the kolótus and mérams follow the hábbabát, or, as the Wádáwy call them in their own tongue, elísi (sing. elík), the wives or concubines of the sultan, of whom Shékoma and Sokáy were said to be the favorites.

The officers who have the management of the household of the monarch, or part of it, under their inspection, are as follows: the barakena-kolí, meaning royal servants in general; the daláli-kolí, or "siyáde el alboye," who have to make and repair the tents; the tuwerát, or messengers; the motór-melé, or bearers of the spears; the tangnakolí, or pages and chamberlains; the ayál-legedábe, or messengers waiting in the shed or hall, "legedábe," for the occasional orders of their master; then the kórayát, or siyád el khél, the masters of the horses, the gárrafín, or "siyád el kholgán," the masters of the shirts and "tokáki," and, finally, the ártu (sing. arak), or, as they are called here, shiúkh, the eunuchs, or the masters of the female department.

Character of the Towns and Villages.—The dwelling-places throughout the whole extent of Wáday are in general small; and I have been assured by the natives themselves that there is no town containing one thousand separate dwellings. Indeed Wára, till recently the capital and residence of the monarch, which in 1852, on account of the seat of government having been transferred to Abéshr, was every day becoming more and more deserted, scarcely contains above four hundred houses, while Nimró, the famous seat of the Jellába, is stated not to exceed two hundred. In general, the towns or villages of the Kodoyí are said to be the largest, some of them containing as many as six hundred houses, while those of the Mímay are said to be the smallest. But the largest place in the whole of Wáday is said to be Kódogus, two days west from Shenini.

The houses or huts consist, like those of all the rest of Negroland, of groups of round, bell-shaped huts, made of reed, and called "maharéb" or "samavi" in the Wáday language, inclosed by a wall or fence, "sherágena-dalí," and but very rarely, as is the case with the houses of the king and those of the persons of rank on one side and the Jellába on the other, built of clay. But the Arabs live in portable huts, made of mats which they themselves manufacture of the leaves of the deléb-palm, and which are called "réri" by the Wádáwy.

Commerce and Market-places.—Almost all the commerce, on a large scale, which is carried on in Wáday, is in the hands of the Jellába; a considerable

number of this peculiar stock, whom I have not classed above among the various tribes inhabiting that country, having migrated into Wádáy about a hundred years ago from the valley of the Nile, and principally, though not exclusively, settled at present in Nimró, a place about eight miles S.W. from the former capital. Separated into several bodies, these merchants by birth have each of them his own route of commerce; thus there is one body of Jellába who go annually to Runga; another body frequent the copper-mines south of Dár-Fúr; others take their merchandise only to the distant provinces toward the S.W., viz., the territory of the Welád Ráshid and the neighboring pagan countries on the borders of Bagírmi, namely, Bedánga, Gógomi, A'ndi; while others, again, visit the markets of Bagírmi, Logón, and Bornu; some of them visiting Mas-ená during my residence in such numbers that they built a considerable village for themselves outside of the town, on the road to A'bú-Gher; while another band visits annually the markets of Dár-Fúr and Kordofán; others, and especially the wealthier individuals, frequently follow the recently-opened caravan-road to Ben-Gházi, of whose history M. Fresnel has given such an elaborate account. Each of these bodies, when *en route*, has its chief or agíd appointed over them by the sultan, to whom he is responsible for a handsome tax raised on the profit obtained.

The principal objects of this commerce in general are the following articles: salt, brought by the Máhamíd and the Tebu to Nimró and Wára, and bought by the Jellába in large quantities, in order to be sold by them in detail to the most distant provinces, even as far as Logón; copper, brought chiefly from the famous copper-mine "El Hofrah," and from Runga, and exported principally to Bornu, where it fetches a high price; European articles, brought by the caravans from Ben-Gházi, or imported also from Egypt by way of Dár-Fúr, such as fine clothes, bernúses, coats of mail, beads, and other ornaments, calico, paper, needles, etc.; ivory, principally taken in exchange from the Rungáwy, the Welád Ráshid, and in Bagírmi, in order to be exported, with very great profit, from Wára to Ben-Gházi; asses, of the eastern breed, very much in request in the western part of Sudán; túrkedí; tobacco; kóhol, and sundry other articles brought by the retail merchants of Háusa to Bagírmi, where they are taken in exchange by the Jellába. Slaves, as in the whole of Sudán, are certainly the most important article of commerce.

With regard to the market-places, I have to observe that there is no considerable market-place in the whole of Wádáy where a person might find the productions of the different parts of the country collected together, neither at Wára nor at Nimró, nor in any other place, and one has to go some distance in order to supply himself with the necessaries of life. Thus the people of Wára, as well as the Máhamíd, when they wish to lay in a provision of dukhn, which is their principal food, have to go to Gírre, a place a little to the west of Nimró, or to the villages of the Kodoyí; or else they go to the settlements of the Kashémeré, such as Kúldi, Bútir, Kúndungó, Kornayé, Héjir, and others, while in the southern districts dukhn is bought at the cheapest rate in Abker, Gnamúniya and Mistakhéde, and in the valley of the Bat-há, principally in Dumboli, Rás el fil, Summúkedúr, Agílba, in a village called Kósiwáhed ("one hut"), and in Asáige.

The standard price of every article is the tokíya (pl. tokáki), a term signifying two long strips of cotton, measuring eighteen dr'a in length and three wide,

made of smaller strips, which, however, far surpass those used in Bagírmi, Bórnu, and all the western parts of Sudán in width, though they are much coarser. This is the currency of Wádáy, and with it all the smaller bargains are made, while the larger ones are made in cattle, in which consists the chief wealth of the Wádáy people in general, or in slaves; dollars have only lately been introduced by the Ben-Gházi merchants. One tokíyah will fetch, it is said, three or four sheep with the Máhamíd, who, as has been stated above, are very rich in small cattle, and where, consequently, they are the cheapest; and about thirty ewes will fetch a cow, while from twelve to fifteen cows are said to buy a good horse. As for the price of corn, one tokíya is said to buy from four to five wéba—a measure, eight of which constitute a bullock-load of dukhn at the time when it is dearest, and six after the time of the harvest; while a cow is said to fetch from thirty to thirty-six wéba, but the bullock only from sixteen to twenty.

Manufactures and Productions.—It is clear that in a newly-founded kingdom, such as that of Wádáy, composed of a mere agglomeration of almost entirely barbarous tribes, there can only be very few manufactures, or, rather, none at all, except the roughest productions of industry, such as weapons and rural implements, made from the iron found in the country, while, besides iron, copper alone is found, namely, in Runga, and in small proportion in the wadi called Jélingák. Indeed, the Wádáwy themselves do not even know how to make use of the fine indigo found in their country, in order to dye their clothes, or rather their shirts, as there are very few persons who are able to afford any thing better than this most essential article of dress. It is even stated that, before the time when the considerable spoil was carried away from Bagírmi by 'Abd el Kerím Sabún, the great majority of the people of Wádáy were clad in nothing but the well-known fáruwá. As for the business carried on with indigo, it is entirely in the hands of Bagírmi or Bórnu people established in Wádáy; but the Bornu people are the most famous and numerous, and their settlements in the country, to which great importance is attached on this account, are the following: The greatest fame for giving the finest tint of indigo to the clothes has been obtained by the inhabitants of Jemíl e' Síd, a place situated two short days S.W. from Wára, and second to it is Bírbashón, another settlement of Bórnu people, situated between Jemíl e' Síd and Wára; west from Jemíl e' Síd there is another dyeing settlement called Shálla, and close to it Léyin, and likewise Birén, a somewhat larger place, situated on the Betéhá, two days S.W. from Wára. Other Bórnu dyers are established in Karíngalá (two days south of Wára), and in Dérdigí (one day south from the former), while others, again, have settled in Kélingen Méser, a place situated in the district of the Kélingen. But, nevertheless, a black or blue shirt is a great luxury in Wádáy, and a mark of distinction for persons of rank; indeed, when on their expedition against Bórnu, as related above, the Wádáwy satisfied themselves by tearing the black shirts from the backs of all the Bagírmi or Bórnu people they could lay hold of, instead of leading the persons themselves into captivity.

Learning.—Certainly no one will look for any great amount of learning in such a country as Wádáy; but the Wádáwy fákihs and 'Ulama are the most famous of all nations in Sudán for their knowledge of the Kurán, the Fúlbe or Félani not excepted. But besides, they possess several small books or tracts, which are generally read as well as the Kurán, partly for grammatical, partly for relig-

ious instruction, namely, Nóh, Elfíye, Khalíl, Resála, A'khdar-Mandhúm, A'khdar-Mansúr, Bakádi, Ta'alík, Abú-el-Hassan, Thamán al jénne, 'A'jeli or A'ujeli el kúbbara, A'ujeli-el-ustha, and others. As for the Sheríya, it is exercised with ability by these fákihs or doctors; but the Siyása, or the usage of the country, has greater authority than the book.

The greatest doctor in Wáday, at the present time, is stated unanimously to be a man belonging to the A'bú-Sharíb, and generally known merely under the name of Fákih-el-bahr, who spent many years with Mohammed Sáleh when he was wandering homeless about, and probably on this account was not put to death by the fierce king who has executed a considerable number of learned men, and, among others, the Sheikh-el-Herán, a great doctor, belonging also to the more spirited tribe of the A'bú-Shárib, on the pretext that he had betrayed him to his enemies the Kodoyí; he likewise executed the great and learned imám Mohammed Gírga.

Food.—I shall conclude this notice of Wáday with a few observations on the food of its inhabitants. As in most parts of Sudán, it consists principally of dukhn or pennisetum typhoideum; but they have also some wheat and rice. The people of Wáday have a plentiful supply of meat, and are tolerably well provided with milk and butter, and are, therefore, not obliged to have recourse every day to that insipid broth made of dried and powdered fish, formed into a sort of loaf, and in this form called "méndichék," the dried fish, preserved in its natural form, being called "fértené." On the contrary, they have a tolerably good variety of dishes, of which I shall give a short list, without, however, being able to explain the exact preparation of each. But first I must observe that the people of Wáday do not make any use of the funduk or kárru, the large wooden mortar so exclusively used over other parts of Negroland, but grind their dukhn on stones, their country being rather of a stony character, while in many parts of Bórnu and Bagírmi not a single stone is seen. As far as the dishes are prepared of dukhn, the following are the principal ones: first the damírge, the common daily dish; then masáffa, a very favorite dish in Wáday; reshéfa, another dish of dukhn, prepared with milk; takárin, prepared with the fat of oxen instead of milk; kíssere, denási, amkóshu, súri, kókor, 'ajíne amráfa, rotóto, and subáy; another dish made of sesamum and called amkeleño. Then their various sweetmeats, as the killikáb, prepared with corn and honey; the mattába, made of rice and honey; the kák, made of corn or rice, with butter, honey, and dates; the 'ajíne zérka; and, finally, the fáworó, made of dates boiled in milk, and then left to cool. Of the dishes of meat, the wéka and the shaham el kebél are the most celebrated. As for drinking, it is well-known that almost all the people of Wáday indulge in an intoxicating beverage called merísa by the Arabs, of which there are three species—the bilbil or red, the ákebésh or white, and the "hal."

I can not conclude this account of Wáday without stating that the whole of it was drawn up in Bagírmi in the year 1852. I did not see *Le Voyage au Ouadáy*, published in 1851, by Jomard et Perron, till 1855, and have not changed a word in it. The account of the Sheikh el Túnsí is extremely valuable with regard to the private life of the people, but full of exaggerations with regard to public affairs; for example, the strength of the army, the tribute paid by Bagírmi, and so on.

APPENDIX X.

COLLECTION OF ITINERARIES FOR FIXING THE TOPOGRAPHY OF WA'DA'Y, AND THOSE PARTS OF BAGI'RMI WHICH I DID NOT VISIT MYSELF.

I. Roads from Más-eñá to Wára, E.N.E.

(*a.*) *Route of Háj Bú-bakr Sadík of Búkadá, who performed this journey three times. March, about six hours per diem.*

Day.

1st. Baláwu, a large Bagírmi place, with a sheikh of its own; pass Bídderi on the road—the place mentioned repeatedly in my journey.

2d. Dílfin, a Bagírmi place. The wells all about here are deep.

3d. Kínji, the last place of Bagírmi proper, already mixed with Shúwa.*

4th. Wenése, a Shúwa place with cultivated fields.

5th. Bírka, a place of the Welád Músa, represented as the most warlike tribe of Shúwa hereabouts.

6th. Túmsa, a place inhabited by Kúka, but belonging to Bagírmi.

7th. No village. Having arrived about noon, you start again in the evening, and, after a short pause, reach in the morning

8th. Géla, the first place of Fittrí.

9th. Mélme, a considerable place, with a great market, held every Tuesday. The direction, having been hitherto nearly north, now turns east.

10th. Y'awó, the capital of Fittrí, on the north side of the Bat-há, and not far from its junction with the (lake) Fittrí, a large but open place (built by the Bulála, before whose arrival and settlement in the country Kúdu was the capital of Fittrí), the residence of Juráb ben A'bú Sekín, the present ruler of the Bulála. The country abounds in rich pasture-grounds. The road from Mélme to Y'awo forms an angle, first east, further on south.

11th. Séta, a place of the Bulála.

12th. Hafír, encampment without a village, still within the territory of the Fittrí.

13th. Jeddáda, no inhabited place; encampment in the sandy valley of the meandering Bat-há, which, in the dry season, forms only stagnant pools of water.

14th. Surra, a locality only temporarily inhabited by the Arab tribe of the J'aátena, who frequent it during the rainy season. The territory belongs to Wáday.

15th. Dífda, a place of the Arab tribe of the Khozám.

16th. Néjme, a place of the Arab tribe of the Hémedát.

17th. Kunjur, a village of the tribe of the Kúka.

18th. Dermáma, a place of the tribe of the Kúka. From Dermáma to A'bú Telfán, a great mountain inhabited by pagans of the tribe of the Dájo, one day, a little south from east.

* Kinji is two days E.S.E. from Moító, a large place, east of which is a mountain, the only one in Bagírmi. See further on.

Day.

19th. Birket Fátima, an extensive basin filled by the water of the Bat-há beyond the north limit of the wadi, with a place of the Arab tribe of the Masmája, frequented likewise by the Erzegát.

20th. Ráhet el Khalla, another large pond of water, with a hamlet inhabited by the Dájó, a tribe of negroes under the rule of Wádáy, with a language of their own.

21st. Ojób, a place of the Másalít, negroes with a peculiar speech (ertána).

22d. Foróli, a place of the Siyáda, a division of the Másalít.

23d. 'Aín Hajar, a place of the Másalít.

24th. Jemést (Juméz) el bédha, a place of the Másalít, on a bend of the Bat-há, which here comes from the south, and which you now leave behind.

25th. Bórorít, a large village in Wádáy proper. You turn now from east to northeast.

26th. A'm-shárarib, a large village, Wádáy.

27th. Máshek, a large place.

28th. Nimró, a place of the Jellába, with clay houses. The well is three fathoms deep. South of Nimró lies Tolfú, a place situated on a mountain.

29th. Wára, the capital of Wádáy, inclosed on all sides by sand-hills, leaving only, both on the south and the north sides, a single passage for access to the town. By the south entrance (the Lingak Embélkena) you enter the town, leaving the hamlet Búrtay on one side. With the exception of the palace, all the dwellings consist of reed. The Fásher, or council-place, is nothing but a spacious open square, planted with trees (of the kind called here sayál). The wells within the town are nine fathoms deep; those outside are of less depth. The palace lies on a range of hills on the east side. The western range of hills is called Tiré, contains several huts, and has a military guard. W.N.W. from Wára lies Toná, and at a short distance south lies Gándigin. Nimró from Wára is about eight miles.

(*b.*) *Route of the Fáki Ibrahím, from the A'bú Sharib Ménagón, from Bórorít to Más-eñá. West, somewhat south.*

1st. Hillet e' Sheikh, a large village inhabited by the slaves of the sultan, by the Zoyúd Arabs, and by the Bulála. You pass in the morning several small hamlets, and stop during the heat of the day (from ten to three or four o'clock) at Angúrma Táwemát, a place of the Dár Zoyúd, at some distance north of the Bat-há, which has received the Betéhá at Malám.

2d. A'm-debáng, a large place inhabited by Kúka, situated in sandy soil (góz), about one day and a half north of the Bat-há. The heat of the day is passed at the village of Módu, on the ráhet Sáribé, a pond with a clayey soil, fed by the water coming from the north.

3d. A large place of the Zoyúd, name not known. Stop during the heat at Dókeát, a place of the same tribe of the Zoyúd. Within Dár Wadáy the villages of the Arabs consist of huts of reed; beyond the boundaries of the country, of portable huts of matting, called "véri" by the Wádáy people.

4th. Sheg el hajilij, a place of the Kúka and Bulála, under Agíd Fadalallah, at some distance from the Bat-há. Stop during the heat of the day at another village, whose name my informant has forgotten.

Day.

5th. Encamp in the open air on néga, sterile land, without an inhabited place, and without water, talha being the only vegetation. Stop during the heat at A'm-birke, a small place.

6th. A'm-jumézi, a place adorned by sycamores, "juméz;" stop during the heat at a place of the Bulála.

7th. Khatít, a village of the Bulála. I'brahím, remaining the whole morning at A'm-jumézi, started at 'aser; consequently, Khatít is only distant from the former a few miles.

8th. A small hamlet. Stop during the heat of the day at a place inhabited by Bórnu people.

9th. Ngarruwendi, a considerable place of the Missiríye; stop during the heat at A'm-Sheráy, a Púllo or Felláta place, with numerous cattle.

10th. A'rda, a village of the Kúka and Bulála on the Bat-há; stop during the heat at Shebína, a considerable place of the Kúka, who formerly possessed there much power, situated on the Bat-há. On the banks of the Bat-há the deléb-palm at present has entirely disappeared, all the trees having been cut down during the great famine which prevailed seventeen years ago, in order to feed on the nourishing pith or core.

11th. A'm-aláwi, a considerable place, inhabited by Wáday and the J'aátena Arabs, at some distance from the Bat-há, which here turns southward. As far as A'm-aláwi, where I'brahím stopped two days, the whole district belongs to Dár Mába, or Wáday proper. Stop in the morning at a small hamlet. From A'rda you turn a little N. by W.

12th. Encamp in the sandy bed of the Bat-há, without an inhabited place. Surra is left to the right in the north bend of the wadi. My informant did not stop for the heat during these days, but traveled on from morning till noon.

13th. Kharúb, in the bed of the Bat-há; no inhabited place.

14th. Jeddáda, open encampment in the Bat-há.

15th. Séta, a village of the Bulála in their district of Fittrí.

16th. Gámsa, a place of the Bulála on the south bank.

17th. Y'awa or Y'awó, capital of the Bulála, close to the north bank of the Bat-há. Middogó is from here about twelve hours S.S.E.

18th. Mélme, a considerable market-place, consisting of three hamlets, close to the north bank of the (lake) Fittrí. Between Y'awo and Mélme the road describes an angle.

19th. Encamp in a forest at midnight, having stopped during the heat at a well, and started thence at dhohor. Up to this well the road follows a westerly direction; from here to Más-eñá it keeps south.*

20th. Moító, the first place in Bagirmi, which, however, has to pay a separate tribute of 400 shirts to the agíd el bahr. Moító comprises five villages, three of which lie in a line on the southern foot of a rocky eminence, and two at the eastern foot of another. The road to Fittrí runs between the two rocky ridges, which are of considerable elevation, and the eastern one of which extends to a great length. At the easternmost village of the western group a market is held twice a week, every Tuesday and Thurs-

* This is a very important circumstance, which explains all the errors of M. Fresnel in constructing his incomplete itineraries.

Day.

day, but is much less important than that of Mélme. Moító is the residence of a khalífa of the Sultan of Bagírmi.* Stop during the heat in the morning in hillelát (small villages) of the Kúka, and start at dhohor; arrive late in Moító.

21st. Hillet 'Arab, which you reach in the morning, having started in the evening, and slept on the "néga."

22d. Garra, in the morning, having started in the evening, and slept at a place belonging to some Arabs.

23d. Jilás, having started in the morning, and passed the heat at a place of the Kúka.

24th. A'bú-Gher, a place of some importance on account of its Saturday market, and comprising two villages separated from each other by the market-place. The place is of Púllo or Felláta origin; and the southern village is entirely inhabited by Fúlbe, while the northern one is occupied by small tradespeople. The name, as far as I know, has nothing to do with the ábú kern or rhinoceros.

25th. Sobiyó, a village of the M'allem Sáleh Tynjuráwi, a very learned fáki. Arrive early in the morning, having started in the evening and slept on the road.

26th. Más-eñá, the capital of Bagírmi, after a short march. From A'bú-Gher, direction S.S.E.

(c.) Route of the Fáki 'Alí Malánga from Más-eñá to Wára.

1st. A'bú-Gher.

2d. Yelás, the Bagírmi place above-mentioned.

3d. A'bú Gérra.

4th. Moító, a group of villages skirting some rocky eminences. Seven hours north from Moító lies the village of Aúni, likewise on a rocky eminence;† one day N.W. Gosús, also on a hill; A'ngora, a place of the Kúka, two days N.E.

5th. Kalkálle, a Bagírmi place. A long march.

6th. Mélme, a large place, with small hamlets lying in the neighborhood.

7th. Séta, a large place north of the Bat-há. Y'awó is left on the right.

8th. Surra, encampment without any inhabited place.

9th. Jeddáda, encampment only.

10th. Geltsa, encampment.

11th. Difdé, a village of the Sálamát and Kúka, who use the water of the Bat-há, which here makes a bend toward the north.

12th. A'm-aláwi, a place of the Malánga, distant from the Bat-há. A short march. The Menázel Sultan extends from Wára as far as this place.

13th. Ngaruwendi, a place of the Welád Hasén, distant from the Bat-há, which has turned toward the south.

14th. Esheráya, a hamlet of the Fúlbe or Felláta.

15th. Tawíle, a place of the Jellába, with clay dwellings and reed huts, distant from the Bat-há.

* This place has been repeatedly mistaken for the capital of Bagírmi even by M. Fresnel.

† This place Aúni is evidently identical with the homonymous place mentioned above in the itinerary of the King Edris Alawóma.

Day.
16th. Bírre, a place of the M'allem Mohájar, the agíd of the Sébbadé. Birket Fátima, the great place of the Siyáde Masmáje, and residence of their agíd, with clay and reed huts, is six hours south from here.
17th. A'bú Gérra, a large place of the Welád Bú S'aíd.
18th. Beréga, a place of the Malánga. A good march.
19th. Mégerá, a place of the Týnjur and Jellába on the wadi Elmá, which extends toward the north into the gizán.
20th. Dókeát, a considerable place of the nás (people of) Gírri, on a wadi abounding with lions and rhinoceroses.
21st. Dúggulí, a place of the Ráshid Arabs, Fókara zuwáye, close to A'm-debáng.
22d. A'm-batéta, a place of the Missiríye Arabs in the néga, no wadi.
23d. Támmedál Húmmelán with Missiríye Arabs.
24th. Bír Sunta, an opulent place of Bórnu tradesmen.
25th. Bíri Yóyo, a place of the Mágena Makhmúdi.
26th. A'm-Zét, a place of the Fókara of the Missiríye, with a small zaraf.
27th. A'm-shéreríb, a place of the Térjem, near three eminences consisting of a red-colored rock.
28th. A'm-dekík, a place of the nás Gírri, founded by Sabún, and called by the people Karnak Wáday.
29th. Fírsha, a place of the nás Mánga.
30th. Káltegge, a place of the Mánga.
31st. Nimró, a Jellába place, with the great fáki Góni Merés.
32d. Wára.

II. Routes in the Interior of Wáday.

(*a.*) *Fáki I'brahím's Route from Wára to Sheníni. South.*

1st. Abéshr, formerly a small place of the Kélingen, but, three years ago having become the residence of Sultán Sherif, more densely inhabited, and containing also some clay huts. Arrive about dhohor, having in the morning passed Tára, Menzel Sultán (where Yúsuf Kharifáyín died, and which was formerly a large place); further on, Kay-wána, a considerable village; then Gañánga, Nyaláng (a place of the Jellába), Jikúb, and finally U'tuló. From Abéshr to Nimró is a long march.
2d. Kélingen Kíri, a hilly place belonging to the sultan (whose mother is a native of it), and the residence of the Kamkolák Rákeb. Dílebát has been passed on the way.
3d. Kínji Mínrak, a place of the Kajánga, who inhabit about forty villages in this hilly region, on the north bank of the Betéhá. Stop during the heat in Errin-manga, in a level tract of country.
4th. Deñam, a village of the A'bú Shárib, having passed in the morning A'm-dírdi, a place of the Kajánga; Fárrel, and Gándigin, situated at the western foot of a rocky eminence. Stop during the heat at Bedíne; pass Gúngerúm—all places of the Kajánga—then Kórdufál, and finally Gélebé, the native place of my informant Fáki I'brahím.
5th. Sheníni, a place of the A'bú Shárib Ménagón and Máraríf, who are, however, mixed with the Bíli, the Kodoyí, the Mími, the Gañánga, the Bulála, and the Khozám Arabs. Pass in the morning A'm-búrtunú, a place of the Dájó at the northern foot of a rocky eminence, at the western foot

Day.

of which lies a place of the Jellába, and to the east of which lies a place of the Missiríye. Having turned west round the hill, you pass the wadi El Hamra, a wide valley, which, in its upper course, near the villages Kóriyó, Gúndur, etc., is overgrown with deléb-palms, date-palms, and 'ardéb—here, however, producing corn. The valley toward the S.W., near Sunkútu Malám, joins that of the Bat-há. Further on you traverse a "néga" or "élan," a plain overgrown with talha, and reach, ultimately, Habíle, a place of the A'bú Shárib, with M'allem Zakharíye, where you stop during the heat. Then you pass A'blubán, where the wadi Habíle joins the wadi El Hamra, and reach Shenini, having passed the deep and expansive wadi Dirrengék, which runs toward the wadi El Hamra.

(*b.*) *From Shenini to Bórorít, by way of O'grogó, according to the Fáki Ibrahím.*

1st. Abkar 'Abd el Khálik, a village of the district of Abkar, which, besides this, comprises the following villages: Abkar Jembóng, one of the largest villages in Wáday, with about 600 huts, A. Mótotóng, A. Béndaláng, A. Táwalibé, A. A'mjedáge, A. Hejéllijóng, A. Hejérbasán (called by the Arabs "Hajar A'bú Hassan"), A. Gógnotáng, A. Dillit, A. Jemíl e' Síd. Having in the morning first turned west, you cross the wadi El Hamra, and pass the village of Mustakhéde, then turn N.W., and cross the wadi Wárringék, which is close on the right, and pass the village Rógrogó; stop during the heat at Méri, a place of the Ogodóngde and Gámara; having then crossed the wadi Wárringék, which, between Rógrogó toward the west, and A'blubán east, joins the wadi El Hamra, you pass Seríra, Magállemék, all on the west bank of the wadi Wárringék, and, lastly, A. Hejéllijóng, close before you reach A. 'Abd el Khálik.

2d. Namwúrren, a place of the Kajánga, passing in the morning Hámiyen, the only place in Wáday possessing warm springs of fresh water, in a district distinguished by some small rocky hills, and close to the wadi Wárringék. The water is so warm that you can not put your hand into it; but it soon cools in the air. In Hámiyen resides Fáki J'abúr, of the A'bú Shárib. Passing then Sakháli, a place of the Bándalá, you halt, during the heat, at Karángalák. In the afternoon you cross once more the wadi Wárringék, which, in its upper course, comes from N.W. from Morró, a place of the Kajánga, from whence it proceeds to the néga Ajáje, thence to Marfa, and thence east to Kulbú, distant three hours W.N.W. from Hámiyen. From Karángalák you come to Kiréngel, a place of the Bándalá, situated on the west and north side of the wadi Karéngelnák, which, by way of Nyára, where it is joined by the wadi Kórkotó, runs south toward the wadi Wárringék. The country, "góz" (sand) and "tín" (clay), stretches to Himéda, and thence to Namwúrren.

3d. Jómbo Fókarán, on the wadi Ngónjobók, a large wadi, where onions are extensively grown, and which, coming from the north, joins the Betéhá, which is not far from this place. Having in the morning passed Fáringáng, a place of the Kajánga, Kúñigi, and further on Fútela nyammúk gwána ("pour in the butter," butter being here very plentiful), then Fírti—all places of the Kajánga—you cross the Betéhá, which supplies the inhabitants of Fírti with water, and stop, during the heat, at Nyemér

Day.

Hejilíje, a place of the Kajánga, but under the authority of the agíd of the J'aátena, N.W. of the Betéhá, which here comes from the north. Proceeding then to Nyemér Tergeménge, still on the Betéhá, which now is left on the east side, you reach Jombó.

4th. O'grogó was reached by I'brahím about káila, he having passed Jómbo Lársherí on the Betéhá, J. Swébe and J. Dángal, all places inhabited by Wáday people. From O'grogó he intended to proceed to the Máhamíd in the wadi 'Orádha, for the purpose of pursuing his studies among this most opulent Arab tribe. The Kodoyí being, however, at that time at war with the sultan, and the road running between the Kélingen and the Kodoyí being unsafe, he resolved to go to Bagírmi, and consequently changed his direction west, and then N.W., toward Bórorít. He started the same day, and slept at Kinji-Mínrak, a large village of the Kajánga, consisting of 500 huts, and the native place of Sáleh Dérret, having passed Jómbo Sárkalé and Gúndogín, a village of the Kajánga, consisting of three hamlets. West a little south.

5th. O'shena, a place of the Kashémeré, south of the Betéhá. Having passed in the morning Gósmin, in a sandy tract, then Tongóng, a small hamlet of Shékoma, the mother of Mohammed, the eldest son of the sherif, inhabited by Kajánga, then Jerád, also a Kajánga place, on the Betéhá, and Ofúlek, a village inhabited by Moslemín of the tribe of the Dájó, he staid, during the heat, at Birén, a considerable place with a mixed population consisting of nás Koróngo, Gardáy, Kólotáng, and Júngoráng, south of the Betéhá, and sixteen to seventeen hours south of Wára. Passing then Birén Kénga, a place of the Wáday, and Kashémeré on the Betéhá, he arrived at O'shena.

6th. A'm-kharúba, a large place of the Kashémeré, formerly belonging to A'bú Horra, the brother of the sherif, who fell in the battle of Tórbigen. Of all the inhabitants of Wáday, the Kashémeré prepare their meals in the richest and most palatable manner. Pass in the morning Kélti, a considerable place of the Kashémeré, and the village Bútere, both south of the Betéhá, and stay, during the heat, in Fúnduk, another place of the Kashémeré, quite close to A'm-kharúba.

7th. Káure, a place north of the Betéhá, where you stop for the night on account of the good edibles, the Káure people being, next to the Kashémeré, the most excellent cooks in Wáday, while next to them in this respect rank the A'bú Godám and the Marfa. Crossing in the morning the Betéhá, leaving Nyángalá, a place of the Jellába north of the Betéhá, on your right hand, and bending a little north from west, you pass Híjjerát, a place of the people of the shiúkh (eunuchs) of the hábbabát (concubines of the sultan), at some distance from the Betéhá, and stay during the heat in Híjjer, not very far from the Betéhá, formerly a place of Fátima, the sherif's favorite daughter, who died at Tórbigen; at present the village is transferred to a daughter of Shékoma. From this place Káure is a little south from west.

The Betéhá bends from Káure S.W. to Malám, so called on account of this water-course joining here the Bat-há ("the confluence"), a place inhabited by a clan of the Táma, ten or twelve hours south a little west from Káure.

Day.
8th. Bórorít, a large place, "Menzel Sultán," inhabited by Kashémeré, Wáday, Arabs, and Welád Hushta (domestics of the former sultans), consisting of about twenty hamlets, the largest of which is called Bórorít Hajar. Pass in the morning several small hamlets, in one of which you stop during the heat of the day.

(*c.*) *From Wára to Dumta, the first Place in Dár-Fúr, according to Háj Sadík.*
[About 10 miles per diem.]

1st. Gáttakarák, a place of the Wáday.
2d. Gáttakarák, a place of the Kélingen.
3d. Wáweledá, a place of the Wáday.
4th. Kélmedí, a large place of the Sungóri, with a considerable market-place ("tarf e' dár"), the last place in Wáday. East from this place are some rocky hills, which occasionally serve as hiding-places to the Táma highway robbers.
5th. Tumtubáya, a well in the khalla or wilderness.
6th. Asúnga, a wadi overgrown with deléb-palms, and with running water in the rainy season. (Wadi Asúnga, according to all appearance, is identical with Wadi Kíya.)
7th. Dumta, the first place in Dár-Fúr.

Dumta, according to Háj Sadík, is eight days' journey from Kebkabíye:

Day.
1st. Bír Degíg, a place with a separate ertána (jargon).
2d. O'ra,
3d. A'm-dúkhen, } villages.
4th. Kulkuláya, }
5th. Kónge, with a great mosque.
6th. Wadi Báre, a densely inhabited valley, stretching S.S.E.
7th. Sultáñ 'Omár, a large place on the Báre, at the foot of a rocky eminence.
8th. Kebkabíye, a large place of the Jellába, with clay houses, and a much-frequented market, held every Tuesday and Thursday. Warm springs.

From Kebkabíye to Tendélti, eight days:

Day.
1st. Bír Nabék, a well in the wilderness, in the Márra mountains.
2d. Káura, a well, with some slight cultivation, in the mountains.
3d. Kúru, a place in the mountains, with mosque.
4th. Shebéna, a place of the Jellába, in the wadi.
5th. Jéllo, a place, with clay huts, of the Jellába.
6th. Mowéle, a place with clay houses and reed huts; wells deep.
7th. Maddúb, a small place.
8th. Tendélti, the capital of Dár-Fúr.

(*d.*) *From Shenini to Dumta, according to Fáki Ibrahím.*

1st. Derjíli, a place of the 'Alí, blacks, with a separate ertána or jargon. Pass in the morning Bárekálla, and stop for the heat at Míchirí, also villages of the 'Alí.

Day.
2d. Búrtay, a group of two villages, of the 'Alí. Stop for the heat at Aláshi.
3d. Harrúnek, a considerable place in the mountains, inhabited by Másalít and 'Alí; arrive before dhohor, at about two o'clock. Pass in the morning Sáñigó, likewise a place of the 'Alí, in the mountains, where the wadi Bat-há commences, two days E.N.E. from A'm-gontúra, a place of the Kúbu.
4th. Dulla, a place of the Másalít, in a plain.
5th. Kíya, a wadi with clayey soil, and with deléb-palms and another tree called jákh-jakh; in its upper course called Asúnga. Stop during the heat at M'amúr, a pond of water at the base of a rocky eminence.
6th. Murlí, a place of the Másalít, but already belonging to Fúr. Pass in the morning Wadi Kája; halt there during the heat.
7th. Dumta, a small place with a few date-palms, "mukdám Hánafí" (the residence of Hánafí).

(*e.*) *From Shenini to Jurlú, according to the Fáki Ibrahím.*

1st. O'guma, a village of the A'bú Shárib, passing A'blubán and Habíle.
2d. Adékke, a place in the hills, inhabited by the Kúka, passing Glégis, Wére, Shakh-hén, all occupied by the A'bú Shárib; then Tará, a village in the mountains; Tará Gorórgorá, a place of the Táma; and Gáskunji, a place of the Kúka.
3d. Betéhá, the valley, without an inhabited place, passing Tynjúng and Kúltumó, both inhabited by nás Wáday, and Tammám, all situated in the plain. Tammám is occupied by the Sungóri.
4th. Jurlú, a place in the mountains, inhabited by the Sungóri, who, along with the Másalít, occupy all this tract down from the Betéhá. Jurlú is the residence of the higher classes of the Sungóri. The mountain is very considerable in comparison with the other mountainous eminences in Wáday, but nevertheless not an entire day's journey in breadth. According to I'brahím, the Betéhá rises in this mountain, while the Bat-há rises in the Soñyó.

(*f.*) *The principal Villages along the Betéhá from Birén upward. According to the Fáki Ibrahim.*

West of Birén lies Aúshena or O'shena, on the opposite or northern side of the wadi Múrshudú; then east, farther up, Ofúla, a place of the Dájo, then Jemér Hejilíje, a place of the Kajánga and Koróriyang, likewise belonging to the Kajánga and the Fírti, all on the south side of the wadi, while on the north lies Gosmínni, farther on A'mmárga, then Shokán—consisting of six or seven villages, viz., Sh. Kórdofán, Sh. Bátaran, Sh. Abérbi, Sh. Miñi, &c., all inhabited by the Bíli; then, east of the latter, Shimé, a place of the Mími and Kóromboy; then Agúrbo, a place of the Mími; Kunó, a place of the Kodoyí and Kawák; then follow the villages of the Sungóri.

All these villages are remarkable for their cultivation of onions. About Etím, west of Birén, near an eminence, corn is cultivated by slaves of the sultan.

(*g.*) *From Shenini to Nyéseré. S.E.*

Day.
1st. A'm-gontúra, a place of the A'bú Shárib, on the south bank of the Bat-há,

Day.

which is here joined by the wadi Iséra, which comes from Dirjéli, four days N.W. of Birén, by way of Marfa-O'gumó—Dóbbur—Dirjéli. Passing in the morning Bárek-alla of the A'bú Shárib and Gumtúj, a place of the Gnórga, you stop during the heat in Dalíñe, a hamlet of the Gnórga.

2d. Kétteké, a place of the Másalít. Passing in the morning Urúlla, situated close to A'm-gontúra toward the east, and Nebbegága, both villages of the A'bú Shárib, you enter the district of the Másalít, and pass their villages of O'la Sábbalát and O'la Dábangát.

3d. Khalla; stop during the heat in Wadi Kiya.

4th. Nyéseré, a place of the Másalít, or, more strictly speaking, of the Ambús, a division of the Másalít, who are accused of cannibalism. This place belongs already to Fúr.

(h.) From Shenini to the Móku, or Iron Mines. West.

The Móku are situated near Shákkayak, a place consisting of two hamlets, and inhabited by the Barúwala, one mine being close to the place, the other south of it, on two separate hills, while close to Shákkayak on the west there is another mine, in a hill close to the village of Lágiya, where 100 jerári, or hoes of the shape here represented, may be bought for one ox. The iron from these Móku, which is only broken in small stones on the surface, is manufactured by the blacksmiths in the neighboring villages of Fáhem, south of Shákkayak; A'blubán, south of Fáhem; Múruske, south of Shákkayak, and in Gosmán.

On the short march from Shenini to Shákkayak, you pass Mistakhéde, Rógrogó, Mánga Dírdigé and Mánga Abákrnak, these two hamlets forming part of the large place of Mánga, inhabited by Mímí, Gélma, A'bú Shárib, and Kanúri. The other hamlets belonging to the place are called Mánga Kordále, Mánga Mérendé, which lies north of Shákkayak, Mánga Múttong, Mánga A'beyáng, inhabited by A'bú Shárib, and Mánga Míri, from whence it is not far to Abkar Hájilíj, the vilage above mentioned, by way of Serír and Magállem.

There is, besides, another considerable iron mine at Kájam, four hours W.S.W. of Tókhilí, in the district Jéji, the iron of which is brought by the A'blebay to A'tarek, between Abkar and Manga Mérendé, where this iron, as well as the copper brought by the Jellába from the celebrated hofra in the south of Dár-Fúr, is manufactured by the "haddád Mónnu."

(i.) From Shenini to Sillá by Way of A'ndelá, according to the Fáki Ibrahim. Direction S.S.W., then south.

Day.

1st. A'ndelá, a place inhabited by Wáday and Bándalá. Passing in the morning Shokhúlke, a place consisting of two hamlets, and inhabited by the Ogodóngde, close to Shenini, Tordóna, likewise of the Ogodóngde, you cross the Wadi Hamra, and stop during the heat in Súnkutú, whereupon, passing Súnkutú Jídnak or Nyílik, you cross the Bat-há, which, somewhat higher up, near Súnkutú Malál, receives the Wadi Hamra, and finally pass Agílbe, a village comprising three hamlets inhabited by Wáday people, and close to A'ndelá, Agílbe Angneréda.

Day.

2d. Shakák, a village of the Bándalá, in a sandy tract, with rocky hills. A good march; stop during the heat at the well of Kadáda, a place not inhabited, but containing numerous trees, particularly dúm-palms.

3d. Chilímna, a village of the Bándalá and the A′blebay, near to which, toward the west, dwell the Sálamát, Míssiríye, and Jeji. Here are seen the mountains of Sillá, the inhabitants of which supply the market of Chilímna with honey, and fish, fresh and dried. Stop during the heat at noon in the Wadi Bokhás, said to run south into the large wadi Diwé, which skirts the district Jéji, and by some is considered identical with the bahr Sálamát, which passes Mangára, and then, one day from Mangára, is called Gedé, or Bahr el Hémád, and farther down O′m e' Tímán, or Bahr Sálamát. Ibrahím considers it as a tributary of the river of Runga. Besides the Hémád and Sálamát, the Sháráfa also pasture on its banks.

4th. Sillá, which was not visited by Ibrahím himself, is reached after crossing in the morning the Wadi Diwé, which spreads out to a great extent on clayey ground, and swarms with fish. The Sillá are handsome people, without incisions. Yúsuf Kharifáín made a ghazzia to this place.

(*k.*) *Direct way to Sillá.*

1st. Dumbóli, a place of the Míssiríye, close to Rás el Fíl or Tánjaknák on the west. Passing in the morning Shokhúlke and Abjefíli, a place of the Ogodóngde, with the small wadi A′bú Ghánem (pronounced A′bú Khánem) in the south, which joins the Wadi El Hamra near Súnkutú; stop during the heat at Sórumó, on the north bank of the Bat-há, which flows close, on the east, to the Wáday hamlet of Maráy.

2d. Khalla, passing the large mountain of Kajéske.

3d. Sillá, in the morning.

(*l.*) *From Wára to Rúnga, according to Háj Sadík. South, afterward west.*

1st. A place of the Kóndongó, with a large mountain stretching out to a great length.

2d. Andísha, a place of the Wáday.

3d. Hawára, a place of the Wáday in a level country.

4th. Betéhá, a wadi occupied by Wáday people.

5th. A′fi, a place of the Wáday, at the base of a ridge of mountains.

6th. Kémerí, a place of the Wáday, in a plain with mountains in the distance; south.

7th. A place of the Chaíma, slaves of the Bándalá, who prepare honey.

8th. Kódogus, one of the largest places of Wáday, inhabited by Talba Arabs. According to Ibrahím, Kódogus is rather a place of the A′bú Shárib, Kajágasé, and Dermúdi, and is three days and a half from Sheníni. Sleep at U′rka, a place of the Wáday and Bándalá, on the Bat-há, then at A′m-búrtunú, a village of the Wáday and Bándalá, the latter being the more numerous, and the third night at a place the name of which he had forgotten. W.S.W.

9th. I′d el Gadém.

10th. Kájam, a village at the western foot of a mountain.

Day.
11th. Mangára (according to this informant erroneously called the chief place of Kebét or Kajagasé). From Mangára to Sillá, one day's journey east.
12th. Gurára, encampment in the wilderness.
13th. Metérbe.
14th. Donás, the name of the ruler of the province of Runga, the successor of Sebír, who pays tribute both to Fúr and Wáday.

According to Háj Sadík, the position of Rúnga with regard to Wára is like that of Mándara and Kúkawa, and its geographical relation to Tendélti as that of the Púllo place of Bógo, on the east side of Mándará, to Más-eñá.

(*m.*) *From Shenini to Runga. From the account of the Fáki Ibrahím.*

Day.
1st. A'ndalá.
2d. Shakáki.
3d. Jéji, a district comprising about twenty hamlets.
4th. Kerére, a place of the Másmajé.
5th. Khalla.
6th. Kebét, an outlying province of Wáday, not, as my other informant thought, identical with Kajágasé, which belongs to Wáday proper.
7th. Khalla.
8th. Mangára, the capital of Dággel, situated on a rocky eminence ("Mangára," in the Dággel language, signifies a rock), and close by a large pool of standing water, called by the Arabs "Bahr e' Tíni."
9th. An expansive marsh, inundated to a large extent during the rains, with a clayey soil.
10th. Runga in the morning.

South from Runga, according to the Fáki Sámbo, lies Dár Meng.

(*n.*) *From Tendélti to Runga, according to the information of Háj Sadík.*

1st. Kórigó, a considerable market-town. A long march till 'aser. If you travel but slowly, you stop during the heat at the pond called Rábet Birbídi, sleep at A'm-habíle, and reach Kórigó only on the following morning. The market of Kórigó is held only on Tuesdays and Thursdays. Some of the pilgrims turn from the territory of the Sungóri by way of Jebel Herés, straight upon Kórigó.
2d. Jurtóba, a place of the Bulala and Kúka.
3d. Abéshr, a village of the Furáwy.
4th. Wágif, a place occupied by Bagírmi people.
5th. A'm-kordás, another village inhabited by Bagírmi people. The entire tract consists of sandy soil.
6th. Selálo, a large place inhabited by Bórnu people.
7th. A'm-majúra, a considerable place, important on account of its traffic with the Kirdi country, here called Firtít, and the residence of the Governor of Birket, inhabited by Másalít, Dájó, Bagírmi, and Furáwy.

From Tendélti to A'm-majúra, according to Háj Mohammed.

1st. Difán Haggeróna, a place of the Dájó, beyond Kórigó, which you pass. A long march.

Day.
2d. A′m-harrás, a place only recently built by a man from Bú Harrás in Kordofan, and inhabited by Fúr and Bagírmi people.
3d. A′m-kardús, a place belonging to Shetáta, and inhabited by Fúr. Identical with A′m-kordés.
4th. Hillet el Makdúm Khalíl.
5th. A′m-majúra, two days and a half from Tebeldíye, three days from the hofra, and about three days from Bahr el Erzegát. A′m-majúra is very rich in deléb-palms, and has an important Sunday market supplied with butter by the Erzegát. The inhabitants of the place are said to trade particularly in slaves, which they buy with wod'a and tobacco.
8th. Gíja, a place inhabited by Fúr and Gullá, governed (at that time) by Mohammed Setéba. Direction from hence a little south from west.
9th. Májam, a place of the Ta'asha Arabs, but inhabited besides by some Másalít.
10th. Ráhet Kháli in the Khalla, without an inhabited place.
11th. Báli.
12th. Dúm Asehéba.
13th. Dúm 'Ardéba.
14th. Khalla.
15th. Débe, a village of the Runga; pagans, besides a few 'Urbán or Arabs.
16th. Tarkámu, a district occupied by Bornu people.
17th. The place of residence of Donás, the Prince of Runga, after whom it is generally called; the original name is not known to me.

(*o.*) *List of the more considerable places in Fittrí, and the divisions of the Bulála, according to the Buláli Ibrahím.*

In the district called Defn Meláda: Témsa (identical with Dumsa), Késhegá, Tíggedí, where a fugitive son of the last Sultan of Bórnu resides, Góla, Dúbunór, Géla, Kábberá, Móyo, Dógo, Gálo. In the district El Góza: Mélme, Kúdu, Amána, Gúgu, Sége, A′gené, Bayálla, Bogó, Shegé, Búrrigo, Befárkamá, Dénni, Góllo, Y′awó, Gámsa, Wágalá, Séta. Kabáil or families of the Bulála: Loffewá, the Sóltana or ruling family, Gíjo, Battáwa, Argumuwá, Chélmuwá, Wadewá, Kásewá, Jilluwá, and many others, at least twenty; according to tradition, ninety-nine. The ancestor of the Bulála is Jíli (Jil Shikomémi), who came from Kanem.

(*p.*) *Some account of Fittrí and Bat-há, according to 'Othmán, who had been carried off as a captive from Bagírmi by Sabún, with additions by Háj Sadík.*

The lake (Fittrí means nothing but valley, basin of water, and coincides in sense with Tsád) is two days' journey in circumference, contains fresh water, is very shallow, has a clayey bottom, and is surrounded on all sides by a rich marsh almost destitute of trees, while the valley of the Bat-há is densely and beautifully wooded—at least it was so till lately. No wadi joins the lake except the Bat-há, and none issues from it. In the centre of the shallow lake lies an island called Módo, the pagan, or at least half pagan inhabitants of which belong to a tribe generally called A′bú Simmin, long since reduced to subjection by the Kúka, and navigate the lake in small canoes, made from trunks hollowed out, and holding two or three persons. Among the fish found in the lake are the angóla, which strikes the water, and the bolbút; but there is no sémmak. The principal

places lying about the lake are (beginning from Y'awó) Debunóro, Tamsa or Temsa, Géla, Gólo, Dágo, Gámsa, which is about twelve miles from Y'awó (but these places are at a considerable distance from the shores of the lake, though varying, of course, greatly according to the season). Five tribes pasture in the Fittrí—the Beni Malekí, who possess numerous camels, the J'aátena, the Hamíde, and a part of the Kréda; and it is visited even by other Tebu tribes during the summer. In the kharíf, or rainy season, when the Arab tribes are removing, and the whole country is inundated and infested by swarms of musquitoes, the camels of the Fittrí are, like those of the sultan, stall-fed in sheds, or at least are sheltered with mats.

The principal places along the lower course of the Bat-há are: Séta, Dífde, Henéwu Jurundú, A'm-kharúba, Durmámi, Sigó, Mugdára; Birket Fátima, a place of the Másmajé on the west side of the ráhet and north of the wadi; A'm-siddre, Al A'fanín, then the district called Dár-Zoyúd.

From Middogó, which is one day from Y'awó, to Birket Fátima, is four days by way of A'b Zeráfa, a place of the Kúka, with small rocky ridges; Hejél, a place of the Kúka, and finally Bóyo.

(*q.*) *From Fittrí to M'awó, N. W., according to the Buláli Ibrahím.*

Day.

1st. Fáli or Fári (Fághi?), a hamlet inhabited by Bagírmi people, in a wadi-like hollow encompassed by rocks.

2d. Aúni, a hamlet of Bagírmi people, with some rocky ridges.

3d. Búkko, another hamlet of the Bagírmáye.

4th. Shégeráye, a wadi where the Gur'aán pasture their camels.

5th. Bahr el ghazál, an expansive and richly-timbered wadi.

6th. Kedáda, a place of the Týnjur. Kedáda is one day from 'Alímarí, where the waters of the eastern extremity of the Tsád are said to have been formerly discharged into the Bahr el ghazál, the communication with which is now interrupted by sandy downs.

7th. Mondó, another place of the Týnjur, under the chief Abákr.

8th. Yagúbberí, a hamlet of the Týnjur.

9th. M'awó, the residence of the khalífa of Wáday, and the general head-quarters of Jérma Móngo. The inhabitants of M'awó are called Beránemá in the Gur'aán language.

(*r.*) *From Fittrí to M'awó, according to a Wádáwy.*

1st. Khabíni, a Gur'aán settlement, with abundance of water.

2d. El Khazálát, a wadi, said to be a tributary of the Bahr el ghazál, occupied by Dághana.

3d. Shegeráye, a wadi, occupied by the Gur'aán.

4th. Délebát, a wadi.

5th. El Grét, a wadi.

6th. M'awó.

My informant declares that he left the wadi Fári on his right, and never passed the Bahr el ghazál at all.

Another informant went from M'awó to Fittrí by way of Kálkalá, Gújer, the well of Toróro in the Bahr el ghazál, the wadi Shegeráye with abundance of water, and the rocks of Hajjiját in the wadi Fári.

(*s.*) *Wára to Wadi 'Orádha, according to the Fáki Ibrahím and 'Alí Malánga.*

Day.

1st. Bóbok, a place of the Kajígají, a Wáday tribe. Leaving Wára by the N.W. gate on the road called Lingak Bátemelek from the village of Báteme, which is passed soon after starting, further on you pass the village of I'nding, and afterward Korummúdi, a village inhabited by Fezzáni people.

2d. Tátsere, a place inhabited by Wáday. Stop during the heat at Tákhsha.

3d. 'Orádha, a wadi or zaraf, very rich in pasture-grounds, where the Máhamíd pasture in the summer, while in the kharíf they proceed to Túrru and Súbbu. East of the Wadi 'Orádha is the Wadi Subb, two days from the mountainous country of the Táma. The road from Fezzán by the Búrgu country to Wára touches at 'Orádha.

'Alí made the following *détour* in going to the Wadi 'Orádha, which is much resorted to by the Wáday Fáki, as, by their reading and writing, they may easily earn from the wealthy Arabs of that locality a cow or a good number of sheep:

Day.

1st. Bóbok.

2d. Kursó, a considerable place of the Mími.

3d. Tátsere. All this country has a sandy soil.

4th. Armán, a place of the fokará of the Máhamíd, inhabited by their chiefs Mahmúd 'Abd e' Salám Weled Chócho and Hagar Weled Bélle.

5th. Rehédo, another place of the Máhamíd.

6th. Subb, a zaraf running west, whither the Máhamíd likewise resort.

7th. 'Orádha.

III. Routes in the Interior of Bagírmi.

(*a.*) *Large and small places on the Shárí, from Búgomán upward.*

Márja, a small place; Mískin, a considerable walled town; Mébi, a small place at the confluence of the Báchikám with the Shárí; Mainpa or Mankhfa; Anja; Mólan; Gélendé; Mákelíl; O'ngo or O'ñoko; Búnjul; Baleñére, a walled place; Mondó, with a rampart; Moró; Madélamá; Baingané; Laffiyáta; Gedó; Músgu; Boway; Miyán; Mógoló; Kába; Jílim; Mábbelé, a town surrounded by a strong wall; Láffaná, with a rampart in ruins; Busó, a large place; Móngalá; Bá-Ngórgolong; Bíri; Koromafé; Tábe; Májim; Bubúr; Dére; Gófna; Chiromadí; Miltú.

(*b.*) *From Más-eñá to Láffaná and Busó.*

Day.

1st. Mogál, beyond the ford of Báchikám, on the upper part of the river of the same name, which at Tápe, a village near Miltú, branches off from the upper Shárí, and rejoins it at Mébi, a small village near Mískin.

2d. Mangagúllafé.

3d. Gáram, a place inhabited by Kanúri.

4th. Sleep in the wilderness.

5th. Bedá-kúrchi, a Bagírmi place under Busó.

6th. Dendám, a Bagírmi place.

7th. Láffaná.

Bedá-kúrchi is nearer to Mábbelé and Láffaná than to Busó.

(Busó, according to Agíd Músa, is about as far from Más-eñá as Logón bírni or Moító, Busó being reached in three long marches, viz.:

Day.
1st. Gáwin Háji.
2d. Bedá-kúrchi.
3d. Busó.)

(*c.*) *From Más-eñá to Busó, according to Háj Sádík.*

Day.
1st. Báchikám, a village on the southern side of the small branch of the Shárí, which, from this village, is generally called Báchikám, at least by the inhabitants of the capital, although from the larger town of I'r, which is situated on its northern bank, and was formerly governed by a sultan of its own, it is also called Bá-I'r. Its size varies extremely, according to the season, from a small rivulet scarcely twenty yards across, to a large sheet of water more than a mile in width.
2d. Búlturí, a large village inhabited by Kanúri.
3d. Bedá-kúrchi, with a large swamp (bedá), whence its name. You stop during the heat in Dílfin, a Kanúri place.
4th. Dendám, a Bagírmi place.
5th. Busó, a large town inhabited by a mixed population of pagans, who are, however, clothed, and of Moslemín. It contains many of those so-called m'allems, that is to say, people who know how to write a few phrases from the Kúran.

(*d.*) *From Busó to Miltú, S.E.*

1st. Kiyár, at some distance from the river, the inhabitants drawing their supply of water only from wells. Crossing the river in the morning, you keep close along it a little south from east.
2d. Tápe, a large place on the southern side of the river, S.S.E. *N.B.*—Agíd Músa appears here to have made a mistake by transposing Kiyár and Tápe.
3d. Miltú, a pagan place of considerable extent, at present governed by Bá, the son of 'Alí Fenjár, who died two years ago in Más-eñá. The inhabitants possess large numbers of horses, and prepare, from the ashes of the reeds in the river, a sort of salt, which, in the form of sugar-loaves, has a sale extending over a very large region. At Bólo, close to Miltú on the east, the Báchikám branches off from the Shárí.

(*e.*) *Places along the Báchikám upward, S.S.E.*

Báchikám, the fording place; I'r, a large town; Mogál; Mábberat or Mábbelat, formerly the capital of an independent principality; Más-eñawu, the place of the bowága or trumpeters of the sultan; Bélamédi, a Bagírmi place; Mámsa; Chíkorigá; Bugolóbe; Kúttutú; Díggeli; Máseré; Gáyoko; Mírre or Méré, the seat of a man of influence called Damre, formerly the capital of an independent principality; Dol; Mégelé or Mégedé; Yelál; Dímkir; Mariñé; Mub Béti; Ngírbing; Ságemáta, the last Bagírmi place, beyond which the pagan country of Sáruwa begins.

(f.) From Más-eñá to Kírbe, the capital of Sáruwa.

Day.

1st. Báchikám.

2d. Naíromá, a place with a considerable market held on a Friday, and situated on a rivulet, which joins the Báchikám at I'r.

3d. Ngáttara, about 10 A.M.

4th. Jíl, a village, about 10 A.M.

5th. Ságemáta, a Bagírmi place on the Báchikám. A long march.

6th. Négi, a village; about 10 A.M.

7th. Móngolá, a place on the Shárí, already belonging to Sáruwa.

8th. Kírbe, the residence of the chief of Sáruwa, of the name of A'bú, as he is called in Bagírmi. One day from each of the three places Kírbe, Tápe, and Miltú, but a little nearer to Kiyár.

The road from Kírbe to Míddobó, another important town in Sáruwa, passes by Dañ or Daña. Other places in Sáruwa are Tógilá, Dángwa, both on the Báchikám; Dañ, Mírti, Jílang, Mírkin, Mongolá, Jímmir, Jo, Belay, Mut, Bilé, all of which are on the Shárí. From Daña to Lairy is one long march, about 30 miles.

(g.) From Miltú to Gógomi, according to Agíd Músa, with additions by Ramadhán. Direction, N.E.

Day.

1st. Attar, another place in Sáruwa, having passed in the morning, close to Miltú, the Shárí, which here comes from the south, and is called ba-Busó. A long march.

2d. Komé, a place inhabited by pagans, in a mountainous district, surrounded by four mountains, two of which are called Tábe and Boño. A long march. Komé is one day from Míddobó, north.

3d. Belél Kolé, a place inhabited by the Sókoró, fortified by nature in an extraordinary way, encompassed, as it is said to be, by several rocky ridges, which inclose each other in a circular form, so as to leave only a single approach, while the interior is supplied with water. The prince resides on a rocky eminence in the centre of this peculiar mountain basin. The other inhabitants dwell between the rocky ridges. In the vicinity is a place inhabited by Shúwa. Between Komé and Belél Kolé lies Jótol, at some distance to the south.

4th. Gógomi, a place situated in a deep basin in the mountains, accessible only by a narrow defile, and inhabited by a division of the Sókoró, whose formerly powerful chief was conquered and made prisoner by the Sultan of Bagírmi during my stay in the country. The Jellába of Wáday travel as far as Gógomi, where they import European commodities. From Gógomi to Kénga it is five or six short days' journey, by way of Búdir, a place situated a short distance from Gógomi, on a steep mountain, said to be about as high as that of Tibésti, with a spring at its base and on its summit; Sím, a place in the mountains; Báddegé, a place on the top of a mountain: all these places being inhabited by Sókoró, who are armed with bows and arrows; Gal, a place in the mountains, surrounded by a moat; Tumki, a place situated on an eminence; Kénga Matáya.

(*h.*) *From Más-eñá to Gógomi.*

Day.

1st. Bídderi, a considerable place, renowned on account of a family of skiúkh, who, as I have mentioned above, have exercised a most remarkable influence in the extension of Islám in these regions, and important on account of its Friday market, where, however, the usual money of Más-eñá, viz., fardas and kholgán, has no currency, but only the finest gábagá, twenty of which are deemed equivalent to one khálag or shirt. About dhohor.

2d. Múdda, a Bagírmi place.

3d. Dekháruwe, a large place of the Arab tribe of the Dekhákhera or Deghághera.

4th. Kúrí, a Shúwa place on a pond of stagnant water.

5th. Maskáwu, a Shúwa place.

6th. Gató, a Shúwa place with a pond in the wilderness.

8th. Jená, a large walled town of the Sókoró, in a hilly district. The inhabitants, like almost all of the Sókoró, are said to eat a kind of beetle, called "dernána" by the Bagírmi. Jená lies between Gógomi and Kóme.

9th. Gógomi, two days from Middobó, a little north from east.

The road from Gógomi to A'bú Telfán passes by Bánem, Bálli, Sim, Kóndolá, Kéngetá, A'bú Telfán.

(*i.*) *Divisions of the Búwa.*

The following divisions of this numerous tribe are subject to the Sultan of Bagírmi: the Búwa Nyéldang, the most powerful of all; the Búwa Gamkúl; Gámkúl* is from Middobó, the frontier place of Sáruwa, twelve miles east, and two days south from Gógomi, through a mountainous wilderness; Búwa I'r; Búwa Wagé, and Búwa Shok.

The following are independent: the Búwa Lá, who are very numerous, and are divided into several families, occupying distinct places; the Búwa Kúnne; Búwa Gángli; Búwa Móke; Búwa Dámla; and east and S.E. from Gamkúl, at the distance of from twelve to fifteen miles, are the two places Kormále and Sarakélle, both situated on the top of a hill, and the latter said to be governed by a queen; Búwa Kurmán (?); Búwa Goy, with a high mountain, having water on its top; Búwa Dókeró; Búwa Gúm; Búwa Ladón; Búwa Túniya; Búwa Kúrbul; Búwa Kullúnga or Kelánge, on a mountain, two days from Komé; Búwa Malbón; Búwa Bulúl, and, finally, the Búwa Mubb and the Búwa Kúli, who occupy a mountainous district close to the territories of the Welád Ráshid.

Another tribe, the Nyílem, to whom, according to Agíd Músa, belong the Dasár, while others consider these to belong to the Búwa, dwell close to the N.E. bank of the river. Beyond the Dasár you reach the Kólun, the Nyú, and at no great distance the Furá with Gambay.

(*j.*) *From Más-eñá to Kénga Matáya. East.*

Day.

1st. Naíromá, the market-place above-mentioned.

2d. Mílle, a place with a Sunday market.

3d. Kírsuwa, a considerable place on a small marshy water-course or sél on a

* It is most probable that this is Wogga's Kimkul. Journal of the R. Geogr. Soc., vol. xv., p. 374. "Koome," p. 375, is Belél Komé.

Day.

clayey soil, which, in the Kharíf, flows to Barkadaña, Sidígiyá, Buhúlu, and to Gámmara, a considerable place under an independent chief. (Is this water-course identical with the Msél of Debbába?)

4th. Hírla, a place of a tribe related to the Bágrimma.

5th. Bedánga, a considerable place in a hilly district belonging to a section of the tribe of the Sókoró, under a powerful chieftain, converted, at least in outward appearances, to Islám. These people wear clothes, and do not disfigure themselves by incisions on their faces; the women, however, have a bead in the nose and beads in the ears, as worn almost universally in these regions. The Wádáy Jellába import their commodities even into these districts. The natives are armed neither with bows nor arrows, but only with spears and hand-bills. According to Mohammed Búme, who has been living here several years, the waters of this mountainous region are drained by the Nile through the territory of the Welád Ráshid, a piece of information which is, however, very doubtful.

From Bedánga to A'bú Telfán is three days' journey E.N.E. by way of Bámmaná and Míggedi.

6th. Kénga Matáya, the chief place of a tribe closely related to the Bagrimma nation, under a powerful chief, to whose extensive territory also Jon, Gal, and Dámbar belong. The principal produce of this region is sesamum. My new informant, the aforesaid Moh. Búme, confirmed fully the statements communicated to me previously by Agíd Búrku with regard to the strange religious observances of these pagans. According to the same, the waters of the district round Gógomi are discharged by way of Lim, Gal, Bánam, and Kénga, into the "gezán," the sandy wilderness south of Fittrí. Kénga, according to the same, is four days from Y'awó, by way of Ngar-sára, the residence of a powerful chieftain, distant about two days from both places and also from Míddogó. According to the Buláli Ibrahím, Kénga is reached in three long day's marches from Y'awó, by way of Gáriya, Mórbo, and Byllum. From Bedánga to Kénga is a long and unsafe journey, made during the night, in about sixteen hours, from evening to the heat of the day.

(k.) From Más-eñá by way of Laíry to Busó.

1st. Gógo. Stop during the heat in Malá.

2d. Ngóg;

3d. Duwíng;

4th. Múro. All short marches.

5th. Laíry, a large Bagírmi place, E. (S.E.) from Kírsuwa, on the same water-course, and one good day's journey from Togilá, and from thence to Attar in two days, having slept on the Báchikám.

6th. Gapkóng. A short march.

7th. Busó, having crossed the Báchikám about half way.

(l.) From Más-eñá by way of Kólle to Laíry, and from Kólle to Moitó.

1st. Séta, passing Bídderi, Mandélu, Dabíñen, and Gadáwu.

2d. A'mjerí, passing Mábbelá, Dérrejá, Meléde, Bindébiyó, and Tawyín.

3d. Kolle, a considerable Bagírmi place, one day from Kírsuwa, toward which

Day.

place a sél or shallow and marshy water takes its course hence by way of Dóldegí and Fór.

4th. Laíry. A long march.

From Kólle to Moító by way of Debába.

1st. Kírsuwa Jibílgi, with an independent chief, situated on a water-course.

2d. Hírla, a place situated on a hill.

3d. Jókko, a place of the Kúka.

4th. Debába, a large place, consisting of various hamlets of the Shúwa, with rich pasture-grounds, and several water-courses. Debába is two days from Balawu, having slept in Kósi, a Kanúri place, and crossed another "sél" between Kósi and Balawu.

5th. Moító. A good day's march.

(*m.*) *From Láffaná to Bang-Bay. Expeditious march, such as is usual on a ghazzia. Direction, south as far as Lay.*

1st. A'llowa, a pagan place, subject to Bagírmi; crossing in the morning the Shárí, or rather, as it is called here, the Bá-Busó.

2d. Gúrgará, a large place belonging to a considerable tribe, whence all the iron consumed in Bagírmi is exported. It is obtained from *siderites*, and is not near so good as the iron of Wándalá or Búbanjídda.

3d. Chákeu, a large place, with an independent chief; about noon.

4th. Jogdo, a large place, consisting in part of clay huts, belonging to the extensive principality of Gábberí.

5th. Lóji, a place under the independent chieftain Kíki, the son of Belát.

6th. Gun, a place on the Bá-Gun, as the River of Logón is here called. Almost every place has its separate ertána (jargon). The country yields sorghum, beans, "kolche" or ground-nuts, and melons.

7th. Lay, on the same bank of the river, the residence of Súgulum, son of Nóba. The river abounds with fish, and is navigated by numerous boats. South of Lay, according to this informant, an arm, coming from the Fúlbe territory (from Búbanjídda, it seems), appears to join the river. This informant considers the River of Logón and the River of Day, Miltú, Rusó, and A'su, to be only arms of the same river, which is bifurcated, as he says, above Day. It may be so; but I doubt whether this account be true, the rate of the current in these two rivers being very different. The direction now becomes almost south.

8th. Myl, having crossed the river at Lay, and then taken a course a little south from west.

9th. Kóyo, a place with an independent chieftain, on a dry clay soil.

10th. Kíyagór, at a short distance, with an independent chieftain. About six hours from Kíyagór, a little north from east, lies Bári, in a mountainous region.

11th. Nong, another place belonging to Bagírmi.

12th. Dógo, the farthest place in Bagírmi which was reached by the ghazzia. The country produces abundance of honey, contains large numbers of goats and sheep, but no cattle. Dukhn (*Pennisetum Typhoïdeum*) constitutes the principal food. Among the trees, the tábur, or butter-tree, and

Day.

the deléb-palm are the most remarkable and predominant. The soil is dark red (being loam). From Dógo to Bubanjídda, according to my informant, two days.

(n.) From Mábbelé to Lay and Kim, according to Agíd Músa.

1st. Gúrgará; a long march till 'aser.

2d. Cháken, a considerable place, with an independent chief; important as the point of junction of several roads leading south to Lay, S.W. to Kim, and W.S.W. to Dam.

3d. Jogdó, an important place; short march.

4th. Cholol, a place four hours east from Gun.

5th. Nyinga, a short journey.

6th. Lay, a large place on the eastern bank of the River of Logón. If you go from Lay W.S.W., after having crossed the river you reach, after ten or twelve miles, Mung-chiré, and thence Chúwa, with three independent chiefs, Malo, Dúkko, and Baíbotó.

From Cháken to Kim.

1st. Gunógunó; about twenty miles.

2d. Kim, a large place on the River of Logón. Kim is three days' journey from Démmo, in Wúliya, our farthest point on the Musgú expedition. This, therefore, is a very important piece of information for joining these routes:

Day.

1st. Jimán, on the river; about ten miles.

2d. Kar, twenty miles.

3d. Démmo, in Wúliya.

Kim from Lay is two good days' journey S.S.E., stopping for the night at Bisme, on the river. This track has a dry clayey soil, almost without trees, so that you may see from Kim the trees of E'ré, a place in the N.W., on the west bank of the river, and probably called from its situation on a ford, "éré" meaning river in the Músgu language. Márraba, a large place of the Mógom, is ten or twelve miles from Kim, beyond and at some distance from the river.

From Lay to Sálin. Direction, a little north from east.

Day.

1st. Chíre, a large place, residence of the chief Kassarák, who is not the only chieftain in this region, but there are two petty chiefs besides him. This place has a separate ertána. It is distinguished by an extensive plantation of fruit-bearing date-trees, which is well irrigated and kept in order —a very remarkable circumstance, so that I have taken pains to ascertain that the informant has not confounded the date-palm with the deléb-palm. There are no asses in Chíre, nor any cats; and the horses are imported from Bagírmi. A long march of twenty-five miles.

2d. Masró, about thirty miles.

3d. Sálin, the residence of the chief, and the principal market-place of Dam. From Sálin to Dámmuk, the capital of Somray, one day S.E.

From Más-eñá to Sálin.

Day.
1st. Mogál.
2d. Jeljélli, a Kanúri place.
3d. Bana-kúrchi.
4th. Busó.
5th. Túnjurkú, a Kerdi place.
6th. Gúrgará.
7th. Límmi.
8th. Sálin, the capital of Dam or Ndam, which latter may be the right form.

(*o.*) *Más-eñá to Báng-Bay.*

1st. Kagá.
2d. Garám.
3d. Mábbelé.
4th. Gúrgará, or, rather, one of the three villages which constitute the district of that name; the southern village lying in the direction of Cháken, and the western one in that of Chejiraki.
5th. Mátelé.
6th. Kim, a large place, where a kashélla (inspector of the river) of the Sultan of Bagírmi resides.
7th. Márraba, about 'aser (there having been probably a difficulty in crossing the river).
8th. Dómaná. A whole day.
9th. Bísay; about noon.
10th. Bay Kurí.
11th. Bay Toy, one of the four large principalities of the Bay.
12th. Kóman.
13th. Kaktíya.
14th. Múdumbím, one of the four largest principalities or places of Bang-Bay.
15th. Kéni, another of the four principalities.
16th. Debjógemé.
17th. Gómbay.
18th. Tápoló, the principality of the most powerful chief in Bang-Bay.
19th. Másentá.

(*p.*) *From Busó to Bang-Day. Expeditious march, a ghazzia.*

1st. Tábe, a large place on the south side of the river, which you cross in the morning.
2d. Kiyár, a smaller place, at some distance from the river.
3d. Miltú, a large straggling place close to the S.W. bank of the river.
4th. Báki, at some distance from the river.
5th. Shéggi.
6th. Myl, a large place.
7th. Sará-Gulé, with the chief Koína, son of the renowned Gódesgá, after whom the country and the place is usually named. The inhabitants take their supply of water from wells only.
8th. Dígti, with an independent chief.

Day.
9th. Gár-Kúmra, or Sará-Ngár-Kúmra, another principality with a powerful chief.
10th. Bang-Day, another principality on a considerable river, called by my informant—the same from whom I wrote down the itinerary marked (*m*)—the river of the Fellán, or Fúlbe. Day and Fong are the most important principalities in Sará.

(*q*.) *From Miltú to Day, and from Lay to Day, according to Agíd Músa. South.*

1st. Myl, a large place. A long march, till sunset; about thirty-five miles.
2d. Sará-Gósdegá; dhohor (two o'clock P.M.); twenty-five miles. A little east from south.
3d. Kumra. Till 'aser; thirty miles. South.
4th. Day, a large place in a densely-populated country on the Upper Shárí, which here flows from south to north, and at Miltú bends to N.W. Dhohor; twenty-five miles. S.S.E.

Lay to Day. S.S.E.

1st. Bay Fir, an independent principality on the River of Logón.
2d. Bay Kagá, another principality belonging to Bay, distant from the river, surrounded by woods, close to Masró.
3d. Day, after having crossed the River Shárí. According to the express statement of another informant, Day lies on the western bank of the river, in the same way as Kárnak Lógone does.

(*r*.) *Mábbelé to Fong, and from Fong to Busó, according to Háj Sadík.*

1st. Gúrgará, a pagan place beyond the river. A long march.
2d. Sotto, a pagan place.
3d. Gam, another place. The country produces sorghum, beans, millet, and has numerous deléb-palms, also "báwa," a sort of sweet melon (*C. melopepo*).
4th. Jogtó, a large place belonging to Somray, one day from Kim.
5th. Cholól, territory of the chief Kíki.
6th. Pam, a large place possessing both sheep and cattle.
7th. Míddigi.
8th. Ledánga; the whole country level.
9th. Chíre, a place with abundance of palms—date-palms, as it seems
10th. Bróto.
11th. Múrki, a considerable place, with large trees called "rúm."
12th. Dam Pasár.
13th. Fong or Dam Fong, a considerable territory, called after its chief or "kenús" Fong. Fong is about thirty miles S.W. from Gósdegá as well as from Chíre. Lay a day and a half's march, crossing the river.

From Fong back to Busó.

1st. Túmmak, on a small water-course.
2d. Myl, a large place. Fálik, close to Myl, eastward.
3d. Sek.
4th. U′r. The places and territories last enumerated are disconnected, and have distinct "ertána," or at least dialects.

Day.
5th. Godák.
6th. Betáng Godák. Gadáng, a large place one day east from here, may be reached in one good day's march from Busó.
7th. Gónda.
8th. Busó.

(*s.*) *Places from Báchikám downward along the river, and from Más-eñá to Músgu.*

Sigír, Majir, Bakúl, Mánga, Tar ngólo, Bukábe, Mátiya (formerly a considerable place, and capital of an independent territory), with a large market on Saturdays, Marja. From here, if you keep on this side of the river, you come to Bála Mása, or, if you cross it, to Mískin, both on the great river Shárí, which is again joined by the Báchikám at Mébi.

Kókoroché, the place which, next to Búgomán, sends the largest supplies of corn to the capital, lies one hour north from the Báchikám; and the road from here to Bala Mása goes by way of Békeri and Héla.

Más-eñá to Músgu.

Day.
1st. Bekábe or Bakábe, a considerable place, with a clay wall of earth, on the Báchikám.
2d. Mátiya.
3d. Mankhfa, a considerable place on the east bank of the Shárí, after crossing the Báchikám in the morning.
4th. Músgu, a Kerdi town on the River of Logón, after crossing the Shárí in the morning. A long march. If you proceed more slowly, and keep along the river, you sleep the first night in O'ñokó, the second in Báingané, and reach Músgu on the third morning.

From Musgu to Gunna, a large Kerdi place of the Mása, is not above one day's journey.

(*t.*) *Más-eñá to Báng-Bay, according to Agíd Búrku. In a winding direction.*

[Published previously in the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," 1852, but here rectified.]

Day.
1st. I'r, on the (river) Bá-ír, which is said to flow to the east [west]. In the morning.
2d. Báchikam, a Bagírmi place on the south side of the same river, or rather arm of the Shárí, at a short distance.
3d. Garám. Arrived when the heat commenced, but started again at dhohor, and slept in the karága.
4th. Láffaná, on a large river, the Shárí, flowing east [N.W.].
5th. On the sandy bank of the river, which he crossed in a large boat.
6th. Busó, a place under a powerful chief, on the north bank of the river, which had been crossed again by informant.
7th. Mirti, an island in the Shárí, possessing a large number of boats. The water, however, is dangerous on account of the numerous crocodiles which infest it.
8th. Halanga, a place on the north bank of the Shárí, under the same chief as Busó.
9th. Tabé, a large place on the south bank of the river, with a mixed population.

Day.
10th. Gadáng, a Kerdi place, distant from the river. At dhonor.

11th. Kiyar, a village consisting of several small hamlets, at some distance from the river.

12th. [Miltú], a large place, with numerous horses, belonging at that time (1850) to the powerful chief 'Alí Fenjar, who shortly afterward died in the capital of Bagírmi as a holy man.

13th. A place of the Bang-Dam (the chief of the Dam), who is the only person in the place who wears clothes. The country contains numerous small hamlets, and is richly wooded; the soil sandy. The inhabitants eat horse-flesh.

14th. I'semray (Somray), an extensive district under Sultan (Bang) Wónja, with a clayey soil. Early in the morning.

15th. Another place in I'semray, under the independent chieftain Búrso. In the whole country, water is obtained only from wells two or three fathoms deep. The food of the people is chiefly (red) sorghum. The soil is clayey. The fields are shaded by some large trees.

16th. Fáchang Góngawe, the territory of a powerful chief, which is densely inhabited, and intersected by numerous shallow water-courses ("sél" or "ngáljam"), which, however, only contain water during the rains, when the country becomes impassable.

17th. Gábberí, or rather a place (Jogto?) of the territory of Gábberí, this name being that of the whole country; a large place, reached in the evening, after a halt at noon. The only weapon of the inhabitants is the hand-bill, called in their language "jigaji." They breed numerous horses and cattle, but are said, nevertheless, like all the inhabitants of the country of Bang-Wónja, to eat only dogs' flesh. They kill dogs, sheep, and fowls around a large sycamore ("juméz"), in honor of their deity, accompanying their sacrifices with loud music on cow-hides. They pillage and wage war upon each other.

18th. Koriñína, a large place of the Sultan Koína (the son of Gósdegá), with a rampart flanked with a palisade, and surrounded on the outside by trees and a ditch. In the vicinity of the capital are situated several small hamlets. The inhabitants wear only a leather apron, and do not practice circumcision. They raise abundance of beans.

19th. A large open place (name not known), in the territory of Sará, under the chief Gosdegá, the inhabitants of which cultivate plenty of millet, sorghum, and beans, and plant a tree with a date-like fruit, with a large crown, but small leaves, the marrow of which, as white as fat, constitutes their butter and oil. This same tree I afterward found along the Niger.

20th. Sará-ngar-Kúmra, another place wrongly stated to belong to Sultan Gósdegá, with a stagnant water.

21st. Sará-bé-Day, a place under the chief Sáriya, who possesses numerous horses (on the Upper Sharí). An entire day's march, including halts.

22d. Yaldang (or Nyéldang), a place inhabited by a tribe of the same name, belonging to the powerful nation of the Búwa, who in time of war retire to a high mountain in the southern part of their country.

23d. Gamkúl, a place of another tribe of the Búwa, in a sandy tract with rocky ridges, rich in trees, and intersected by small water-courses. Giraffes,

Day.

lions, elephants, and hogs are numerous in this tract, and the latter constitute the principal food of the inhabitants.

24th. Dan Mádobó (or Míddobo), under Sultan Garé, beyond a mountain chain, which you cross. The country yields cotton, millet, and sorghum.

25th. Dan Bébe, a place of the chief (gár) Godá. The country, which during the rains is intersected by various streams, yields cotton and sorghum.

26th. Komé, in a mountainous district. The people dwell at the foot of the mountains, which they only ascend in order to harvest their crops, which grow on the mountains. They obtain water from wells only. A short day's journey.

27th. Kómaré, in a mountainous district, where cotton is produced. The inhabitants wear only a belt, and worship a rock as their god; but it is said that there exist some Mohammedans among them.

28th. Andí, a place of the tribe of the Sójigá, who are said to clothe their horses as well as themselves. Andí from Gógomi is two days, *viâ* Jíli. Andí from Gamkúl, north about 30 miles. A mountainous tract. An entire day's journey.

29th. Burdá, a large place of the (Gár) Mánga, with a deep lake abounding with fish. (Identical with the Lake of Bisá, which is passed between Gógomi and Andí?)

30th. Tamkí, probably a place of the Sókoró, who are armed with spears and bows, the men wearing clothes. They are said to eat lizards, which they boil; they have, however, likewise sorghum. Their country is mountainous.

31st. Góberá, a Kérdí place in a mountainous and richly wooded tract.

32d. Báng-Bay, a large town on the south bank of a considerable river, abounding with fish, and flowing eastward, under the chief Sará Gulá.

All this is quite correct; but this Báng-Bay is altogether different from the territory called Bay, on the River of Logón. According to Ramadhán, the River of Báng-Bay is identical with the Bahr Rásheed, which, as he states, flows from here to Tamkí, Andí, Nyéldang, and Gamkúl, and falls into the Shárí at Nílem.

The inhabitants, who are in a very rude state of civilization, have only slings; and no cotton is cultivated. Báng-Bay is four days from A'bú Telfán, and two days and a half from Míddogó.

(*u.*) *Más-eñá to Bunga and Sillá, according to Agíd Búrku. Route not in a straight course, but veering westerly.*

Day.

1st. Gíñim, a considerable place, with a rampart, and a large clay-built mosque. A well-wooded tract.

2d. A'm-jérri, a middling-sized place, surrounded by a stockade, inhabited by elephant and lion hunters. You pass some wood.

3d. Kírsuwa (Jibílki?), on a river which flows N.N.W., abounding with fish, and navigated during the rains by the people in bukhsa, those large calabashes described on a former occasion. A woody tract.

4th. Kírsuwa Hírla, a place under a powerful chief, to the south of which is a considerable well-wooded mountain. Of the inhabitants, one half are pagans and the other half Moslemín. A long march.

5th. Bedánga, a place surrounded by a palisade, to the west of which is a

Day.

mountain, only inhabited by pagans, with abundance of fig-trees, which are considered holy. The soil to the north consists of sand, and in the southern part of clay. The wells are about five fathoms deep. The gár (chief) of Bedánga is dependent upon Bagírmi.

6th. Bammená, a pagan place in a mountainous tract, where water is only obtained from wells. The huts are of reeds. Not distant.

7th. O'le Mántanjá, a large pagan place. The upper parts of the huts consist of reeds, the lower parts of clay. Halt at noon near a large mountain in the wilderness.

8th. Sómo, a place situated partly on the top and partly at the foot of a mountain possessing springs. The inhabitants are pagans; they breed horses, cows, and sheep, eat pork, and cultivate much cotton. Tétel (*Antilope oryx*) abounds here; also an animal called wáktotó, resembling a cat, but without a tail (the súmmolí?).

9th. Gellá, a place under an independent chief, on a rivulet flowing south, called Múggeru, abounding with fish, and navigated during the rains in bukhsa.

10th. Gár-Sará or Ngár-Sará, a large pagan place, under a powerful chieftain of the name of Makét, on a stagnant water (sél), which, during the rains, becomes a running river, and is navigated with bukhsa, or crossed by means of a rope drawn from either side. On the way you halt at a group of four wells at the base of a mountain.

11th. Dámbar, a large pagan place, consisting merely of reed huts, under the chieftain Gár-Dogó, and the native place of my informant.

12th. Bánam, a large place, close to which is a high mountain, called "tot Shímme." The country produces millet, sesamum, sorghum, and much cotton. The field-labor is not done by the women, as is general in Negroland, but by the men, the women having the upper hand.

13th. Górgor, a place nominally under Bagírmi, on a rivulet in a mountainous, rocky tract, the rock being partly of red, partly of blue color. The mountains are steep. The inhabitants are armed with spear and sword (the latter very remarkable), rarely with bows.

14th. Leté, in a mountainous tract, short distance.

15th. Bubú, a middle-sized place.

16th. Chélemí, a large place.

17th. Kénga Matáya, a large place, under a powerful chief, on the western side of a water-course running from north to south. Near Kénga a mountain rises as steep as a wall, presenting colors as richly checkered as those of a carpet, and densely inhabited by birds, whence it is called "the birds' rock." At the foot of this mountain the inhabitants celebrate, during summer, a great festival in a large hut, their temple, at the top of which an urn is suspended, which is said to be raised by supernatural powers on the approach of an enemy, and to descend again on his retreat. The people slaughter here fowls and sheep, and bring sorghum and beans, which they sow, the crop being said to start forth immediately, so that they reap, boil, and eat it the same day. Then they place a woman, in splendid attire, on a kárru or wooden mortar, on each side of the hut, who are said to be transformed into horses, and to beat the kárru, which itself rises up in the shape of a horse.

Day.

These fabulous statements, on whatever imposture they may rest, were repeated to me by several most credible informants, quite independently the one of the other. The vessel or urn suspended at the top of the hut is said to represent their deity. According to the experienced Ramadhán Degéji, the following places lie at short distances from each other, in the mountainous tract between Kénga and Belél-Kolé: Gér (Gére, see lower down), a large and populous district, rather mountainous; Sára, under Sultan Mokhé; Bedánga, Bámmená, Bajáwu, and Mére (another village situated on the top of a mount, and on the water-course running to Andí, Jená, Kédil, Kótkol, Belél Kóle).

18th. Sár, a large place on and at the base of a high hill, on which stands the chief's dwelling, surrounded with a rampart. The sultan feasts, at 'Aíd el kebír, the chiefs subjected to his dominion, on receiving their tribute, by slaughtering a great number of cattle.

19th. Doy, a large place under an independent chieftain; not distant.

20th. Dángal, a place on the top of a mountain, in a mountainous tract.

21st. Bánal, a large place with a great body of horsemen, situated at the foot of a steep mountain. This mountain range is said to extend a month's journey, and to contain numerous villages. In its valleys, water-courses are formed during the rains, and it contains numerous small lakes, abounding with fish. The inhabitants wear clothes, and possess numerous herds. It is said that the cold on these mountains is sometimes very severe, and that snow and hail fall occasionally. The whole country is under the supremacy of Kénga.

22d. Íyon, a large place at the foot of a mountain, under Kénga.

23d. Tamkí (see above), a large place under the chief Bishára Milkéte. Tamkí, in a straight line from Kénga, is only one day S.W.

24th. Góberá, a place on a mountain, consisting of a rock of red color, the inhabitants of which are armed with bows and arrows, and are very formidable. This tract contains several water-courses.

25th. Jayá, a group of several villages on the top of a mountain.

26th. Miñedogó.

27th. Middogó, a place, or rather district, mountainous, and comprising about 40 hamlets, lying around an isolated mountain, under the chieftain A'bú Khódr. The inhabitants, on the inroad of the Wáday people in 1852, retired to the mountain, which they held for seven months, till the Wáday army retired.

28th. Dróngoló, a village of the A'fanín, as they are called, a section of, or rather an indigenous tribe subjected to the Kúka, in the valley of the Bat-há, with stagnant pools.

29th. Kúnjur, a place of the Kúka.

30th. A'm-Kharúba, a district comprising numerous hamlets on the Bat-há, which is fringed with dúm-palms. A very short distance.

31st. Kórnay, a large place of the Kúka, consisting entirely of reed huts. The principal produce is millet.

32d. Birket Fátima, a large stagnant water on the north bank of the Bat-há. Informant now turns south.

33d. A large place of the Másmajé, Arab cattle-breeders at the foot of a mountain.

Day.

the summit of which is inhabited by pagans. The district abounds with large trees.

34th. A considerable village of the Dájó. In the Khalla a large number of Fullán, as the Fúlbe are there called, graze their herds.

35th. Kórbe (?), a large place, or rather district of the Másalát or Másalít (whom my informant erroneously takes to be Arabs), with numerous herds, of a very thievish disposition, on a water-course called Bérekat. North of the Másalát, according to my informant, there is no water-course properly speaking.

36th. A hamlet of the Salamát Arabs, mixed with pagans, and themselves pagans; on the Bahr e' Tíni, a stagnant water.

37th. A district of the Welád Ráshid, name not known.

38th. A large place of the Bándalá, in a district rich in honey.

39th. Dár Séli, an extensive district quite level and bare of trees.

40th. Sofálawén, a small village inhabited by Arabs, stated by my informant to be pagans, under 'Abd e' Rahmán Jóko.

41st. A large place under the sovereign of Runga, name not known. The country is traversed by various mountains.

42d. Dár Shilá, a mountainous country, with a river flowing eastward, beyond which is Dár Dínga.

(*v.*) *From Kúkawa, by way of Logón Bírni and Busó to (the Western) Báng-Bay, according to Slave-traders.*

1st. Ngórnu.
2d. Ngála.
3d. A'fadé.
4th. Kála Kabé.
5th. Hállebú.
6th. Kála Gurú.
7th. Kárnak Lógone, or Logón Bírni.
8th. Kúbu ngólo, a large town surrounded by a rampart.
9th. Búgomán, a large town under Sultan Másseri, on the west bank of the Shárí.
10th. Mayemba or Mankhfa, on the east bank of the large river.
11th. Músgu, a tract comprising a number of hamlets, with some isolated eminences. You always keep along the water-course.
12th. Baleñére.
13th. Mondó.
14th. Muró.
15th. Gurumbánga.
16th. Gadó.
17th. Kókochó.
18th. Máfelé, constantly along the river.
19th. Láffaná.
20th. Busó, a large place under a powerful chief.
21st. Mirtí, a village on an island in the Shárí.
22d. Birrí, still on the river.
23d. Móngolá, under the chieftain Biñígo.

Day.

24th. Mútu, a place on the same river, with abundance of boats, ngurútu, and crocodiles, and surrounded by a dense wood.

25th. Bargná, a considerable village.

26th. Yó, another pagan place.

27th. Billay, the last place on the Shárí.

28th. Nigi, a village situated in a tract intersected by small water-courses, which join the river.

29th. Tógilá, on the Báchikám.

30th. Kérbe, a large place in a woody tract.

31st. Górewó.

32d. Búkkabé, a place situated on a river.

33d. Limmírkay, on the large river, one day from Attar.

34th. Békang. The inhabitants of all these places go naked, are only armed with the hand-bill, and eat dogs' flesh.

35th. Kórbol, another village on the same river.

36th. Búwa Dasár, so called from the chief Dasár. The people eat beef and horse-flesh, and gird their loins with horse-tails. The "delu"-tree is said to be their deity.

37th. Kóna.

38th. Nyégel.

39th. Nílem, a place on a headland between the Shárí, toward the west, and a tributary of the latter, the River of Andí, on the east side.

40th. Kunnó.

41st. Jénge, a large place at the foot of a mountain which here starts up from the plain.

42d. Gasháffar, a village in a mountainous district.

43d. Téngi, a place in a mountainous tract on the west bank of a river (the Shárí?).

44th. Fátum, in a woody plain on the river.

45th. Kóm.

46th. Kúmra (Sará-ngár-Kúmra), in a mountainous tract.

47th. Báng-Bay, in a hilly tract, with four chiefs, one of whom is Jímdil.

48th. Kúdumúr, a place near a mountain.

49th. Géjjemir, a village with a mountain and a river to the south.

50th. Báng-Derír, a mountainous tract with a river, abounding in the tree called kó, which bears a large fruit.

51st. Day, in a mountainous tract, with a river.

52d. Gurál, a place situated in a level tract, inhabited by a fierce race of people of a red color.

53d. Cholól, residence of the chief Kíki.

54th. Jogtó, a large place. All short marches.

55th. Mugmó, in a woody plain with small water-courses without a current, producing millet, and abounding with elephants and beasts of prey, particularly hyænas.

56th. Gam, a place in a level tract, the inhabitants of which go naked, are only armed with the hand-bill, and eat dog's flesh.

57th. Somray, in a plain, with small water-courses.

58th. Yálma, in a plain. You here change your course.

Day.
59th. Dólemá, in a level tract, subject to Somray, with large trees, producing only millet. The people breed dogs, cattle, and pigs.
60th. Chíre, a large place.
61st. Gábberí, in a plain, devoid of running water, and having only wells.
62d. Kímre.

(*x.*) *From Más-eñá, by way of Gáwi, to M'awó, according to Agíd Músa,*

who nine years ago was sent by 'Othmán Búgomán to Kanem to pay his respects to Mohammed, the son of 'Abd el Jelíl, and to deliver to him a number of slaves as a present, by way of opening negotiations. Músa, however, barely escaped being killed by the Khalífa 'Alí, the Governor of M'awó and a partisan of Wáday, and the negotiations were soon broken off in consequence of the insecurity of the road.

Day.
1st. A'bú-Gher (see above).
2d. Chekká.
3d. Dérja.
4th. Méddebá, on the Shárí, a little above Klésem.
5th. Gáwi, a town formerly of importance, but containing at present, after having been destroyed by the Sheikh Mohammed el Kánemí, who, assisted by Mústafa el A'hmar and Mukní, took it, after a long resistance, in A.H. 1234—only a small population. Gáwi from Klésem about 20 miles.
6th. A place of the Yamanúk Arabs, or the Dághana, on a sheet of water.
7th. Kídik.
8th. Babáliyá, formerly the capital of an independent territory, with a peculiar dialect like that of Búgomán; at present nearly deserted, since its destruction together with Gáwi in 1234 A.H., and possessing but a very small remnant of population. Bábaliyá is about twelve miles from the Shárí, and thirty miles, or a long day's journey, from Gáwi.
9th. Ziyán, a place belonging to Kárká or Kargha.
10th. A hamlet belonging to Kárká, not far from the lake.
11th. } Hillelát (small hamlets) of Kárká.
12th. }
13th. }
14th. }
15th. A village of the Nefása.
16th. A village of the Kánem Arabs. A long night's march, from 'aser (four o'clock P.M.) till the next morning.
17th. M'awó.

From Babáliyá to Moitó, according to Ramadhán Degéji.

1st. Augúra, a place of the Kúka.
2d. Dimdim, a wadi whence the inhabitants of Moitó fetch natron, and much frequented by the Shúwa, who like to graze their herds therein.
3d. Kargha.
4th. Babáliyá.

From Más-eñá to Méddebá.

Day.
1st. Bákada,
2d. Kóllekólle, } separated by short distances. Very easy to be performed in two days.
3d. Márga,
4th. Jógodé, a large place inhabited by Kanúri, with a khalífa.
5th. Méddebá.

(*y.*) *Places on the Shárí, descending the river from Búgomán.*

Below Búgomán are situated on the river: Yaúya; Bála Masa, with a rampart; Kuljí; A'su or Aisu, with a rampart in the utmost state of decay; Ndára; Mai Dalá; Gédiyé, and Mélé.

Below Mélé are situated on the river: Méddebá; Klésem, a considerable place, with a peculiar dialect, twenty miles from Mélé; Tibálo; Shégguwa or Kinjí Búrgu, with the ford of Siña-Fácha, where the River of Logón, or the lághame Lógone (the Arre of the Músgu), falls into the Shárí; Gulfé; Mafáng; Sháwi, a place well-known from Denham's description; Makari, a very important place, which, it is much to be regretted, we were prevented from visiting.

For the very important itinerary of an expedition undertaken from A'm-majúra in Dár-Fúr, in a southwesterly direction, through Bánda (called Dár Banda) to the borders of a large river running westward, which must be one of the great objects of discovery to future expeditions, see Journal of the Royal Geog. Soc., 1853, vol. xxiii., p. 120.

APPENDIX XI.

FRAGMENTS OF A METEOROLOGICAL REGISTER.

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1851.			
April			
20	No obsv'n.		
21	sunrise.	73·4	
	noon.	95	
	sunset.	87·8	
22	r.	71·6	
	noon.	96·8	
	s.	98·6	
23	r.	68	
	noon.	96·8	
24–28	No obsv'n.		
29	s.	89·6	
30	r.	69·8	
	noon.	99	
	s.	89·6	
May			
1	r.	70·3	
	noon.	100·4	
2	1.0 P.M.	104	
3	r.	74	
	1.0 P.M.	104	
	s.	91·4	
4	r.	73·4	
	1.0 P.M.	105·8	
	s.	95	
5	r.	84·2	Sky dull and cloudy, gradually becoming more overcast.
	1.0 P.M.	105·8	Three o'clock P.M. a few claps of thunder without lightning, and with only a little rain.
	s.	86	
6	r.	80·6	
	noon.	105·9	
	s.	91·4	
7	r.	76	
8	r.	95	
	noon.	106·2	
9	noon.	107·6	
10	noon.	106·7	
	s.	86	
11	r.	78	
	noon.	106·7	
12	r.	80·6	Very strong wind; in the afternoon a thunder-storm, with some rain at 4 o'clock P.M.
	noon.	105·8	
	s.	77	

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1851.			
May			
13	r.	80·6	
	noon.	100·4	
	s.	90·5	In the evening thick clouds.
14	r.	80·6	
	noon.	104	
	s.	100·4	
15	r.	77	
	noon.	105	
	s.	86	
16	r.	79·7	Atmosphere very oppressive.
	noon.	104	
	s.	95	
17	r.	81·5	Heavy gale from N.W. in the forenoon.
	noon.	104	
	s.	92·3	
18	r.	82·4	
	noon.	105·8	
19	r.	78·8	
	noon.	104	
	s.	93·2	
20	r.	78	
	noon.	107·6	
	s.	92·3	
21	r.	77	
	noon.	104	
	1.30 P.M.	107·6	
	s.	96·8	
22	r.	77	
	noon.	104	
	s.	95	Lightning in the evening.
23	r.	77	
	noon.	104	At three o'clock P.M. a tornado and a little rain.
	s.	90·5	
24	r.	77	
	noon.	98·6	
	s.	97·7	
25	r.	79·7	
	noon.	96·8	
26	noon.	97·7	Sky thickly overcast; a few drops of rain.
	s.	93·2	
27	r.	78·8	
	noon.	104	
	s.	93·2	In the evening lightning.

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1851.			
May			
28	r.	84·2	Sky not clear.
29	No obsv'n.		
30	noon.	99·5	
	s.	87·8	
31	r.	75·2	
	noon.	99·5	In the afternoon the sky became thickly overcast, and a little rain fell.
	s.	90·5	
June			
1	r.	78·8	In the evening a thunder - storm, toward the south and the north, came down upon us, accompanied with heavy rain.
	noon.	98·6	
	s.	99·5	
2	r.	79·7	
	noon.	98·6	Tornado near us.
3	r.	74·3	
	noon.	104·9	
4	r.	74·3	
	noon.	98·6	
5	r.	75·2	Weather extremely sultry; at 2 P.M. a heavy thunder - storm, with much rain.
	2.0 P.M.	111·2	
	s.	101·3	
6	r.	73·4	
	noon.	93·2	At 10 P.M. frightful tempest, with much rain.
7	No obsv'n.		In the evening a thunder-storm in the distance.
8	r.	73·4	
9	r.	75·2	At four o'clock in the afternoon a tornado, with a short but heavy shower. In the night another storm, but no rain near us.
	s.	82·4	
10	r.	71·6	In the afternoon a storm, with but little rain.
11			Sky cloudy.
12	2.0 P.M.	82·4	Atmosphere humid and rainy, felt quite chilly, sun did not come forth till after noon.
13	r.	69·5	
	noon.	89·6	In the afternoon a thunder - storm toward the south.

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1851.			
June			
13	s.	75·1	
14	r.	79·7	
	noon.	91·4	About 2 P.M. a tornado, with a little rain later in the afternoon.
	s.	77	8 P.M. a tornado, but not much rain.
15	noon.	95·1	
	s.	77	
16	r.	77	
	noon.	90·5	
	s.	80·6	During the night tornado with rain.
17	r.	75·2	Fine clear morning.
	noon.	91·4	7 P.M. heavy thunder-storm.
18	s.	86	
19	r.	78·8	
	noon.	87·8	
20			In the evening a tornado with heavy rain.
21	r.	70·7	(Yóla.)
	2.0 P.M.	65·3	1 o'clock P.M. a storm broke forth with great violence, in consequence of which it became quite cool.
	s.	67	
22	No obsv'n.		In the morning, sun lurid and atmosphere moist, afterward very hot.
23	r.	71·6	
24,25	No obsv'n.		
26	r.	76	In the evening a heavy tornado, accompanied with rain, lasting from 9 P.M. to 6 A.M. 27th.
June 27 to July 7	No observation.		
8	noon.	77	Rain in the evening and during the night.
9	1.0 P.M.	80·6	Sky thickly overcast.
10	5.30 A.M.		Heavy rain lasting till 7½ A.M.
11	r.	79·7	
	1.30 P.M.	82·4	
12			In the afternoon a heavy thunder-storm with rain.

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1851.			
July			
13	No obsv'n.		
14	r.	77	Sky cloudy; 7 P. M. storm accompanied by very heavy rain, lasting till midnight.
15			Sky cloudy in the morning; sun came forth at 8 A.M.; a little rain the following night.
16			Sky thickly overcast; storm in the night.
17			A little before sunset a storm, accompanied by heavy rain.
18			Weather clear.
19			Soon after sunrise a storm broke forth, accompanied by rain, lasting till noon.
20-23	No obsv'n.	93·2	
24	noon.		(Kúkawa.)
28	r.	78·8	Sky overcast; a few drops of rain; 8.30 A.M. a heavy thunder-storm, with rain till 11 o'clock.
	noon.	79·7	
29	noon.	87·8	In the night some more rain.
30	r.	77	
	noon.	93·2	
	s.	89·6	
31	r.	74	A thunder-storm early in the morning; 10 A. M. a few drops of rain.
	noon.	89·6	
	s.	86	
Aug.			
1	No obsv'n.		
2	noon.	95	
3 }	No therm.		Heavy thunder-storm in the night of the 2d, with the most plentiful fall of rain which we had during this season. In the night of the 4th another very heavy fall of rain, lasting till the morning, and not accompanied by any thunder or lightning.
4 }	observ'n.		
5			9.15 A.M. a heavy shower, lasting till 11 o'clock, preceded by gusts of wind, and followed by a few claps of thunder.
	1.0 P.M.	73·4	
6	noon.	84·2	In the morning sky overcast.
7	noon.	78·8	At 10.30 A.M. rain.
8	noon.	89·6	The morning fine; about noon sky overcast; about 2 P.M. a heavy thunder-storm, with much rain.
9	r.	71·6	In the morning rainy; afterward the sun broke forth.
10 }	No therm.	}	Fine weather.
11 }	observ'n.	}	
12	r.		11 A.M. very heavy shower, but only of short duration.
	noon.	73·4	
13,14	No obsv'n.		
15			About 11 o'clock A.M. rain; and again in the afternoon.
16			Sky overcast.
17,18	No obsv'n.		
19	noon.	88·7	Fine weather.
20			In the night a thunder-storm, with heavy rain.
21	No obsv'n.		
22	noon.	89·6	Sky overcast.
23	noon.	91·4	At 9 P.M. heavy thunder-storm, with a tolerable quantity of rain.
24	noon.	87·8	A cold northerly wind.
25	No obsv'n.		
26			7½ A.M. a heavy thunder-storm, with moderate rain.
27,28	No obsv'n.		
29			Fine weather.
30	noon.	89·6	
31	No obsv'n.		
Sept.			
1			Fine weather.
2	noon.	77	10 o'clock, thunder-storm, with heavy rain.
3			In the morning, till

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1851.			
Sept.			
			near noon, rain; afterward fine weather.
4	noon.	87·8	In the afternoon some rain.
5	No obsv'n.		
6	noon.	89·6	
7			A good deal of rain, at times heavier, at others gentle.
8	noon.	86	
9	noon.	89·6	
10	No obsv'n.		
11			Heavy dew.
12	noon.	91·4	
13	noon.	89·6	Sky overcast. Sun gradually broke forth.
14	r.	77	
15			Heavy gale.
16	r.	72·5	
17	No obsv'n.		
18	2.0 P.M.	98·6	(Town of Yó.)
19	2.0 P.M.	98·6	
20	2.0 P.M.	96·8	Heavy easterly gales.
	s.	87·8	
21,22	No obsv'n.		
23	2.30 P.M.	89·6	A thunder-storm, with a little rain.
24-29	No obsv'n.		27th, storm, with considerable rain in the afternoon.
30	r.	69·8	(Kánem.)
	1.0 P.M.	102·2	A hot northerly wind from the desert.
Oct.			
1	2.0 P.M.	106·7	
2	No obsv'n.		
3	noon.	101·3	
	2.0 P.M.	104	
4	noon.	100·4	
	2.0 P.M.	104	
5	noon.	98·6	
	6.15 P.M.	96·8	
6	noon.	100·4	
	2.0 P.M.	105·8	
7	r.	68	
	noon.	102·2	
	2.0 P.M.	105·5	
8	noon.	103	
	2.0 P.M.	105·8	
9	noon.	101	
	2.0 P.M.	104	About 2 o'clock P.M. a thunder-storm toward S. E.; about sunset a little rain.
10	noon.	104	
	2.0 P.M.	111	A thunder-storm. A little rain in the evening.

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1851.			
Oct.			
11	noon.	101·3	At noon thunder-storm gathering on all sides. At 2 P.M. a little rain.
12	noon.	98·6	
	2.0 P.M.	100·4	
13,14			Strong northerly gale.
15	noon.	101·3	
16-21	No obsv'n.		
22	noon.	100·4	
23	2.0 P.M.	108	
24	2.0 P.M.	109·4	
25	1.0 P.M.	109	
26	2.0 P.M.	107·6	
27	noon.	105·8	
	2.0 P.M.	108·5	After 3 o'clock, a thunder-storm from the south; rain toward the west.
28	No obsv'n.		
29	2.0 P.M.	100·4	
30 to Dec. 1	No observation.		
2	1.0 P.M.	96·8	
3	r.	64·4	
	1.30 P.M.	96·8	
4	No obsv'n.		
5	1.30 P.M.	82·4	(Díkowa.) Thick fog in the morning, as was often the case at this season.
6	1.30 P.M.	95	
7	No obsv'n.		
8	1.30 P.M.	94	
9, 10	No obsv'n.		
11	1.30 P.M.	89·6	
12	r.	53·5	
	1.30 P.M.	90·5	
13	No obsv'n.		
14	r.	51·8	
15	No obsv'n.		
16	r.	55·4	
17	No obsv'n.		
18	5.30 P.M.	55·4	
19	r.	52·7	
20	r.	51·8	
	2.0 P.M.	86	
21	r.	51	
22	r.	51·8	
23-25	No obsv'n.		
26	r.	56·3	
27	r.	56·3	
	s.	74·3	
28,29	No obsv'n.		
30	r.	61·7	
31	No obsv'n.		

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1852. Jan.			
1	No obsv'n.		(Wúliya, Músgu.)
2	r.	60·8	
3	r.	59	
	noon.	96·8	
4	noon.	95	
	s.	82·4	
5	No obsv'n.		
6	r.	59	
7	r.	59	
	1.30 P.M.	100·4	
8	6.0 A.M.	59	
	1.0 P.M.	91·4	
	s.	77	
9	r.	57·2	
	2.0 P.M.	96·8	
	s.	78·8	
10	No obsv'n.		
11	r.	62·6	
	1.30 P.M.	95	In cool shade.
		100·4	In ventilated tent.
	s.	82·4	
12	r.	59	
	1.0 P.M.	87·8	
	s.	77	
13	r.	56·5	
	1.30 P.M.	84·2	In very cool shade, with cool northerly breeze.
	s.	74·3	
14	r.	56·3	
15	r.	51	
	noon.	87	
	s.	70·7	
16	r.	52·7	
	noon.	91·4	
17	r.	55·4	
	1.30 P.M.	89·6	
18	r.	57·2	
	1.0 P.M.	86	
19,20	No obsv'n.		
21	r.	58	
	s.	75·2	
22	r.	56·3	
23	r.	59	
24	No obsv'n.		
25	r.	56·3	
26	r.	52·7	
	1.30 P.M.	93·2	
	s.	75·2	
27	r.	57·2	
28	noon.	98·6	
29	r.	59	
30,31	No obsv'n.		
Feb.			
1	No obsv'n.		(Kúkawa.)
2	r.	56·3	
	noon.	75·2	
	s.	65·3	
3	r.	59	
	12.45	70·7	
4	r.	55·4	
	s.	71·6	
5	r.	61·7	
1852. Feb.			
5	noon.	78	
	s.	72·5	
6	r.	63·5	
	12.15	80·6	
	s.	75·8	
7	r.	62·6	
	noon.	84·2	
	s.	77	
8	r.	62·6	
	1.0 P.M.	81·5	
	s.	78·3	
9	r.	63·5	
	noon.	87·8	
	s.	79·7	
10	r.	64·4	
	noon.	87·8	
	s.	79·7	
11	r.	68	
	noon.	95	
	s.	81·5	
12	r.	70·2	
	noon.	92	
	s.	86	
13	r.	69·8	
	noon.	98·6	
	s.	87·8	
14	r.	70·7	Heavy gale.
	1.30 P.M.	98·6	
15	r.	69·8	
	1.30 P.M.	98·6	
	s.	86	
16	r.	69·8	
	12.45	98·6	
	s.	87·8	
17	r.	71·6	
	12.45	102·2	
	s.	86	
18	r.	69·8	
	1.45 P.M.	101	
	s.	87·8	
19	r.	70·7	
	1.30 P.M.	98·6	The evening foggy.
20	r.	67·3	
	12.45	102·2	
21	r.	68	All this time much sickness in Kúkawa.
	1.15 P.M.	99·5	
	s.	86	
22	r.	66·2	
	1.45 P.M.	89·6	
	s.	79·7	
23	r.	68	
	1.30 P.M.	88·7	
	s.	78·8	
24	r.	67	
	1.0 P.M.	87	
	s.	77	
25	r.	64·4	
26	r.	65·5	
	1.0 P.M.	89	
	s.	80·6	
27	r.	66·2	

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1852.			
Feb.			
27	2.0 P.M.	91	
	s.	80·6	
28	r.	67	
	1.0 P.M.	91·4	
	s.	82·4	
Mar.			
1	r.	67·3	
	12.30	91·4	
	s.	86	
2	r.	69	
	1.0 P.M.	96·8	
	s.	86	
3	r.	71·6	
	1.0 P.M.	100·4	
4	r.	71·6	
	1.30 P.M.	95	
5	1.30 P.M.	97·7	
	s.	86	
6	r.	78·8	
	1.30 P.M.	99·5	
	s.	80·6	
7	r.	71·6	
	1.30 P.M.	94	
	s.	84·2	
8	r.	71·6	
	1.30 P.M.	96·8	
	s.	86	
9	No obsv'n.		
10	r.	70·5	
	1.30 P.M.	98·2	
	s.	89	
11	No obsv'n.		
12	1.30 P.M.	94	
13			Logón bírni. About 2.30 P.M. a little rain.
14	r.	71·6	
15	2.0 P.M.	94·1	
16	1.30 P.M.	98·2	
17	r.	75·2	Sky overcast; thick clouds.
18	1.0 P.M.	96·8	
19	No obsv'n.		
20	1.30 P.M.	92·8	
21	r.	57·7	
	s.	83·3	
22	1.30 P.M.	100	
23	r.	58	
	2.0 P.M.	101·5	
24	r.	62·6	
	1.30 P.M.	102·2	
	s.	87·8	Sky overcast.
25	r.	69·4	
	2.0 P.M.	98·6	
26–30	No obsv'n.		
31	noon.	104·7	
	1.30 P.M.	107·4	Bákadá.
April			
1	r.	63	
	1.30 P.M.	106·2	
	s.	91·8	
2	r.	66·6	
	1.30 P.M.	105·3	

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1852.			
April			
2	s.	87·8	
3	r.	73	The first thunder-storm of the rainy season. The sky in the morning thickly overcast; the air moist. The sun broke through the clouds after 9 o'clock; but half an hour past noon the thunder-storm broke forth at a short distance toward the south, from whence it proceeded, reaching us at 1 P.M.
	12.30	102·7	From 1 o'clock to 1.23 large drops of rain, followed by heavy gusts of wind.
	1.30 P.M.	87·8	
	s.	85·1	
4	r.	73	
	noon.	100·4	About 11 o'clock thick rain-clouds gathering, but no rain.
5	r.	81·5	About 5 o'clock in the morning the thunder-storm broke forth, with light rain lasting till about 8 A.M. Then the sun broke through the clouds, while the thunder continued. At 9.30 A.M. again a little rain, the sky remaining overcast the rest of the day.
	1.30 P.M.	91·4	
	s.	90·5	
6	r.	76·3	Sky thickly overcast; storm toward the north.
	1.15 P.M.	105·4	
7	r.	72	
	1.0 P.M.	106·7	
	2.0 P.M.	109·4	
	s.	94·6	
8	r.	76·5	Sky overcast; at 11 o'clock a little rain began, often interrupted, the thunder-storm gradually turning to the north.

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1852. April 8	noon.	94·5	
	1.15 P.M.	104	
	s.	92·5	Aoout 8 P.M. a thunder - storm arose from the east, accompanied by much wind, but only little rain; night very oppressive.
9	r.	80	The sky overcast; atmosphere oppressive. About 8 o'clock a few drops of rain.
	2.0 P.M.	98·6	
10	1.0 P.M	104	About 3 A.M. a thunder - storm, without wind, but accompanied by considerable rain, which lasted for about an hour and a half.
	s.	100	
11	r.	76·3	Sky overcast.
	1.30 P.M.	103	
	s.	87·4	In the evening a thunder - storm gathered from the west, but bringing only a few drops of rain.
12	r.	75·6	Sky overcast; sultry.
	1.30 P.M.	95·5	About 2 P.M. a
	s.	99·3	thunder-storm in the distance eastward, gradually approaching, and sending forth at sunset uninterrupted peals of thunder and flashes of lightning, with only a few drops of rain, but heavy squalls of wind lasting till about 8 P.M.; a heavy shower followed, lasting for about two hours.
13	..	70·5	
	1.30 P.M.	101·7	
	s.	91·4	
14	r.	73·4	
	noon.	101·7	About noon the
	2.30 P.M.	94	sky became thickly overcast, and at 1 P.M. a few large drops fell,
1852. April 15	s.	88·2	followed by a shower for about ten minutes; the sky remained overcast.
	r.	76·6	About 7 o'clock in the morning a few drops fell, but afterward the sky cleared up; and in the
	1.30 P.M.	96·8	afternoon a fresh
	2.0 P.M.	101·4	breeze arose. In the following
	s.	90	night a little rain.
16	r.	80·2	In the morning the sky overcast, and a little rain fell.
	1.0 P.M.	99·7	About noon a heavy wind arose from S.E., and the sky became again thickly overcast.
	s.	80·6	
17	No obsv'n.		
18			At 2 o'clock in the morning a heavy N.E. wind arose.
19	No obsv'n.		
20			Sultry day.
21	1.20 P.M.	104·4	At 2 P.M. a thunder-storm gathered from S.E. At 3.30 o'clock it began raining, first slightly, but from 3.45 to 4.15 a heavy shower followed, greatly refreshing the temperature. — The rain then ceased, while the thunder continued, with heavy squalls from E.N.E.; but at sunset the rain began afresh, and lasted for full two hours.
22	No obsv'n.		
23	1.15 P.M.	100·4	The sun broke through the thunder-clouds about 8 A.M.
24	noon.	102·2	The sky overcast, but no rain.
25	12.30	95·4	At 4 P.M. a heavy shower, but of short duration,

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1852. April			followed but not preceded by thunder.
26	1.45 P.M.	101·8	Sky thickly overcast; the sun breaking through the clouds at 9.30 A.M., the atmosphere remaining sultry. In the afternoon a thunder-storm accompanied by heavy squalls of wind, but no rain.
27			Atmosphere sultry. (Mis-ena.)
28			In the afternoon a thunder-storm gathered, but brought us only a few drops of rain in the evening.
29			The sky the whole day overcast; in the afternoon a storm gathered in the south, but not accompanied by rain.
30			In the afternoon a thunder-storm arose, followed by a considerable rain the following night, lasting for about two hours.
May 1			Sky overcast; the sun breaking through the clouds about 10 A.M., but only for a few moments. At 4 P.M. thick thunder-clouds, with much heat-lightning, but no rain.
2			About 5.30 P.M. dark thunder-clouds gathered, but passed by westward.
3			A little before 9 P.M. thunder-clouds from S.W., with heavy squalls, followed at 9 o'clock by a heavy shower,

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1852. May			lasting for about two hours.
4			No thunder-storm.
5	1.0 P.M.	90·5	Fine weather.
	s.	88·2	Beautiful weather.
6	1.0 P.M.	93·6	
7	1.30 P.M.	95	Beautiful morning; in the afternoon heavy squalls of wind.
8	1.30 P.M.	96·8	Fine day.
9	1.15 P.M.	95·7	
10	1.30 P.M.	97·3	
11	2.0 P.M.	98·6	
12	2.0 P.M	98·1	
13			At 9.30 A.M. a heavy gale.
14	1.45 P.M.	95	Sky thickly overcast, the sun shining forth only now and then; at about 11 A.M. the weather cleared up, but became again overcast in the afternoon; and at 2 o'clock a thunder-storm gathered, without bringing us much rain.
	4.30 P.M.	96·6	
15			The sky overcast the whole day. At 1.45 P.M. distant thunder toward the east; at 4 P.M. it began raining, and continued till five with considerable violence, then ceased and began again with sunset, accompanied by thunder now and then, and lasting in a uniform way till 8.30 the next morning.
16	2.0 P.M.	86	The sky, having cleared up a little before noon, again became overcast in the afternoon.
17			Sky thickly overcast; the sun breaking through the clouds about 10 o'clock.

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1852.			
May			
17	1.30 P.M.	88·7	
18			The weather dull.
19	2.0 P.M.	91·4	Fine day.
20			No thunder-storm.
21	r.	75·2	At noon light thunder - clouds gathered, bringing a heavy gale, but no rain, and the weather soon cleared up.
22			No storm.
23	r.	68	Fine fresh morning.
24	r.	77	Fine weather; light clouds gathered in the course of
	1.15 P.M.	96	the afternoon, and in the evening heat - lightning.
25	2.0 P.M.	96·8	Windy; sky a little overcast.
			In the afternoon, after 5 o'clock, thunder - clouds from west, as well as N.E., and in the latter direction much heat-lightning without thunder. After sunset a little rain; very little in the town, more outside.
26	r.	74·3	Sky a little overcast; in the evening a thunder-storm, but not accompanied by rain in the interior of the town.
	2.30 P.M.	89·6	
27	r.	78·8	Sky a little overcast.
	1.30 P.M.	96·8	
28	r.	75·2	
	1.30 P.M.	95·4	
	s.	92·3	After sunset heat-lightning and wind.
29	r.	72·5	
	2.0 P.M	96·1	At 5 P.M. a little rain with sunshine; a single thunder-clap being heard.
30	r.	74·7	
	1.0 P.M.	95·5	At 2 P.M. heavy gusts of wind.
31			Weather clear.

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1852.			
June			
1			Sky overcast; at 6.45 A.M. a little rain, with distant thunder. Afterward the weather cleared up.
2			Sky overcast, the sun not coming forth before five P.M.
3			Sky overcast, chilly atmosphere, with a strong south-easterly wind, till at length the sun broke through the clouds and scattered them.
4			About 9 P.M. a thunder - storm gathered, accompanied by only a little rain.
5	No obsv'n.		
6			At 3.30 P.M. a very heavy thunder-storm, with violent squalls of wind from the north, followed by a heavy shower, but of short duration.
7	r.	75·2	Sky thickly overcast.
8	r.	76·3	
	1.30 P.M.	96·5	Thick clouds, portending a storm; the sun broke through the clouds at 9 A.M. In the evening heat - lightning toward the west.
9			Weather clear.
10		77·4	
	1.45 P.M.	95·4	In the afternoon thunder - clouds gathering, and at 4 P.M. a light rain.
11	2.0 P.M.	95	After 4 P.M. a thunder - storm from the south, but without rain.
12	r.	74·1	
	2.0 P.M.	92·7	In the evening heat - lightning toward W.N.W.
13	r.	77	
	1.45 P.M.	93·2	In the afternoon thunder - clouds gathering with

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1852. June			distant thunder toward the west at 3.30. At 5.30 heavy rain toward the north, but none in the town (Más-eñá).
14	r.	80·6	Sky overcast from
	1.30 P.M.	93·2	3 P.M.; heavy thunder-storm toward N.E. It began raining with us at 3.30, mostly heavily, at times more gently, till 7 o'clock in the evening. Also the following night a little rain.
15	r.	74·5	Sky thickly overcast; at 6.25 A.M. again a little rain, the sun breaking through the clouds at 1 P.M.
	2.0 P.M.	86	
	s.	74·5	
16	r.	70·7	Sky overcast.
	2.0 P.M.	87	In the evening heat-lightning toward N. and N.E.
17	r.	77·5	Sky overcast; the sun breaking forth only now and then. About 6 P.M. a thunder-storm gathered from the west, but did not reach us, while another storm rose from E.S.E., but likewise ended in nothing but heat-lightning, and passed by without any rain.
18	r.	73·4	Sky thickly overcast; the sun
	2.0 P.M.	89·6	breaking forth only now and then. At 4 P.M. thunder-storm from the west, but without bringing rain. Heavy squalls of wind after sunset.
1852. June 19	r.	73·8	(N.B.—Broke the last theremometer I had with me at the time.) 2.30 P.M. distant thunder heard, a heavy thunder-storm gathering from the east, overclouding the whole sky, but without bringing us any rain. In the evening heat-lightning.
20			Weather clear.
21			5 P.M. a thunder-storm with a heavy gale, but without rain.
22			Sky overcast; the sun not breaking through the clouds before the afternoon, and only from time to time. In the evening heat-lightning toward W. and E.N.E.
23			The sky in the morning clearer, till at 12.30 a thunder-storm gathered from S.W., when at 1 P.M. a few drops fell, and at 2.30 a little more rain.
24			The morning clear; at 6 P.M. a thunder-storm gathering in the east, but only bringing a few drops of rain.
25			In the preceding night a moderate fall of rain, lasting about two hours; about 3.30 P.M. a heavy gale arose, and the sky became overcast toward the east.
26			Weather clear.
27			3 P.M. a thunder-storm from W.S.W.; however, only a few drops fell, the storm going southward.

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1852.			
June			
28			The morning fine, the sky being covered with cumuli. About 4 P.M. a heavy thunder-storm gathered from the W., where it discharged itself without bringing us more than a few drops.
29			Sky in the morning clear, in the afternoon cloudy, in the night a little rain.
30			Sky overcast, about 5 P.M. a thunder-storm gathered, but without rain in the beginning, till the clouds having discharged themselves toward the west and the north, it began raining with us at 7 P.M., the rain lasting half an hour with great violence, after which it continued more moderately.
July			
1			A violent shower near morning, lasting about an hour and a half; the whole morning showers continued to fall in drops till 11 A.M., when the sun broke through the clouds about 2 P.M.
2			The forenoon clear till about 3 P.M. a thick thunder-storm gathered from S.W., but dispersed in a southerly and northwesterly direction, without bringing us a single drop of rain.
3			At 5.30 P.M. a thunder-storm gathered from the south, followed by a violent shower, lasting about twenty minutes, and after an interval by two other showers not quite so heavy.
4			About sunset a thunder-storm from the east, followed by heavy rain, which after a short interval began once more and continued till about morning.
5			The sky in the morning thickly overcast, and a little rain fell.
6			No rain.
7			About noon a thunder-storm gathered from the W., and about 3 P.M. a few drops fell, followed at 4 o'clock by a violent rain, lasting half an hour, and a little later some more rain.
8			Sky the whole day overcast, the atmosphere oppressive, and about noon a little rain.
9			Sky overcast, the sun only occasionally breaking through the clouds, and a few drops of rain fell; at 3 P.M. some more rain, and at 6 in the evening a heavy shower, lasting till 11 o'clock without any thunder or lightning.
10			The sky at times overcast, at others clear.
11			Sky in the morning clear; about noon thunder-clouds gathered

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1852. July			from the south, and about 1.30 P.M. a heavy shower fell, lasting with equal violence for an hour, then less heavy till 5 o'clock.
12			The sky not clear, the atmosphere moist, till the weather cleared up about noon, when it became warmer. About ten o'clock in the evening a heavy gale arose, followed by rain, which lasted till morning.
13			Sky was overcast till about noon, when the sun broke through the clouds. In the evening a thunder - storm gathered from the S., accompanied with heavy rain, lasting for a quarter of an hour, then more moderate, and again a very heavy shower.
14			Sky in the morning not clear, till the sun broke brightly through the clouds. In the evening heat-lightning.
15			Sky in the morning clear; about noon, when a cold wind had risen, overcast; at 6.30 P.M. a powerful thunder-storm gathered from S.E., accompanied by rain, which lasted till 7.45 P.M. with equal violence and more temperate till 9.20.
16			The day fine, but rather oppressive
1852. July			about noon; no thunder-storm.
17			The sky in the morning overcast with cumuli; 4 P.M. a heavy thunder-storm gathering from S.W., and another from north at the same time, followed by rain at 6.20, lasting with more or less violence till 8.10, and after a short interval continuing once more.
18			The sky overcast in the morning.
19			At 5 P.M. a black thunder - storm gathering from S.W., followed by heavy rain, lasting from 6.30 to 9 o'clock, the first hour with great violence.
20			At 5.45 A.M. the rain commenced again, and continued till 8.45. At 1 P.M. again a little rain; at 3 o'clock another light fall, and from 8 o'clock in the evening till about 1 o'clock after midnight, but not heavy.
21			In the morning the sky cloudy, and a few drops of rain fell; afterward a black thunder - storm gathering, but no rain.
22			The sky tolerably clear; in the evening a thunder-storm gathered from the north, but passed by without bringing us any rain except a few drops.
23			Near morning rain, lasting for about an hour, when

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1852. July			
			the clouds cleared away, but gathered again in the course of the afternoon, without, however, bringing us any rain.
24			In the morning light clouds hovering over us, while the distant horizon was clear; in the evening a black thunder-storm gathered from east, but bringing us only a few drops of rain from 8.15 to 8.30 o'clock.
25			The sky in the morning overcast, cleared up about noon. — Wide halo round moon in evening.
26			About 4 o'clock in the morning a light shower, and the sky remained thickly overcast till about 8 o'clock, when the clouds dispersed, and we had a fine day.
27			The sky in the morning clear, in the afternoon rain-clouds from S.S.E., bringing heavy rain in the evening, lasting from 5.30 till 10 o'clock with considerable violence for the first three quarters of an hour, then less violent.
28			No rain.
29			Sky a little overcast. In the night rain, lasting about one hour, and accompanied by a very violent gale.
30			No rain.
31			4 P.M. a thunder-storm gathered

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1852. July			
			from the south, but passed by toward the west, without bringing rain.
Aug. 1			Weather clear.
2			The morning not clear; afterward the sun broke forth. A little before sunset a thunder-storm gathered from S.S.E., and after 6.30 it began raining, the rain continuing the whole night, but only gently.
3			At 5.30 A.M. it began again raining, at times more gently, at others with greater violence, but altogether only little. About 10 A.M. the sun broke forth.
4			No rain.
5			About 6 P.M. a thunder-storm gathered from N.E., and another from the west; both, however, passed by without bringing any rain.
6			In the afternoon a thunder-storm gathered, bringing moderate rain, which lasted from 5.30 to 10 P.M.
7			No rain.
8			About noon a heavy thunder-storm gathered from east, and broke forth at 12.30 with great violence, but lasting only 10 minutes; the rain commenced again at 2.22, and lasted till 2.40, accompanied by a heavy gale; in the evening from 7.45

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1852. Aug.			till 8.20 another heavy shower.
9			Weather dark and rainy; a few drops of rain in the morning, and at 11.20 a light rain, followed by warm sunshine.
10			The rain, which had lasted great part of the night, ceased a little before 7 o'clock in the morning.
11			About noon rain-clouds passed over our heads, bringing us but a few drops.
12			In the preceding night light rain, not accompanied by thunder; at 10 A.M. more rain, and at 2 P.M. more heavy; at 4.22 another fall. The sky remained overcast, with heavy clouds the whole day long.
13			A heavy shower in the morning, lasting about two hours, followed by another fall of less duration; the sky remained overcast almost the whole of the day, and in the afternoon a little more rain.
14			About noon a heavy shower, lasting half an hour; more rain in the afternoon.
15			The sky the whole day thickly overcast, rain falling several times.
16			About 6 A.M. a heavy shower, lasting about half an hour.
17			A fine, genial day; about noon sky became overcast, and at 12.30 a few drops fell, later in the afternoon more rain.
18			Sky at times overcast; a little rain.
19			Rainy day; it began raining at 11 A.M. and continued till 3 P.M.
20			About 11 o'clock a little rain, round about us much more.
21			At 2 P.M. a little rain.
22			No rain (Kúkawa).
23			At 3 P.M. a considerable fall of rain.
24			At 4 P.M. a light rain.
25			About noon a thunder-storm gathered, but without rain.
26			Sky about noon overcast, but no rain.
27-31			No rain.
Sept. 1			Weather clear.
2			About noon a thunder-storm gathering; in the afternoon light rain.
3		r.	Sky in the afternoon overcast, but no rain.
4		r.	A few drops in the morning.
5			No rain.
6			At 10.30 a thunder-storm gathered, accompanied by moderate rain.
7			A warm, genial day.
8-10			No rain.
11	2.0 P.M.		At 4 P.M. a thunder-storm without rain.
12	2.0 P.M.		Fine.
13			In the afternoon a cold, heavy gale
14	1.0 P.M.		
15	r.		
16			Clear.
17	1.30 P.M.		
18	r.		Sky overcast.
19	r.		
20	2.0 P.M. r.		Sky overcast; sun

Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1852. Aug.			later in the afternoon more rain.
18			Sky at times overcast; a little rain.
19			Rainy day; it began raining at 11 A.M. and continued till 3 P.M.
20			About 11 o'clock a little rain, round about us much more.
21			At 2 P.M. a little rain.
22			No rain (Kúkawa).
23			At 3 P.M. a considerable fall of rain.
24			At 4 P.M. a light rain.
25			About noon a thunder-storm gathered, but without rain.
26			Sky about noon overcast, but no rain.
27-31			No rain.
Sept. 1			Weather clear.
2			About noon a thunder-storm gathering; in the afternoon light rain.
3	r.	74·3	Sky in the afternoon overcast, but no rain.
4	r.	78·5	A few drops in the morning.
5		78	No rain.
6		76·6	At 10.30 a thunder-storm gathered, accompanied by moderate rain.
7		74	A warm, genial day.
8-10			No rain.
11	2.0 P.M.	98	At 4 P.M. a thunder-storm without rain.
12	2.0 P.M.	98	Fine.
13			In the afternoon a cold, heavy gale
14	1.0 P.M.	94·5	
15	r.	80	
16			Clear.
17	1.30 P.M.	97	
18	r.	80	Sky overcast.
19	r.	79	
20	2.0 P.M. r.	97 78	Sky overcast; sun

Date	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.	Date.	Hour of the Day.	Deg. in scale of Fah.	Remarks.
1852.				1852.			
Sept.				Oct.			
			came forth about	15	r.	72	
			noon, but again		1.30 P.M.	96	
			overcast; toward	16			Sky overcast;
			the east a thun-				cleared up about
			der-storm; with				noon.
			us but a few	17	r.	75	
			drops of rain.	18	r.	72	
21	r.	79			1.30 P.M.	98	
	1.30 P.M.	97	About 5 o'clock	19	r.	72	
			in the afternoon	20			In the evening a
			a thunder-storm,				heavy gale, as
			in the evening a				if preceding a
			few drops.				thunder-storm.
22-26			No rain.	21			In the afternoon
27			A light rain early				a thunder-storm,
			in the morning.				with a light rain
28			No rain.				at 3 o'clock, last-
29	1.30 P.M.	97					ing about a quar-
30	r.	80					ter of an hour,
	2.0 P.M.	100·3					and followed by
Oct.							a second fall.
1, 2			No rain.	22			In the afternoon a
3	r.	77					thunder-storm,
	1.30 P.M.	98	After sunset a				but without rain,
			heavy thunder-				near us.
			storm; only a few	23 to 31	r.	70–72	A strong wind all
			drops of rain.		1.30 P.M.	95–98	these days.
4	r.	78·5		Nov.			
5	r.	78		1–10	No obsv'n.		
	1.30 P.M.	100		11	r.	68	
6–10	No obsv'n.			12	r.	67·5	
11			In the preceding	13	r.	66	
			night a thunder-	14	r.	65·4	
			storm, with mod-	15	r.	65	
			erate rain.		1.30 P.M.	89	
12, 13			Weather clear.	16	r.	64·5	
14			At 10 A.M. a heavy		1.30 P.M.	89	
			gale, with a few	17	r.	63	
			drops of rain, the	18-20	No obsv'n.		
			rain-clouds pass-	21	1.30 P.M.	85	
			ing by toward	22	1.30 P.M.	84·5	
			S.E.				

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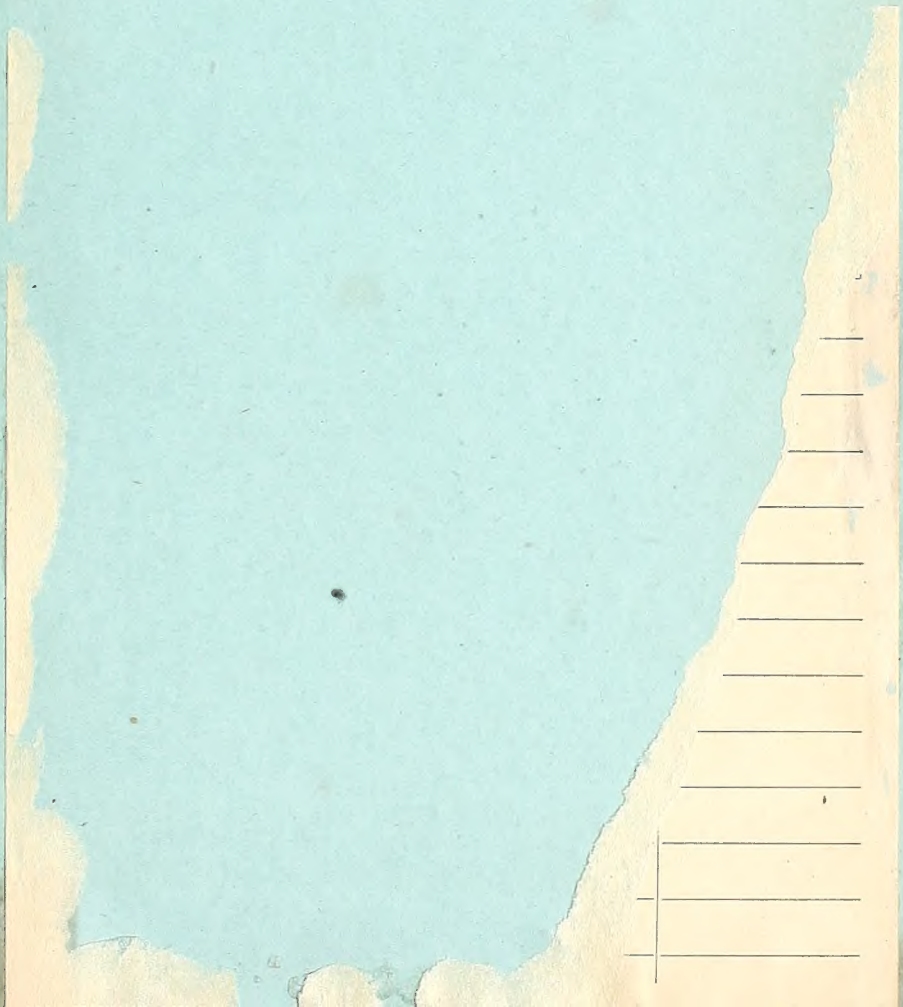
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